NOTES ON THE CATHOLIC LITURGIES

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO. LTD.

39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.4
6 OLD COURT HOUSE STREET, CALCUTTA
53 NICOL ROAD, BOMBAY
36A MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.

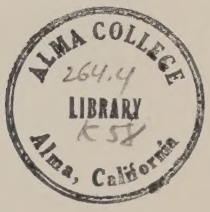
55 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
221 EAST 20TH STREET, CHICAGO
TREMONT TEMPLE, BOSTON
128–132 UNIVERSITY AVENUE, TORONTO

NOTES ON THE CATHOLIC LITURGIES

By
ARCHDALE A. KING

'*Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.*'—CICERO

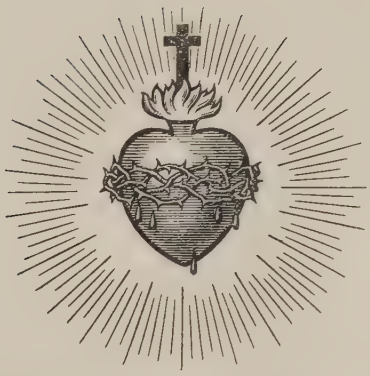
Leo XIII ('Saepe Numero,' Aug. 18, 1883)



LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.
LONDON ◆ NEW YORK ◆ TORONTO
1930

50229

Made in Great Britain



'Je répandrai d'abondantes bénédictions
sur toutes leurs entreprises.'

PREFACE

MUCH has already been written on the source and origin of the various liturgies of Christendom, but generally from the point of view of experts, with the inevitable array of references to still more learned tomes. This modest book is intended for those who are not so well versed in liturgiology, but who wish to know more about the history and contents of the various liturgies still in use in Catholic Christendom. A bibliography will be found at the end of every chapter, suggesting further lines of study.

Few references are given, but the author is especially indebted to that most learned liturgiologist, whose death was so deplored, Adrian Fortescue; while for information concerning the various Monastic rites, personal thanks must be tendered to Dom Coadjutor Ord. Cart.; Fr. Benedict Zimmerman, O.D.C.; the Prior and Master of Novices (Dublin Community) C.C.; Fr. Vincent McNabb, O.P.; the Prior of Tongerloo (Fr. Clement Tyck); Abbot Celsus O'Connell of Mount St. Bernard; and Fr. Milo Pillat, C.R.P., without whose unfailing courtesy and kindness Chapter III could never have been written. For the Rite of Braga the assistance given by Fr. Miranda and Fr. Coelho, O.S.B., was of immense value, while the erudition of the Rev. W. Porter was of great use for the Mozarabic Liturgy and that of Dom Basil Bolton, O.S.B., for the Byzantine rite. Great indebtedness, also, is owing to a seminary professor for his valuable help and suggestions in Part I and for his reading of the proofs, to Miss Una Moore for the latter undertaking, and to Mr. Percy James for part of the typing of the manuscript.

As regards the history of origins, much is merely guesswork, but no new theories have been propounded, and personal research has gone little beyond attendance at the various rites,

a diligent scrutiny of the liturgies, and conversations with those who offer the Holy Sacrifice according to these varying modes.

In speaking of 'Catholic liturgies' the author intends to include only those which are in use at the present day, and only those belonging to Churches in communion with the Apostolic See of Rome, although it has been found necessary to leave six of the Oriental rites for another volume.

The term 'liturgy' will cover the rites of both West and East, whereas the word 'Mass' is, strictly speaking, only applicable to the Latin Church, although sometimes used by the more Romanized of the Uniate bodies. In the case of the Roman rite ceremonial is not discussed, but in the other Western liturgies peculiarities and diversity of usage will be noted.

In the hope that these notes, albeit on such a vast subject, may stimulate the liturgical spirit in Catholics and direct them, not only to appreciate their own rite more intelligently, but also to study further the other service books of Catholic Christendom, this book has been written.

Lastly, a cautionary note may perhaps be sounded at the threshold of this work. However much Roman Catholics—*i.e.* those who use the rite of Rome for their liturgy—may prefer the severe Latin Mass to the somewhat florid Oriental rites, never let them suppose that they are more Catholic or even more loyal to the Pope than, for example, the Maronites or Coptic Catholics. What is sanctioned by Rome, as are all the Uniate rites, is not and never can be inferior in orthodoxy to the Western liturgies, for there is only one standard of faith for all. 'The Church,' says Benedict XV, 'is neither Latin, nor Greek, nor Slav, but Catholic; all her children are equal before her; all, Latins, Greeks, Slavs or others, occupy the same place before the Holy See' (Motu Proprio 'Dei Providentis,' May 1, 1917).

ARCHDALE A. KING.

In Festo Ss. Cordis Jesu,
1929.

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
	PREFACE	vii
	PART I	
I.	GENERAL INTRODUCTION	3
II.	ROMAN RITE	11
III.	DERIVED MONASTIC RITES	61
IV.	LYON RITE	111
V.	RITE OF BRAGA	153
VI.	AMBROSIAN RITE	211
VII.	MOZARABIC RITE	251
	PART II	
VIII.	INTRODUCTION TO ORIENTAL RITES	325
IX.	BYZANTINE RITE WITH NINE VARIANTS	361
X.	ARMENIAN RITE	455
	INDEX	525

PART I

CHAPTER I
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

' Liturgy is the first and indispensable source of the true Christian spirit.'
PIUS X.

THE Catholic religion lives, moves and has its being in devotion to a Person, Jesus Christ, true God and true Man, so that the yearly cycle of the holy liturgy venerates and salutes, with a marvellous variety of expression, Our Divine Lord, the Author and Founder of the Church, as ' King, Saviour and King of kings.' ' In this continuous praise of the Christ-King,' the Sovereign Pontiff, in his Encyclical instituting the Feast of the Kingdom of Christ (December 11, 1925), goes on to say ' one can easily discern the wonderful harmony between our rites and those of the East, so that once again the adage holds good : " The rule of prayer establishes that of faith." '

Christ the King, then, is the Author of the Christian liturgy, whether it be Western or Oriental, whether it emanates from primitive, mediaeval, renaissance or even modern times.

All through the ages the germ of the Eucharistic Service has been the reproduction of what Our Lord did in the Upper Room ' on the day before He suffered.' This, together with the ' Pater noster,' has always formed the core of the ' Missa Fidelium.'

The taking of bread and wine (mingled with a little water), the giving of thanks, the blessing of the elements and fraction of the Bread—repeating the words of Institution—and finally the feeding upon these hallowed Species in Holy Communion, have found a place in every Catholic liturgy from the days of the Apostles themselves, who, in obedience to their royal Master, did these things ' in remembrance of Him.'

In the Church of the Acts of the Apostles we also find the beginnings of the ' Missa Catechumenorum ' in Scriptural

readings, psalm-singing and preaching founded upon the lesson of the day. This latter form of primitive worship was directly taken from that of the old Jewish synagogue, being in early days sometimes divorced from the Eucharist, although it often preceded the Holy Sacrifice, especially when it was used as the Sunday vigil service (' Pannuchis '), held in memory of the Resurrection and in the belief that Our Lord would shortly come again as Judge (' Parousia ').

On such foundations the liturgies of Christendom have grown through the successive centuries, and it is the intention of this book to show briefly how each extant liturgy obtained its present form and content.

In the first centuries of the Church there probably existed a liturgy that possessed all the features mentioned above, with complete freedom for each celebrant in the matter of exact order and wording of the prayers. The president or bishop could improvise at will, and within the limits set down in the sacred Scriptures much of the service was extempore. Several things, however, tended to stereotype liturgies and bring the original fluid condition to an end. In the first place, the service was attended by concelebrating ministers and also by the faithful laity, so that it became increasingly important that there should be a more or less fixed order of service, that each section of the worshippers could take its proper share. Secondly, a constant repetition—prayer, praise, thanksgiving and intercession—round a central theme necessarily produced a set form of words, at any rate in a particular district ; while the liturgical expressions used in a noteworthy Church or by an important bishop would inevitably come to be copied by others (*e.g.* daughter Churches). In time, through these outstanding Churches, especially those of patriarchal rank, settled and fixed liturgies were drawn up, though even these were subject to many additions and amendments.

Early writers, also, such as St. Clement of Rome, St. Irenaeus of Lyon, Tertullian and St. Cyprian, often use liturgical words and phrases that must have been, even in those primitive days, found in the liturgy.

The so-called ' Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus,' written

about A.D. 225 and showing signs of an earlier work, gives us a short liturgy beginning with the kiss of peace and ending with the doxology of the Eucharistic prayer. The Ethiopic form of this underlies the liturgy which is still in use in the Abyssinian Church, and an expanded version in Syriac is found in 'The Testament of Our Lord,' dating from about A.D. 350 or even earlier, since the Sanctus is missing and the typical Apostolic Anaphora appears to have been purely euchological, without leading up to any choral interpolations.

Although the 'Didache' is probably older than the above, emanating from Syria or Egypt in the first or second century of the Christian era, it is so entirely *sui generis*, only used locally or by a sect, that it cannot be looked upon as an ancestor of any of our present liturgies. So far as research goes up to the present, it is considered that Antioch, the source of more derived rites than any other Church, possesses the oldest complete rite, the so-called 'Apostolic Constitutions' (VIII), known sometimes as the 'Clementine Liturgy.' Here, according to some liturgical authorities, although, in spite of its names, it has been proved to be a Syrian forgery of the fourth century, is the original one-time universal rite from which the patriarchates evolved their separate and distinctive uses.

From Antioch, via Jerusalem, came also in the fourth century the 'Liturgy of St. James,' used at the present day in Greek by the Orthodox (on two days in the year and in two places), and in Syriac by the Syrian Uniates and the Maronites, as well as by the Jacobites and a section of the Malabar schismatics.

This liturgy was rearranged and shortened by St. Basil (*c.* A.D. 329–379), who thus produced the 'Liturgy of St. Basil,' which spread to Constantinople and formed the original Byzantine rite.

Another liturgy, however, called after the name of St. John Chrysostom (*c.* A.D. 347–407), but in general of later date, was drawn up, effectively ousting the Basilian service book, save on certain days of the year, so that the normal Byzantine liturgy is now that of St. John Chrysostom.

In the fifth century two further derived Antiochene

rites were formed, both of which are substantially in use at the present day, by Catholics and schismatics alike.

From the Church of Edessa the East Syrian rite was evolved, which forms the basis of the liturgy used by the so-called Nestorian Church and by the Chaldean and Malabar Catholics; while from Caesarea the Armenians, both Gregorian and Uniate, have obtained an old form of the Byzantine rite.

The other great parent rite in the East is that of Alexandria, now found in the Abyssinian and Coptic liturgies, built up in the main on the ' Liturgy of St. Mark,' although an Anaphora of the former has much in common with the ' Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus.'

A more detailed account of the history of these extant liturgies will be found in the chapters on the Eastern rites.

As it is intended to provide merely a guide to present-day liturgical practices, detailed Church history, dealing with the Nestorian and Monophysite errors, although profoundly affecting the liturgy and indeed preserving many ancient forms which, but for the schism from Constantinople, would long ago have been Byzantinized out of existence, must necessarily be sought for in larger and more important works.

With the evolution of the great patriarchates came the custom of ' rite following patriarchate,' although the imperial ambition of New Rome in course of time forced a rigid uniformity on all the Eastern Churches, still in communion with her.

The Bishop of Old Rome, however, suffered a rival liturgy almost at his very gates, which, in spite of protests, was never forcibly suppressed. The West produced two liturgical types, the Roman and the Gallican; the one terse, simple and almost puritanical in its lack of ceremony, and the other elaborate in actions and verbose in words. The Gallican liturgy emerged as a complete rite in the sixth and seventh centuries, but from the eighth century onwards there was a gradual superseding by Rome of this more Eastern form of liturgy.

Of the Gallican type, two Romanized examples remain in the Ambrosian and the Mozarabic liturgies, but the Roman

rite, although supreme in the Western field, has allowed itself to be very greatly influenced by Gallican and other non-Roman infiltrations. Lyon, Braga, and the various Monastic rites that differ from the great patriarchal Church in a few particulars are *au fond* as Roman as the 'Missale Romanum'; and of course the same was true of the now extinct use of 'the illustrious Church of Sarum.' The ceremonial of St. Gregory's mission was Roman; while the Council of Cloveshoo (747) decreed that the liturgical services should 'be celebrated according to the written pattern received from the Roman Church,' although it is possible that the service books of this country became less exclusively Roman under Frankish and Norman influences.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(1) 'Catholic Encyclopedia.' New York: The Encyclopedia Press, Inc.

(2) 'A Popular Handbook of the Origin, History, and Structure of Liturgies.' Part I. J. Comper. Edinburgh: R. Grant & Son. 1891.

(3) 'Twenty-five Consecration Prayers.' Arthur Linton. S.P.C.K. 1921.

(4) 'Liturgical Prayer: Its History and Spirit.' Rt. Rev. Fernand Cabrol, O.S.B. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, Ltd. 1922.

(5) 'Enchiridion Symbolorum Definitionum et Declarationum de Rebus Fidei et Morum.' Henrico Denzinger. Editio duodecima. Friburgi Brisgoviae: B. Herder. 1913.

(6) 'A Commentary on the New Code of Canon Law.' P. Chas. Augustine, O.S.B. 8 vols. B. Herder Book Co., 68 Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1918–1922.

(7) 'The History of the Christian Church from the Earliest Times to the Death of St. Leo the Great, A.D. 461.' F. J. Foakes Jackson, D.D. Fifth edition. Cambridge: J. Hall & Son. 1909.

(8) *Pax*. The Quarterly Review of the Benedictines of Caldey. Nos. 82, 85, 86, 87.

(9) 'Les Liturgies Eucharistiques. Notes sur leur origine et leur développement.' Dom F. J. Moreau, O.S.B. Vromant et Cie., 3 Rue de la Chapelle, Bruxelles. 1924.

(10) 'Annuaire Pontifical Catholique.' XVII^e Année (1914); XXXI^e Année (1928); XXXII^e Année (1929); XXXIII^e Année (1930). E. Chardavoine. Paris, 5 Rue Bayard.

(11) ' A Manual of Councils of the Holy Catholic Church.' E. H. Landon. 2 vols. Edinburgh : John Grant. 1909.
(12) ' L'Anaphore Apostolique et ses témoins.' Par Dom Paul Cagin. Paris : P. Lethielleux, 10 Rue Cassette.
(13) ' Liturgicae Institutiones. Tractatus Primus de S. Liturgia Universim.' C. Callewaert. Carolum Bayaert, Bruges. 1925.
(14) ' Liturgical Dictionary.' Alexius Hoffmann, O.S.B., St. John's Abbey. 1928. The Liturgical Press, Collegeville, Minnesota.
(15) ' Le Trésor de la Cathédrale de Sens.' L'Abbé E. Chartraire. Paris : Henri Laurens, Editeur, 6 Rue de Tournon.
(16) ' The Lay Folks' History of the Liturgy.' E. Crewdson Thomas. Rivingtons, 34 King Street, Covent Garden, London. 1929.

CHAPTER II
ROMAN RITE

CHAPTER II

ROMAN RITE

CHRISTIANITY was brought to the imperial metropolis by the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and here, faithful to the end, they laid down their lives in the Neronian persecution. Further than this, it is historically certain, as well as being theologically true, that St. Peter, in response to the wishes of his Divine Master, governed the Church of Rome as chief shepherd and ruler of the faithful, feeding the lambs of Christ and binding and loosing, both for time and eternity. The precise character, however, of the papal Synaxis (assembly) in the house of Pudens or the Catacombs of Priscilla must remain unsolved, and it is only after the lapse of some centuries that the Roman rite emerges into the light of day. Tradition has even ascribed the Canon to the Prince of the Apostles himself, but, though such primitive Popes as Innocent I (402–417), Vigilius (538–555) and Gregory I (590–604) have styled it 'a prayer of apostolic tradition,' we can only, with any degree of certainty, date it as being of the fifth century, although there can be little doubt that it contains much that is far more primitive.

St. Justin Martyr (*ob.* 167), in his 'Apologia for the Christian Religion,' gives us the Roman rite of his day, where we find little trace of the wording of our present liturgy, while, by the seventh century ('Gelasian Sacramentary'), the Roman Mass as we now have it, save for unessential later additions, was substantially complete. In considering liturgical origins and the answers to such questions as *when* and *by whom*, much must remain unanswered and conjectural; but although liturgical interest inspires a study of the subject, a rite is only used because living authority so orders it, and therefore it is true to say that, whether a service book or a prayer or a ceremony is primitive, mediaeval or modern, it is to be used

or to be set aside solely because the Church of the day commands it and quite irrespective of its intrinsic merit or demerit.

We have pointed out in the Introduction that there is some evidence for the theory that there was originally one fluid rite, of the type of the Apostolic Constitutions, from which in time the various patriarchates derived their own liturgies ; but, whether this be strictly accurate or not, it is probable that Greek was the language used in the earliest Roman rite, and that soon after the persecution by Diocletian (early third century) Latin began to oust Greek, not as a distinctive hieratic language, but because by that time it was becoming the ordinary speech of Rome, although we find in the next century that Pope St. Sylvester (313–335) spoke Greek, and therefore presumably used the liturgy in that language.

The oldest Latin rite, however, was probably that of the now extinct Church of Africa, where Latin was used when both Rome and Gaul still spoke Greek.

Perhaps our present Canon is a terse and shortened Latin equivalent, although undoubtedly displaced and rearranged in some of its parts, of a Greek original, which, according to Benedict XIV (1740–1758), ' no Pope has added to or changed since St. Gregory.' Now the Roman rite is only said in Latin, with the two exceptions, Slavonic (Glagolitic letters) along the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea (since the eleventh century) and Greek on rare occasions in Rome. The inhabitants of South Croatia and Dalmatia (Illyria) obtained the privilege of a Slav Office and Mass after their adoption of the Latin rite (eleventh to twelfth century), but with the use of the more ancient alphabet (Glagolitic), to differentiate them from the Byzantines who used the Cyrillic form of lettering. The term ' Glagolitic ' has been employed since the fourteenth century, but the claim that St. Jerome was the author, although dating from the thirteenth century, and appearing in the preface of a breviary published in 1688, has been successfully disproved by Father Joseph Debrovsky (*ob.* 1825). Possibly the newer writing (Cyrilitsa) took its rise at the Court of the Bulgarian Emperor Symeon (*ob.* 927), in his attempt to introduce Byzantine splendour. The Slavic

tongue was conceded in the Bull of John VIII (' Industriae tuae ') in July 880, through the urgent representations of the apostles Cyril and Methodius, since before their mission prayers had been in German, a language unknown to the great mass of the population. Most ancient texts show the Latin and German influences at work in the formation of the original Slav missal (' Pannonisms '), but the increasing separation between East and West has caused these ' Pannonisms ' to disappear: *pop*, priest (Ger. *pfaffe*); *msa*, mass (Lat. *missa*); *post*, fast (Ger. *fasten*); *oltar*, altar (Lat. *ara*); *mnich*, monk (Ger. *mönch*). The Glagolitic missal, used particularly in the neighbourhood of the old Roman towns, was sanctioned by Innocent IV (1243–1254) in 1248, and again by Urban VIII (1623–1644), who, in a Constitution dated April 29, 1631, ordered a new and corrected edition of the Slav missal. In the service books issued by Propaganda in 1641, 1701 and 1731 Russian influence was very marked in the Slavonic, but with the edition of 1893 the pure Croat tradition was restored. The introduction of Latin into the Dalmatian seminaries (1828) has necessarily lessened the use of the old books, and even influenced the text of the original liturgy, for in the latest missal, approved by the Sacred Congregation of Rites (March 9, 1927), the Mass is in Latin, with the Canon in both languages in parallel columns. The privileged book is now found in the Slav churches of the dioceses of Zengg, Veglia, Zara and Spalato, as well as in the Franciscan houses at Veglia (three), Cherso (one), Zara (two) and Sebenico (one).

In a solemn papal Mass the Epistle and Gospel are sung in Greek as well as in Latin, the Oriental deacon crying ' *σοφία* ' before the second lection, the choir responding: ' *Δόξα συ, Κύριε, δόξα συ,*' after it.

A distinctive feature of the Western liturgy is the proper of the Mass, which is governed by the Calendar, so that much of the service is altered to fit feast, fast or saint's day. This is quite otherwise in the East, where little is changed, save the Scriptural lessons. To Pope St. Damasus (366–384), the reputed author of the original Roman collects, is ascribed this radical change.

Before the thirteenth century the Calendar of the Roman liturgy was almost exclusively confined to saints who were Roman, if not in origin, at least as regards the resting-place of their relics, together with the additional names introduced by the Gallicanized Sacramentary of Hadrian, but this Calendar was not very generally used away from Rome, as it was within the competence of each bishop, or at any rate metropolitan, to draw up his own Martyrology and list of saints, without reference to the use of the Roman see.

When, however, the great Mendicant Orders spread through Europe, belonging to no fixed diocese or see, the friars brought with them the Calendar of Rome, which eventually spread throughout the Latin world and so became that of the ' Universal Church.'

St. Justin Martyr wrote his famous defence of Christianity to the Emperor, Antoninus Pius (138–161), without any reserve about the Holy Mysteries, but by at least the third century the ' disciplina arcani,' or hiding of the more sacred portions of the Eucharist from the eyes and ears of the unbaptized, had become general throughout Christendom. Thus the liturgy became divided into the Mass of the catechumens, answering to that primitive type of service taken from the worship of the synagogue (Morning Prayer for Saturdays, *Schacharit*), and the Mass of the faithful, or Eucharist proper, wherein the Sacrifice was offered and communions were made, answering to the repetition of that which Our Lord did at the Last Supper. St. Cyprian, speaking of the priest at the altar, says : ' nihil aliud quam quod ille fecit facere debemus ' (' Epist. 63, ad Caecilium, de sacramento dominici calicis,' 17 ; *cf.* 9, 14), which St. Thomas Aquinas, centuries later, endorsed in his Sequence for Corpus Christi (' Lauda Sion ') :

> ' Quod in coena Christus gessit,
> faciendum hoc expressit,
> in sui memoriam.'

At the close of the former Mass the deacon dismissed all those who were unbaptized, excommunicated or under censures, and only those who were about to receive Holy

Communion remained—' Post sermonem, fit missa catechumenis, manebunt fideles ' (St. Augustine).

When, after the Peace of the Church (312), the Empire gradually accepted Christianity and, as a natural result, greater laxity crept in, the rigid line drawn between the Mass of the catechumens and the Mass of the faithful became unnecessary, the actual dismissal probably ceasing just before the time of St. Gregory. By the eighth century all traces had disappeared from the Roman liturgy, although in some other rites the ceremony of the expulsion of those who were not at the moment in communion with the Church can still be discerned in the liturgies now in use (*e.g.* Byzantine and Armenian rites). Pontifical high Mass, however, the liturgical norm, by directing that the bishop is at his throne until the Offertory, still shows the ancient idea of the distinction between the two parts of the service. Unhappily the exigencies of the time (1870–1929) prevented the bishop of bishops from ascending his throne in the basilicas of the Eternal City, and we had—what from a liturgical point of view must have been a desolating spectacle—the throne of the Apostolic Lord (*Dominus Apostolicus*) empty and his altar deserted.

The end of the Mass of the faithful is still declared by a formal dismissal on the part of the deacon, ' Ite, missa est ' (' Go, it is the dismissal '), and from this comparatively trifling origin the Latin Church has derived her most treasured word for the Holy Sacrifice. Both ' Eucharist ' and ' Liturgy ' can be applied to the East as well as to the West, but the term ' Mass,' used, since at least the time of St. Ambrose, in the sense in which we now employ it, has through the centuries been so hallowed by associations and blest by the blood of countless martyrs, that for Western Catholics it has become a word of infinite worth and value and a priceless heritage from primitive times.

We have spoken of the ' dismissal ' as made by the deacon, a fact which reminds us that the normal and original rite is *high* Mass, and that *low* Mass is a Western afterthought, which began to be common about the tenth century, thereby causing the compilation of the ' Missale Plenarium,' the whole of the

Mass in one volume. Until then the book containing the priest's part was the 'Sacramentary,' while it was necessary for the deacon and the choir to have separate books for their liturgical functions, an arrangement which still holds good in the East. All through the centuries Rome has always stood for simplicity and efficiency, most ceremonies and elaboration of detail coming from Gallican sources; and in the original Roman Mass there were only two occasions of pomp, at the entrance of the Pope, or his delegate, and before the Gospel, so we may say that the ceremonial parts were over just as the Sacrifice was about to begin.

Until the twelfth century, when cross and candles began to appear, altars were severely simple, with the most rigid ruling as to their furniture and adornment (*cf.* Lyon). Thus, the 'Admonitio Synodalis' of St. Caesarius of Arles (A.D. 541) determined that the altar should be covered with clean linen, but that nothing should be placed on it except coffers containing relics, the Gospel book, and the pyx with the Body of the Lord for the viaticum of the sick. Innocent III (1198–1216) seems the first Pope to have definitely ordered two lights at Mass, while six were sometimes put on the altar in the fifteenth century, for the sake of symmetry. The 'Ceremoniale Episcoporum' (1600) graded the number of candles (six, four or two), according to the rank of the feast. The cross, at first only used in processions, became an altar ornament in the eleventh century.

As has been said, pontifical high Mass was the norm in the primitive Church, other bishops and all the local presbyters standing round the cathedral altar and concelebrating, but, with the extension of the Church into country (pagan) and other districts, the right of offering the Holy Sacrifice had to be delegated to priests, so that the corporate idea of a single family at prayer necessarily broke down, at any rate from a spectacular point of view. The Mother Church, however, is the bishop's own, and the Council of Aachen (789), recalling a Council of Africa, directed that a bishop should not frequent another church in preference to his cathedral.

At Rome, also, tragedies have so seriously curtailed the public worship in which the Sovereign Pontiff officiates at the

throne in that holy city which was lawfully his, both temporally and spiritually, that since the Savoyard invasion of September 20, 1870, it has been almost non-existent, save on a few occasions in St. Peter's. The Roman liturgy was composed, one might almost say, by the Popes for their functions in the stational (*στάσις*, *cf.* Mahamad in Jewish literature of the second century A.D.) churches of Rome, but, with the exile to Avignon under Clement V (1305), the old basilican worship by the Vicar of Christ and his Court, in some different fixed church (more than sixty per year), came to an end, after existing for more than eight hundred years. When Rome regained her lawful pastor the remembrance of these magnificent liturgical functions had disappeared and, in lieu of the father of the faithful surrounded by his children, that pontifical worship which is called 'Palatine' arose, where the Pope celebrated in his own private chapel of the Vatican or Quirinal before a privileged gathering. On February 13, 1586, Pope Sixtus V (1585–1590) published the Bull 'Egregia,' restoring the ancient stational liturgies, with their solemn functions and outdoor processions, but his successors in the Chair of Peter did not show the same energy, so that Palatine worship was restored, save for functions in such major basilicas as the Lateran, St. Peter, and St. Mary Major. The débâcle of 'Venti Settembre' destroyed even these vestiges of liturgical life, and until January 1, 1888, when Leo XIII celebrated the jubilee of his priesthood, no high Mass was celebrated in St. Peter's by the Sovereign Pontiff, while, through the impossibility of accepting the 'Law of Guarantees,' a visit to any other basilica was naturally out of the question. Ever since the rise of the nationalist (Fascist) movement in Italy signs have not been wanting of a growing *rapprochement* between the *de jure* and the *de facto* rulers of Rome, until in 1929, when, thanks to the combined genius of Pius XI and Mussolini, the 'Roman Question' was made to cease and the Vatican State, in which the Pope was to rule as a temporal monarch, was created. Now perhaps once again may be seen the Vicar of Christ at the basilican altars of the Eternal City, surrounded by his clergy and people. The Lateran Treaty and Concordat were signed on

February 11, and on July 25 the Pope, borne on a podium, officiated in a procession of the Blessed Sacrament round the Piazza of St. Peter. This, however, was papal territory, but on December 20 of the same year, the Golden Jubilee of the Holy Father's priesthood, the Sovereign Pontiff officiated in his cathedral church.

Certain features of the solemn papal Mass may be briefly noted, although absent from this quiet and unassuming function at St. John Lateran. In the first place, in addition to the customary pontifical vestments, the succinctorium (balteus) attached to the girdle is worn, of gold tissue with large flattened ends, perhaps a relic of the alms-bag once carried by the Pope on his journeys. The fanon (πῆνος, cloth) or white silk cape is worn over the alb and stole, a vestment of doubtful origin, variously said to originate in the veil of Byzantine bishops, the papal hood, or the primitive circular chasuble ('anabolagium,' 'orale'). Although exclusively worn by the Pope, the surhumeral or rationale of the Bishops of Nancy and Toul, a sort of pallium covered with precious stones, may be compared with it. This surhumeral was conceded to the Count Bishops of Toul in 1165, and although the diocese was suppressed in 1802, a brief of March 16, 1865, restored this privilege to the holders of the united diocese. The falda is a large white silk petticoat with a train falling to the feet, which the Pope girds round his loins and has lifted when walking.

The papal cross, also, is surrounded by seven taperers (*cf.* Lyon rite), all of whom assist at the Latin Gospel, with two only at the Greek. These 'ceroferarii' originally came one from each station in Rome, so that the custom of placing a seventh candle behind the crucifix, when a bishop sings Mass in his diocese, may have its beginning in these regionary acolytes.

After 'Et Homo factus est' in the Creed the cardinal deacon and Latin subdeacon spread the linen cloth on the altar, and at the Offertory, candles, bread, wine, water, two doves and several small birds are presented. The 'Pregustatio' ceremony of tasting the oblata before the Consecration is duplicated before the 'Pater noster,' when the reed and ablution chalice are both tested with a view to detecting poison.

After the ' pax ' has been given, the Pope returns to his throne for Communion, while the cardinal deacon elevates the paten and asterisk three times, showing them to the people. This asterisk is a star-like covering with twelve rays inscribed with the names of the Apostles, placed over the paten to avoid disarranging the oblata (*cf.* Byzantine rite, two and a half circles, from the centre of which hangs a little star). Then, giving the paten to the kneeling subdeacon, who takes it to the Pope, the deacon elevates the chalice in the same way, before transporting it to the throne. The Precious Blood is received by means of a golden reed (' calamus,' ' pugillaris,' ' fistula ' ; *cf.* some districts in twelfth century), but the deacon and subdeacon receive in only one kind at the throne, the former standing and the latter kneeling. When, however, the ministers cleanse the vessels at the altar the deacon consumes a part of the chalice through the reed, the subdeacon from the cup, while the Pope takes the ablution in a special chalice.

The Roman Mass may be looked upon as the work of the Popes from the fourth to the eighth century, with Gallican additions and embellishments, but from the days of St. Gregory (590–604) to those of St. Pius V (1565–1572) it has, from time to time, been found necessary to restore and to simplify, according to the best primitive and Roman traditions.

An early form of the Canon of the Mass is a North Italian composition, ' De Sacramentis,' written between the years A.D. 400–500, and we may justly consider that by the fifth century this sacred deposit (Canon) had been given by the Apostolic Chair to Ravenna, Milan, Pavia, Gubbio and other Italian sees. In the ' quam oblationem ' section of the ' De Sacramentis ' the words occur '*quod figura est* Corporis et Sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi '—an expression dear to Tertullian and found in the Latin liturgy of the third century (*cf.* Mozarabic, ' similitudo,' and Serapion, *ὁμοίωμα*), although unlikely to be used later than the fifth. Here ' figura ' refers to that exterior symbol which hides and veils, without excluding the reality of the Body and Blood. Rome was, from the earliest ages, the liturgical, as well as the doctrinal, court of appeal—not that she wished to force the use of her service books or her method of performing rites and

ceremonies upon any other of the Churches within her patriarchate (despite Eugubium in the fifth century and Toledo in the eleventh), but because applications were continually being made, from Spain, Gaul, Britain, and the Empire of the Franks, to inquire how the Apostolic See carried out these things, with a view to imitating the Mother Church.

St. Irenaeus, the disciple of St. Polycarp, who had learnt the faith from St. John, tells us in his work against heretics, written when he was Bishop of Lyon, that the simplest way to learn the apostolic tradition is to refer to the Church of Rome, 'for the whole Church—that is to say, the faithful who are scattered throughout the world—ought to have recourse to this Church, on account of its greater authority and because the apostolic tradition has been always maintained in it' (Irenaeus, 'Contra Haer.,' III. 2).

There was, however, no idea of the complete adoption, in the West, of the Roman rite, for even Gubbio (Eugubium) in Umbria, close as it was to the patrimony of St. Peter, followed another use, and Pope Innocent I, writing in A.D. 416, points out the inconsistency of those who do not follow in all things the usages of the Roman Church.

With the break-up of the Roman Empire and the transference of the Western imperial residence to Milan, Gaul and Spain especially tended, at any rate for some centuries, to look to the throne of St. Ambrose for liturgical guidance, to a rite differing in many respects from that of Rome and now considered by many to be the source of the Gallican liturgy (*vide* Ambrosian rite). Thus, during the sixth and seventh centuries a rite grew up, or rather a series of rites, all bearing distinctively non-Roman features, to which, owing to the country where they chiefly prevailed, the term 'Gallican' has been applied. These rites, however, produced liturgically a state of affairs similar to that of Israel in the time of the Judges—everyone did 'that which was lawful in his own eyes.' As there was no local centre of unity for ritual matters, since neither Gaul nor the Frankish kingdom had any very strong metropolitical see, appeals to Rome became inevitable, both from Charlemagne, who abhorred this liturgical anarchy, and also from other temporal rulers and bishops, with the result that the eighth

and ninth centuries found these rites almost completely Romanized, Spain, under the powerful aegis of Toledo, and North Italy, under that of Milan, alone excepted.

The earliest and most complete sources for the Roman rite still extant are the Sacramentaries, to which, though doubtfully, the names of Leo, Gelasius and Gregory have been ascribed. The Leonine Sacramentary is only a fragment, but it is pure Roman, and it has been variously dated from the fourth to the sixth century. The Gelasian Sacramentary is a Roman book already Gallicanized, dating from about the seventh century; while the Gregorian Sacramentary is probably the Roman liturgy, sent by Adrian I in response to the request of Charlemagne, between A.D. 781 and 791, retouched after its arrival in the Frankish dominions. It is conceivable that the core of this last-named book contained the fruit of the reforms of St. Gregory, who returned to the purest Roman tradition, protesting, 'In nullo aliam ecclesiam secuti sumus' ('In no particular have we followed any other Church'). Of this same Pope, also, his biographer, John the deacon, says: 'He collected the book of Gelasius for the solemnities of Mass into one volume, leaving out much, changing little, adding something for the exposition of the lessons of the gospel.'

The 'Ordines Romani,' of which the first dates from the pontificate of Stephen III (768–772), also prove valuable as sources for the early Roman rite, but we may justly say that the missal of to-day is substantially that sent by Pope Adrian I to Charlemagne and returned later with the Gallican excerpts of an Alcuin or an Amalarius, although the interpolations were perhaps more of the nature of infiltrations than deliberate additions.

From the twelfth century 'rite has followed patriarchate' in the West, Toledo and Milan excepted, so that the Roman rite has been practically universal in those countries over which the Sovereign Pontiff rules as Patriarch, in addition to his 'care of all the Churches,' in virtue of the divine mandate.

The Middle Ages saw the rise of a host of derived local rites, so many in fact that at one time it seemed possible that every diocese would have a different use. However, these

episcopal varieties cannot be considered a return to Gallican or non-Roman usages, nor would it be true to say this of the multitude of the French peculiarities, so rife in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, though in these latter examples much that was done was actuated by a spirit far from filial to the Holy See. Throughout Europe the rite was that of Rome, but the episcopal *jus liturgicum*, sanctioned by a tolerant and perhaps over-indulgent papacy, caused minor differences in the wording of the rite and an overloading of the services with elaborate ceremonial adjuncts, together with a multiplicity of processions, Sequences (Proses) and proper Prefaces.

To recover some measure of uniformity, the Council of Trent (1545–1563) appointed a commission to reform both missal and breviary, not to create a new missal, but to restore the existing one, ' according to the custom and rite of the holy fathers.'

Two events may perhaps have contributed to the liturgical decadence with which the reformers were faced, for, in the first place, the papal residence at Avignon (1305 to 1378) could not but have helped to leave its mark, since the exotic atmosphere of the French town produced a soil in which the Roman liturgy was unable to flourish. Secondly, the growth of low Masses and private Masses imperilled the popularity of the public and solemn Mass—a danger of which councils of the fourteenth century were not unaware (*e.g.* Trier, 1310). The saintly Dominican (St. Pius V) not only abolished a superabundance of Sequences and Prefaces, but he also expunged unnecessary accretions in the original text, such as tropes in the Kyrie (end ninth century) and Marian farcings in the ' Gloria in Excelsis ' (eleventh century), although the Vatican Kyriale still recalls the former by the titles of its Kyries.

Thus the intention was to return to Roman simplicity, and on the completion of the task in 1570 the reformed missal was published by St. Pius V in the Bull ' Quo primum,' making the use of this missal obligatory, but allowing the continuance of any rite that could show a usage of at least two hundred years. This exception saved the liturgies of Lyon and Braga, as well as those of some of the Monastic Orders.

One member of this liturgical commission is of especial

interest to us in England, the Theatine Thomas Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph, who was the only English bishop at Trent and the last survivor of the original Catholic hierarchy, dying in 1585.

Although some French dioceses in the last century of the Monarchy seemed to wish to get behind the plain words of the Bull, yet by the time of Pius IX these excrescences had been pruned away, only retaining the venerable forms in use at the primatial church of Lyon and some ceremonial differences in certain of the cathedrals, concerning the dress of the acolytes and the method of censing (*e.g.* Bayeux, Lisieux, Toledo, Seville).

Since 1570 small revisions have taken place, particularly in matters connected with the Calendar, but the Roman missal of to-day remains the same as that put out by St. Pius V.

Before considering the rite of the Mass in more or less detail it would perhaps be well to call attention to one or two facts about the course of development. In the first place, all the ritual actions that now have mystical and symbolical meanings originally grew out of purely practical usages, but ornamental ceremonial evolved much sooner in the East than in the West, for the Homilies of Narsai, a fifth-century East Syrian document, already show an elaborate ritual development. Secondly, Mass vestments were in the first instance the ordinary dress of the period, but with the change of fashions after the break-up of the Roman Empire, the Church, always conservative, still retained the old dress in her worship. Thirdly, the whole of the Mass was sung in an audible voice in the early liturgy (concelebration), but with the shortening of the service it became customary for the celebrant to continue the liturgy, while the deacon chanted his litanies, read the diptychs of the living and dead and carried out his other duties. When low Mass was evolved, the priest still said some portions of the Mass in a secret voice, until, finally, the three voices became the fixed method in celebrating. It was possibly due to this intermingling of the celebrant's and deacon's parts that the Canon appears to lack logical sequence in some of its prayers. In the Mozarabic liturgy, as in the Oriental rites, ' Amen ' is chanted after the words of Institution,

but by the time of the 'Ordo Romanus' II (*c.* early ninth century) Rome already had a silent Canon, and Germanus of Paris seems to imply it for the Gallican rite of the sixth century. At the same time, Rome, through Byzantine imitation, introduced the use of curtains round the ciborium, a circumstance which may have hastened the secret voice, although we find the Emperor Justinian I (527–565) leading a reaction against silence, commanding bishops and priests to 'make the divine oblation and the prayer which is said at holy baptism not secretly, but with a voice that may be heard by the faithful people.' In the seventh century, also, we read: '(post Sanctus) incipit canere de simili voce et melodia, ita ut a circumstantibus altare tantum audiatur'—'Giovani archicantor di S. Pietro a Roma e l'Ordo romanus da lui composta (anno 668).'

Mention has already been made of the two divisions into which the liturgy was divided—that of the catechumens and that of the faithful—and in the Roman rite the transition between the one part and the other is now hidden by the Nicene Creed.

From Apostolic, and even Jewish times, God was worshipped by readings from the Scriptures, psalmody and prayer, and we find from St. Justin Martyr's account of the Eucharist that the service began with the lessons, just as they do to-day in the Good Friday liturgy and the Mozarabic Mass for vigils.

With the Peace of the Church, when Christians emerged from their hiding-places, and buildings for the worship of God began to be set up everywhere, the liturgy could be developed on more grandiose lines, so that from the fourth century onwards we find a very marked ritual and ceremonial advance throughout the Empire. Incense, that adjunct commanded by God for the Old Dispensation, and promised for the courts of the heavenly Jerusalem, was now extended to the Church of the New Law, the first known reference coming from the poem of St. Ephrem on Bishop Abraham of Nisibis (363) (*cf.* St. John Chrysostom, St. Etheria). At first only used in processions and for deodorant purposes (*e.g.* hanging censer in sixth-century mosaic, St. Vitale, Ravenna), by the ninth century altars were censed, with the faithful trying to catch

the holy smoke and put it into their mouths; while three centuries later incense was universal in the Roman rite for Introit, Gospel and Offertory (Hincmar of Reims, A.D. 850), although it was only extended to the Elevation in the fourteenth century, and even then its use was restricted to some districts (*e.g.* Chichester). A formula for the blessing of the incense seems to date from the eleventh century (*cf.* Eastern formulas), but, as in Mosaic worship, censing possesses not only a symbolical value, but also a propitiatory character, so that we find a Mozarabic priest praying: 'Placare Domine, per hoc incensum mihi et populo tuo parcens peccatis nostris, et quiescat ira et furor tuus; praesta propitius ut bonus odor simus tibi in vitam aeternam.' A curious practice existed in the Church of Paris, for the deacon at the Offertory to cense the celebrant on his knees, to accentuate the office of the priest as 'alter Christus.'

The entry of the Pope into his basilica to sing high Mass was an especial occasion for pomp and magnificence, so that it was to occupy the time of the procession that an anthem and psalm were ordered to be sung—that is, for an *Introit* as the celebrant and his clergy went up to the altar. The anthem or antiphon was a method of singing introduced into the West from Antioch, very probably by St. Ambrose (*ob.* 397), and we find that variable Introits, Offertories and Communions existed at Rome, at least from the days of Celestine I (422–432), to whom has been ascribed the institution of the 'Schola cantorum.' Since the time of 'Ordo Romanus' x (? eleventh century) the original psalm has been reduced to a single verse with the doxology, preceded and followed by an antiphon, said at every Mass by the celebrant—A.D. 900 at solemn Mass—after preparatory prayers. The opening words of the Introit sometimes provide the name for the Sunday—'Gaudete' (third in Advent), 'Laetare' (fourth in Lent). The holy sign, made at the beginning, probably originated with the words 'In nomine,' since we find them so placed in the old missal of St. Remi at Reims, while at Laon the cross was accompanied by 'Adjutorium nostrum.' The Gloria at the end of every psalm has been found at Rome since the time of Cassian (*ob.* 435), and the Psalter was the only

hymn-book of the early Church. Both Introit and responsories omitted their Glorias in Passion-tide and requiems from the twelfth century, with ' Judica me ' and the lavabo psalm from 1570.

The prayers now said by the priest and his ministers at the foot of the altar are not mentioned at Rome before the eleventh century, and until the revision of 1570 they were purely optional, taking various forms, although both the Sacramentary of Amiens (first half of ninth century) and a Sacramentary of St. Vaast have prayers before approaching the altar (' apologia,' ' excusatio,' ' confessio '), and an ' Ordo Missae ' of the Benedictines of St. Vincent (*c.* end tenth century) gives very nearly the present arrangement.

The psalm ' Judica me,' according to St. Ambrose, was said on the admission to the Church of those who had just been baptized, but it appears in this place in the Church of Troyes from the ninth century.

Many versions of the *Confiteor* were found in the Middle Ages (*vide* Derived Monastic rites), and the present form was fixed in 1314 by the third Council of Ravenna, although a ' Confessio ante altare ' at the Lateran dates from the twelfth century. The prayer ' Aufer a nobis,' said while the priest goes up to the altar, is found in the Gelasian Sacramentary and also in the Gallican rite for the Consecration of Churches ; while ' quorum reliquiae hic sunt ' of the ' Oramus te Domine ' (eleventh and twelfth centuries) recalls the fact not only that relics are enclosed in *that* altar, but also that the primitive Church was accustomed to say Mass above the bodies of her martyrs.

It was only about the ninth century, through the Carolingian love of symbolism, that the *Kyrie* came to be used in our liturgy as a ninefold Trinitarian formula, although it was St. Gregory the Great who inserted ' Christe Eleison,' ' Kyrie Eleison ' having been imported from Antioch about the year 500, as an answer to the petitions of a diaconal litany (*cf.* Synapte in Byzantine rite). Even so early as the time of St. Gregory we are told that ' on some days ' the answering refrain displaced the old litany, and by the ninth century the only vestige of this (litany) was to be found on the vigils of

Easter and Pentecost, when the Mass was preceded by a litany and the Kyrie fitted in naturally at the end. The indeterminate number of the Kyries, rationed according to the wishes of the celebrant (' Ordo Romanus ' 1), persisted until the twelfth or thirteenth century in the papal Mass. The orders were given to the ' Schola cantorum ' by the subdeacon, who used the celebrant's maniple as a signal, so that the practice at a pontifical Mass of receiving the maniple at ' Indulgentiam ' remains as a relic of the old custom, and until the thirteenth century priests followed the same usage. The present Roman rite, unlike those of the East, gives only a very small part to the deacon, with the exception of the singing of the Gospel, since the custody of the chalice has necessarily fallen into desuetude with the enforcement of communion in one kind, although St. Ambrose seems to speak of the deacon as sharing in the act of Consecration : ' Thou hast committed to him [St. Laurence] the consecration of the blood of the Lord ' (' De Off.,' 1. 41)—a duty expressed also by St. Laurence himself to his spiritual father, St. Sixtus : ' aut commisisti Dominici Sanguinis dispensationem.' These Greek insertions in the Mass, together with those in the Reproaches on Good Friday and such Hebraisms as ' Amen ' and ' Alleluia,' help to foster both the international idea and also the continuity of the liturgy down the ages ; for in many rites we find acclamations and invocations uttered in tongues other than those used normally in the service. In architecture this feeling of endurance and stability is engendered by the presence of Roman bricks, built up in a mediaeval or modern wall.

The *Gloria in Excelsis*, originally a hymn in the Greek morning office, was ordered to be sung in the Roman Mass by Pope Symmachus (498–514)—according to some authorities—on Sundays and feast days, although restricted to bishops until about the eleventh century. Its composition can hardly be later than the third century, as there is no trace of designating the Son as consubstantial with the Father, nor is there mention of the status of the Holy Ghost—omissions which would be very unlikely in a more recent orthodox document. A form of the Gloria is found in the Apostolic

Constitutions, Book VII (fourth century). Still omitted in Advent, Lent, and on ferial days, the Gloria was not said on feasts that fell in the great fast until the twelfth century, when we find special permissions being granted for the privilege by the Pope (*e.g.* May 10, 1119, Tournus Abbey; March 22, 1275, Abbey of Bonne Espérance).

As the Kyries represent the old diaconal litany, one learned Benedictine liturgiologist (Dom Cabrol) regrets that these are not immediately followed by the Collects summing up the petitions, but that the sequence is broken by the introduction of the Gloria. Many rites, however, end the first litany with a hymn; thus the Liturgy of St. James concludes the first synapte with the Trisagion, and that of St. John Chrysostom with three anthems.

The old Roman *Collects*—terse, to the point and asking for one thing only—are among the greatest liturgical gems in the missal. Tradition ascribes them to Pope St. Damasus (366–384), but their multiplication in a single Mass comes from over the Alps and only reached Rome about the twelfth century, although this plurality may be compared with the three Byzantine prayers concluding the three antiphons. In the present missal the main epochs of Collect-making are plainly discernible: classical, mediaeval, humanistic (modern).

In early times, after the Peace of Constantine, on station days, a Collect was said in a church, then a procession, singing a litany, would be made to another church and a further Collect was recited.

The Collects in the Good Friday liturgy were intended to sum up the prayers of the faithful, after the headings had been announced and an interval allowed for silent prayer ('Colligere orationem,' 'conclude or end a prayer'); while in the Antiochene rites a priest terminates the litanies of the deacon with a Collect. The 'Levate,' now sung by the subdeacon on Good Friday and some other days, was originally the duty of the deacon (*e.g.* Dominican rite).

The liturgy has three kinds of prayer: intercessory (litany), collective, and eucharistic; and at Rome there are two invitatories to the collective form, 'Let us pray' ('Oremus') and 'Pray, brethren,' etc. ('Orate fratres'). The last named, said

before the Secrets, was a mediaeval addition, appearing in 'Ordo Romanus' XIV (fourteenth century), although the second (beginning ninth century) of the 'Ordines Romani' had 'Orate,' and the sixth (early tenth century) 'Orate' or 'Orate pro me,' with a version in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of 'Orate pro me, fratres et sorores.' The Codex of St. Denys, dating from the time of Charlemagne (768–814), contains a somewhat similar formula, while the missal of Utrecht has 'Pray, brethren and sisters, to the Lord our God for me a sinner.' The reply ('Suscipiat Dominus') comes from the eleventh century and, in its present form, from a Franciscan source. If, however, the 'Orate' had formed part of the original Roman rite it would have been sung and not whispered; although the present practice seems strange, since the people are being addressed. The oft-repeated (eight times) greeting of 'The Lord be with you' ('Dominus vobiscum'), together with the episcopal 'Pax vobis,' can be traced back as liturgical salutations to the second century. The former is also a characteristic of the Alexandrine liturgy, which of the Oriental rites has the most in common with Rome: while the latter formula, used when there is a Gloria, is confined to bishops, since they alone chanted the Hymn of the Angels until the eleventh century.

From Apostolic times the reading of *Lessons*, taken from the Holy Scriptures, has always found a place in eucharistic worship, but in the most primitive age the number of lessons varied and the books were read through consecutively, the reader stopping at a sign given by the celebrant. Since the ninth century it has been customary for subdeacons to read the Epistle—a term dating from the fifth century—but it was only in the thirteenth that this duty was specifically mentioned at their ordination. Tradition ascribes our Sunday lections either to St. Damasus or St. Gregory, but whether such a belief is well founded or not, it is tolerably certain that by the sixth century the prophetical lesson had disappeared from ordinary use at Rome (according to the Comes of Würzburg, it survived in some places until the seventh century). The two chants, however, sung between the lessons, still bear witness to the old order of things, and on Ember days, Spy

Wednesday and Good Friday the number of lections is increased. As vigils in the Latin rite were without a reading from the Old Testament, only a single chant appears in the missal for those days.

In the worship of the synagogue, readings from the Law and the Prophets were interspersed with the singing of psalms, so that, when the early Christians met for their synaxes, psalmody formed a natural part of *their* worship. By about the middle of the sixth century the *Gradual* psalm (' Psalmus responsorius '), so called from the custom of singing from the steps of the ambo or reading pulpit, had become shortened, as it is at present, and, according to St. Gregory, it was St. Damasus, influenced by St. Jerome, who introduced the *Alleluiatic Song* into the liturgy on all Sundays excluding Lent, although previously the ' Alleluia ' at Rome had been peculiar to Easter. It seems, however, that the Hebraic ' praise ' disappeared from requiems in the fifth century, Lent from before the sixth, and Septuagesima by the ninth.

The *Tract*, sung in Lent and on some other occasions, is so called since it is sung ' in directum,' *i.e.* straight through by the cantor or whole choir, without any answer from the people.

In five Masses Rome still retains the mediaeval farcing at the end of the ' Alleluia ' by the singing of a *Sequence* or *Prose*. Until the reforms of St. Pius V most of the Western liturgies, as still at Lyon, had a very large number of them, but since it was the intention of the revisers to return to primitive Roman simplicity, this over-elaboration, first introduced by Notker Balbulus of St. Gallen (*ob.* 912), was very seriously curtailed.

Of those which have been retained in the missal, that for Easter has been ascribed to Wipo, Chaplain to the Emperor Conrad II (*ob. c.* 1048), with Pentecost claiming Pope Innocent III (1198–1216); Corpus Christi, St. Thomas Aquinas (*ob.* 1274); the Seven Dolours, the Franciscan Jacopone da Todi (*ob.* 1306); and the requiem Sequence, another friar of the same Order, Thomas of Celano (*ob. c.* 1250). The ' Dies Irae,' also, was sung in the fourteenth century as a Sequence for the first Sunday in Advent, serving as a fitting preface for the Gospel on the Second Coming.

The beautiful ' Munda cor meum ' before the Gospel appears in the eleventh century and again in the fourteenth (fourteenth Roman ' Ordo '), although it was not by any means universal. The Roman-Carolingian ceremonial of the ninth century had ' Dominus vobiscum ' before the Gospel ; while ' Sequentia ' and ' Gloria tibi Domine ' appear in Gaul at the end of the sixth century.

The singing of the *Gospel* (by deacons since the fifth century) provided the early Roman Mass with its second opportunity for ceremonial pomp, in the procession down to the ambo ; while the salutation after the Gospel may possibly be a belated remnant of the old Benediction at the dismissal of the catechumens. This Gospel procession recalls the old honours paid to the Roman magistrates, but as early as the fourth century incense was used at this place in Jerusalem, and St. Jerome (*ob.* 420) speaks of lights in the Church of his day. Although the Gospel book only seems to have been censed from the thirteenth century, incense was carried at Rome from at least the eighth. In the Toul missal the form at the blessing of the incense is ' May the Lord embrace and fill our hearts with the perfume of his heavenly inspiration, to make them hear and practise well the precepts of his Gospel.' The holy sign, made on the forehead and breast, dates from the Carolingian period (ninth century), but the lips were added in the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216). Some churches in France seem to have carried a variable number of tapers at the Gospel, so that the feast was reckoned as one of three, five or seven candles (*e.g.* St. Martin at Tours, Reims). As the deacon in the ancient Spanish liturgy took the Gospel book from the altar the people acclaimed God's Word with ' Praise be to thee, O Lord Jesus Christ.' The custom of chanting the evangelical lection facing north appears to have originated in low Mass (end eleventh century), when the missal on the altar was canted a little, for the celebrant partially to turn to the people. Honorius III (1216–1227) forbade the kissing of the book by the ordinary layman.

The *Homily* or *Sermon*, in spite of the fact that the preaching of the Word was far from general in the Middle Ages, was earnestly commended by St. Paul and the early Fathers, for

it was only after the Gospel truths had been expounded that the catechumens were dismissed. It was probably because of the length of the liturgy, when a homily was given, that the chants of the Mass ('Cantatorium') were curtailed by St. Gregory. At Rome, however, only bishops were at first allowed to preach, and Pope Celestine (422-432) had denounced any other practice, although a century later the second Council of Vaison (529) had extended the privilege in Gaul to rectors of churches.

The official dismissal ceased about the time of St. Gregory, when it is probable that the old prayers of the faithful were lost (except on Good Friday), but the mediaeval Bidding Prayer and the present Prières du Prône are their direct descendants, while the 'Oremus' before the Offertory, when no one has prayed here from at least the eighth century, reminds the faithful of these original prayers, although another theory suggests that the missing prayer was rather the 'Oratio super sindonem' or prayer at the 'spreading of the Table Cloth,' such as is found in the Ambrosian rite to-day.

The *Creed*, although by its position it 'sets the seal upon the "Didascalia" of the catechumens of the Eternal City,' was adopted by Rome only in the eleventh century, when the Emperor Henry II induced Pope Benedict VIII (1012-1024) to insert it, together with the fateful 'Filioque' clause. To this day, however, Rome, as a reminder of the opposition which she has ever raised against innovations, uses the Creed only on certain fixed days (*e.g.* feasts of Our Lord, Our Lady, Apostles, Doctors), for it is to the Carolingian revival that one must look for its introduction, as an antidote to Adoptionism. Charlemagne obtained the approbation of Leo III (795-816) for its use in his private chapel (Aachen) between the years 795 and 800, but the first evidence for it, outside the imperial entourage, seems to come from the Monastery of St. Servetus at Maastricht (828). The Creed was thus first used in some liturgies as a profession of faith against error, but since the Church of Rome had never been stained by heresy such a safeguard was unnecessary ('quia in Sede Apostolica immaculata est semper catholica reservata religio, et sancta celebrata doctrina,' 'Pastor Aeternus,' July 18,

1870). Spain in the fifth or sixth century was the originator of the additional words (' Filioque '), but authorities differ as to when they were sanctioned by the Holy See—Nicholas I (858-867), Benedict VIII (1012–1024), and Leo IX (1048–1054) all being cited as the authorizing Pope. In 791 the Council of Friuli ordered the insertion of the ' Filioque '—a measure reiterated at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) eighteen years later (809). Rome does not compel Oriental Catholics to use these words, and it was the intolerance of Byzantium towards Western practice that finally caused the schism. It is possible, however, that ἐκπόρεύεσθαι has not the exact shade of meaning that is given to ' procedere,' and at the present time every Uniate rite is free to insert or to leave out the ' Filioque ' clause.

St. Louis IX (1215–1270), King of France, introduced the custom of kneeling at the ' Incarnatus ' in the Creed, and also at the words ' Emisit spiritum ' in the Passion, but, except at Exeter, the custom was unknown in pre-Reformation England—' Ad altare se inclinent vel potius genuflectent more Ecclesiae Romanae cum dicitur haec clausa " Et incarnatus est " ' (' Ordinale Exon.,' fourteenth century).

The *Offertory chant*, which appears to have been inserted in the liturgy of the African Church (Carthage) about the time of St. Augustine and to have reached Rome soon after, is, like the Introit and the Communion, said by the priest at every Mass, having been greatly curtailed since its first inception, when it was a chant at the actual Offertory. Rome seems to have the primitive position for the Offertory, and no writer previous to the fourth century mentions it as taking place before the beginning of the liturgy. The custom of Making the chalice on arrival at the altar, still found in some of the Religious Orders (*q.v.*), appears to have been introduced into the Latin Church at the time of the Crusades.

In the earliest times the faithful brought with them loaves and wine as sacrificial matter, which they offered in person, but by the sixth century this custom had begun to fall into desuetude, and by the eighth, when azyme or unleavened bread had become the rule in the West, the practice had almost ceased. In the Secret for the feast of St. John Baptist (June 24) we can recall the ancient altar, stacked with

Offertory loaves: 'Tua, Domine, muneribus altaria *cumulamus*'; while the moving of the missal after the Epistle was very possibly done to make room for these oblata.

The modern equivalent to the primitive practice is now the offering of money in the Collection.

With the wine in the chalice a little water is mingled — a custom which is found in every extant liturgy, save that of the Gregorian Armenians (schismatics).

The present *Offertory prayers* ('Little Canon') first appear in Rome in the fourteenth century, and they were incorporated into the missal by the Pian revision (1570). All of them except one ('Deus, qui humanae substantiae') were taken or adapted from non-Roman sources, but they may be considered Western counterparts to the Byzantine prayers at the prothesis. In the ninth century prayer 'Suscipe, sancte Pater' ('Liber precationum' of Charles the Bald, 875-877), the words 'hanc immaculatam hostiam' are a dramatic anticipation of the Consecration, a feature that recurs in so many liturgies.

'Deus, qui humanae substantiae,' said at the blessing of the water, is found as a Christmas Collect in the Leonine Sacramentary — with 'per hujus aquae et vini mysterium,' an interpolation of the eleventh century — the prayer forming a synthesis of the teaching in St. Leo's (440-461) 'Tenth Sermon on the Incarnation.' Both the 'Offerimus tibi' and the 'Veni sanctificator' are taken from Mozarabic sources. In the former prayer the plural is used, as it is the deacon as well as the priest who offers, and it may well be a relic of the days when the deacon administered the chalice. 'In spiritu humilitatis,' forming an epilogue to the oblation of the bread and wine, dates at least from the eleventh century, although it recalls a passage in the Book of Daniel (iii. 39-40). The prayer to the Holy Ghost (inspired by 2 Macc. ii. 10) has no connection with the epiclesis, both because of its comparatively modern insertion into the liturgy and also its position. The allusion to St. Michael in the prayer at the blessing of the incense seems a mistake for St. Gabriel (St. Luke i. 11-19), but Rome has declined to sanction the change of name (S.C.R., September 25, 1705), although Bossuet (1627-1704) had inserted Gabriel in his missal, while

that of Paris avoided the difficulty with ' By the intercession of thy Archangel.'

Washing of hands has always preceded the actual Sacrifice, but what was originally an act of personal cleanliness has now become symbolical of interior purity, although the lavabo *before* the Offertory in pontifical Masses gives the logical place, reminiscent of the receiving of the loaves and wine, an act which necessitated washing. This double lavatory seems to have been universal until the eleventh century, but even at the end of the fourteenth century it was sometimes practised at Rome in ordinary Masses, and the use of York retained it until the Reformation. At least some verses of Psalm xxv. have been recited here since the eleventh century. The prayer ' Suscipe, sancta Trinitas ' is a further non-Roman mediaeval addition, found in some of the Sacramentaries of Northern France (St. Thierry, Corbie, Amiens, St. Amand) in the ninth century as a supplement, but only received and adopted by Rome in the thirteenth. Our Lady's name appears in the eleventh century at St. Denis and in the Limoges missal, but St. John Baptist and the two Apostles are probably Roman in origin, although an abbey near Basel records the names of SS. Peter and Paul in the eleventh century. ' Istorum,' a word characteristic of Rome, implies the saints of the day, whose relics are preserved or who are the titulars of the church, since the ' Ordo Missae ' in a Sacramentary of Capua (fourteenth century) has ' et istorum ' scored out and the names of SS. Castus and Cassius, Capuan martyrs, inserted. The prayer was stated by the author of the ' Micrologus ' (eleventh century) to be ' by ecclesiastical custom and not by virtue of a prescription,' while before 1570 it varied as to title, place and subject-matter (*cf.* Dominican, Lyon, Braga).

No ' Oremus ' is said before the *Secrets*, for originally the Offertory psalm was being sung and therefore to these prayers, built up like the Collects and Post-Communions, belonged, in an especial way, the term ' Secret,' although an alternative derivation is favoured by some, viz. that the word comes from 'secernere,' 'to set apart'—either because these prayers are said over the offerings, now set apart for God, or because the faithful have been separated from the

unbaptized. Since the ninth century, at any rate, the Secrets have been said in a low voice, but they seem to answer to the 'Oratio super oblata' or 'Oratio plebis' (*cf.* 'sed et plebs tua sancta' of the Canon), which the Ambrosian priest still recites audibly.

Three times in the Roman Mass, at the end of the Secrets, before the 'Pater noster' and before the 'pax,' there is an *ekphonesis*, or singing out by the priest of the concluding words, to inform the choir and people that he has reached the end of his part, in order to prevent any dislocation—a practice even commoner in the Byzantine rite. The Premonstratensians and Trappists of Chimay, in conformity with strict liturgical principles, change from a 'high voice' for the 'per omnia' of the Secret to a chant for the Dialogue.

The *Dialogue* that precedes the Preface in the Mass has a place in all the liturgies of Christendom, including the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus (*c.* A.D. 225), St. Augustine declaring that every day throughout the whole world the human race as with a single voice 'respondet sursum corda se habere ad Dominum' ('Sermo CCXXVII').

In the Gelasian Sacramentary the rubric 'Incipit canon actionis' stands before the *Sursum Corda*, as the Preface originally formed part of the great eucharistic prayer, but with the possible interpolation of the Sanctus and the introduction of silence for the prayer following, the Canon was afterwards considered to begin with 'Te igitur' and end with the doxology and ekphonesis immediately preceding the 'Pater noster.' This was at any rate effected by the time of St. Leo the Great (440 461). It may perhaps seem strange that there are no directions to turn to the people at the mutual salutation and Sursum Corda, but it must be remembered that the Pope originally was facing west, even if there was no veil drawn before the altar. When, however, the Roman rite travelled north, Amalarius (*ob. c.* 850) invented an ingenious interpretative explanation, to the effect that the celebrant was too engrossed with his high task: 'Quando dicimus "Pax vobiscum" sive "Dominus vobiscum," quod est salutatio, ad populum sumus versi. Quos salutamus eis faciem presentamus, excepto in uno quod est in preparatione hymni ante

" Te igitur." Ibi jam occupati sumus circa altare ita ut congruentius sit uno modo versos nos esse quam retro aspicere ' (' De Eccl. Offic.,' III. 9).

To the *Preface* rightly belongs the term Eucharist, that Christian prayer of thanksgiving, taking the place of the prayer said by the head of the family at the Jewish paschal meal. Here God was thanked for all His mercies, including the sending of His Son Jesus Christ into the world, and so leading up to the words of Institution.

In the present Roman Mass the note of thanksgiving has been retained, ' nos tibi semper, et ubique gratias agere,' but the West developed variable Prefaces for certain days and seasons in the year (*cf.* Ambrosian and Mozarabic rites), which referred rather to the circumstances of the particular Mass. In the Middle Ages a large number of proper Prefaces existed (the Leonine Sacramentary had 267—five for the Nativity of St. John Baptist), but with the simplifying of the rite in 1570 only eleven were retained, although recent years have seen the addition of a further four, those for the Dead (*cf.* Paris missal, 1738), St. Joseph, Christ the King and the Sacred Heart, the two former dating from 1919 (April 9) and the two latter from 1925 and 1929 respectively. The words ' Tuis enim fidelibus, Domine, *vita mutatur non tollitur*,' in the Preface for the Dead can be traced back to the Acts of St. Symphorien of Autun (*ob. c.* 178), where his mother is represented as saying ' Nate, nate Symphoriane, in mente habe Deum vivum. . . . Hodie tibi *vita non tollitur*, *sed mutatur in melius*. Hodie, nate, ad supernam vitam felici commutatione migrabis.' The Gregorian Sacramentary (' Codex Vaticanus '), also, has ' Quia misericordie tue munere fidelibus *vita mutatur*, *non tollitur*,' and a Mozarabic ' Post Sanctus ' (' XLI—Missa Generalis Defunctorum '), ' dum in te credentium vivendi usus non amittitur, sed transfertur, et fidelium tuorum *mutatur vita*, *non tollitur*.' The term Preface existed as early as the Gregorian Sacramentary, although it had been mentioned by St. Cyprian in the third century, with the Dialogue, ' the preface of the Preface.'

With the exception of the Apostolic Tradition and its derivative, the ' Testamentum Domini,' the *Sanctus* or Song

of Victory (*ἐπινίκιον*) not only appears in every liturgy, but is referred to by such early writers as St. Clement of Rome and Tertullian, so that some authorities consider that the Sanctus has always found a place in the Anaphora. As the Council of Vaison (529) legislated that it should be sung at every Mass, perhaps its use had in some places been abrogated.

The *Benedictus* was at a later date joined to the Sanctus, although it is unknown to the Alexandrine patriarchate. In the Apostolic Constitutions (VIII. xiii. 13) it is found as part of the answer of the people at the elevation before the Communion, but in the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom it holds its present position, and Rome may very well have adopted it from Byzantium.

The name *Canon* — that is, the norm or fixed rule — was given to the great central prayer of the Roman Mass so early as St. Gregory, and Pope Vigilius (538–555) writes 'canonicae precis.' The prayer, however, substantially as we have it to-day, in spite of abbreviations and even dislocations, may be considered to come down from well-nigh Apostolic times, as in his letter to Profuturus, Bishop of Braga, Vigilius states that this canonical prayer never admitted any variation ('sed semper eodem tenore'), and that the consecration of the offerings was 'according to the form which by God's mercy we have received from Apostolic tradition.' Internal evidence, also, substantiates this, for, in the first place, there are no traces in the Canon of the Christological disputes that loomed so large in Christendom from the third century, and secondly, the words 'oblationem servitutis nostrae' and 'servi tui' may be considered collective formulae for the Pontiff and his concelebrating presbyters, a condition of things only applicable to the first 150 years.

In its present form, order and language the Canon comes to us as a precious and sacred document untouched, save for the small Gregorian addition, since the fifth century, but whether Gelasius I (492–496), or some other Roman Pontiff, gave it its present appearance must remain unfortunately insoluble and unanswerable. Many features in the Canon ask questions the answers to which are still to seek, although that in no way precludes the putting forward of possible solutions.

For example, the second word, 'igitur,' seems to show a connection with some preceding prayer or perhaps with a 'vere sanctus' of the old Gallican type. Dom Moreau, however, following the theory of Baumstark and suffering from what might be called an 'epiclesis complex,' sees the primitive Roman invocation of the Holy Spirit in the 'Te igitur' paragraph, since, as he says, the only essential in an epiclesis is a demand for sanctification and, in any case, there is no trace here of the old thanksgiving for the gifts of God, such as is found, derived from the synagogue, both in the Eastern rites and in many of the Western 'Post-Sanctus' (*cf.* 'MS. of Fulda' for 'Te igitur' as an epiclesis). Confirmation of this theory seems, also, to the learned Benedictine to be found in the words 'in primis,' as the Byzantine liturgy has *ἐξαιρέτως* in its transition between the epiclesis and intercession. Since 1570 the altar is kissed in lieu of the cross on the missal, but the triple signing of the oblata probably originated in the placing of the people's hosts to the right and left of the priest's (*e.g.* 'Ordinarium' of Carthusians, St. Vincent at Metz). The expression 'toto orbe terrarum,' paraphrasing the word 'catholica,' belongs to the ecclesiastical language of the Constantinian era, from the time when the Empire was henceforward Christian. Thus Vigilius (538–555), in a letter to Justinian, cites these words from the Canon, appealing from them to ancient tradition: 'Antiqua in offerendo sacrificia traditione deposcimus, exorantes ut Catholicam fidem adunare, regere, Dominus et custodire *toto orbe* dignetur'; while St. Optatus, Bishop of Milevis, alludes to them in his treatise, 'De Schismate Donatistorum' (370): 'Offerre vos dictis Deo pro una Ecclesia quae sit in *toto terrarum orbe* diffusa.' 'Ubi Petrus, ibi Ecclesia' communion with Rome has always been the test of orthodoxy, so the ancient celebrant, apart altogether from the diptychs of the deacon, was accustomed, as now, to pray by name for the reigning Pope, for not to do this would be, as Pelagius I (555–560) pointed out to the Bishops of Tuscany, equivalent to declaring oneself outside the Church: 'Quomodo vos ab universi orbis communione separatos esse non creditis, si mei inter sacra mysteria, secundum consuetudinem, nominis memoriam reticetis.' The

second Council of Vaison (Can. 4), also, had ordered the insertion of the name of the reigning Pontiff—' Et hoc nobis justum visum est ut nomen Domini papae quicumque sedi Apostolicae praefuerit in nostris ecclesiis recitetur '—the omission of which was, according to Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia (*c.* 474–521), a defiance of ancient tradition, entailing a maimed and incomplete sacrifice : ' sine ritu Catholico et cano more, semiplenas nominatim hostias.' Next in importance and part of the same divine plan was to be in union with one's bishop (name inserted *temp.* Innocent III), as well as with the faithful throughout the world —a condition still symbolized by the kissing of the bishop's ring before receiving Holy Communion. St. Cyprian's letter (LVII. vi. 1) to the clergy and people of Spain (A.D. 254), in which he styles Felix, Bishop of Saragossa, as ' fidei cultor ac defensor veritatis,' seems to have a very distinctive liturgical flavour (*cf.* ' et omnibus . . . fidei cultoribus '). In days of a more rigid alliance between Church and State than is now customary, the name of the reigning monarch was inserted in the Canon (tenth century), but, with the increase of ' liberal ' ideas and the prevalence of republics, specific reference to the head of the government has largely fallen into desuetude, although Benedict XV has granted to the clergy of Belgium the right to pray for their sovereign ' nominatim,' within the action. Until the eleventh century the deacon read out the *diptychs of the living and the dead* (a word derived from δίπτυχα, through δίς and πτυχή, ' twice-folded,' since one leaf contained the names of the living and the other those of the dead), but about that time the custom was abandoned, possibly because vain thoughts were engendered by men hearing their own names read out, for even so early as the days of St. Jerome (*ob.* 420) the pride of some offerers in this respect had been rebuked (' Homil. in Ezech.,' cap. vi. and xviii.).

The earliest Roman liturgy probably had these ' orationes super nomina ' after the Offertory and before the Eucharistic prayer, as in the old Gallican liturgy, but by the year 410 they had been moved to a place in the Canon, after the Consecration, where they occur in the Antiochene liturgy. As amongst the Byzantines, the Latins seem at one time (before the advent

of azyme) to have scraped the Eucharistic bread at every name, in order to rub off pieces for each one's portion ; thus, St. Innocent I to Decentius : ' The oblations are first to be commended to God, and then their names, whose are the oblations, to be recited, that they may be named in the Mysteries.' The Patriarchate of Alexandria had the diptychs before the Consecration, where now Rome has the commemoration of the living, offering the suggestion, Did Pope Gelasius I (492–496), in order to assimilate his rite closer with that used by the throne of St. Mark, move the position of this part of the intercession ?

In the present Roman rite the living are remembered, and then some of the blessed in heaven, in that portion of the Canon called *Communicantes* ; while the memento of the dead and a further list of saints in the ' Nobis quoque peccatoribus ' have a place after the anamnesis. These commemorations are thus inserted—probably by Pope Symmachus (498–514), who, according to the ' Liber Pontificalis,' had an especial devotion to the martyrs—into the heart of the Canon, as if to fulfil that rôle of St. Paul which he describes by ' adimpleo quae desunt passionum Christi ' (Col. i. 24). The virgin saints were probably added by St. Gregory. On five days of the year with their octaves—Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension and Pentecost—additional clauses, proclaiming in a few words the precise aim of the festival, are added, concerning which Pope Vigilius says ' singula capitula diebus apta.' The list of saints is essentially Roman, with the exception of St. Cyprian, the great Primate of Carthage, who is inserted, despite his error about Baptism and his disagreement with the Apostolic See. Twelve martyrs, testifying to the early composition of the Canon, are placed to balance the twelve Apostles, but the last named, SS. Cosmas and Damian, point rather to what may be called the Byzantine epoch (*temp.* Felix III, 483–492). The reference to Our Lady is thought by some authorities (*e.g.* Baumstark) to be a very old importation from Asia Minor.

A modern attempt to insert the name of St. Joseph into the Canon was disallowed by the Sacred Congregation of Rites in 1815. The ' Amen ' at the end of this

'Communicantes' clause is an instance of dislocation, since the whole Canon is one continuous prayer.

The *Hanc igitur* has been termed 'perhaps the most difficult prayer in the Mass,' but it bears signs of extreme antiquity, as 'servitutis nostrae' shows the oblation made by the whole Christian family at a single altar in a given area. Some authorities claim that this prayer originally marked the end of the 'commendatio oblationis,' of which Pope Innocent I (402–417) speaks in writing to Decentius, Bishop of Gubbio, and which, in the Gallican liturgies, was equivalent to the prayer 'post nomina' or 'super oblata' that preceded the Preface; while others see in it an epiclesis or the deacon's prayer of inclination, which, as in the East, followed the celebrant's intercession. From the tenth to the fifteenth century the priest did not spread his hands over the oblations at 'Hanc igitur,' but lowered his head nearly to the altar, to express the abasement of Christ in His Passion.

A very constant tradition ascribes the words 'diesque nostros in tua pace disponas' to St. Gregory, inserted as a final addition to the Canon when the safety of the city was threatened by the Lombards.

The 'Hanc igitur' now has four additional clauses — Maundy Thursday, Easter, Pentecost and at the Consecration of a Bishop.

Quite a complete literature exists on the much-discussed question of the *Epiclesis* or invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the sacred elements, but, although the Oriental rites lay great stress upon this feature in their liturgies, Rome has never put the same emphasis upon the invocation, but rather focused attention upon the actual words of Institution — which is indeed the original standpoint, for it was only after the Macedonian controversies concerning the Person of the Holy Spirit that these epicleses were inserted. One thing is quite certain: the Roman rite of to-day has no epiclesis with the precise Eastern terminology, although some liturgiologists have seen remnants of it in the 'Te igitur,' the 'Quam oblationem' and the 'Supplices te rogamus.' In the 'Oratio ante Missam,' however, for 'Feria Sexta' a formula of epiclesis is found with the authorship ascribed to St. Ambrose, although belonging to

Ambrose Autpert, Abbot of St. Vincent on the Volturno (*ob.* 778 or 779): 'Descendat etiam, Domine, illa sancti Spiritus tui invisibilis, incomprehensibilisque majestas, sicut quondam in patrum hostias descendebat. . . .' It has been suggested that in the earliest instance there was an invocation of the Logos, of which the words 'Per quem haec omnia' are a fragment, and that later, perhaps in the time of Pope Leo I (440–461), this was destroyed to replace one to the Holy Spirit, which in its turn was removed from the Mass by St. Gregory the Great (590–604).

Such a theory is of course merely tentative, but Gelasius I (492–496) twice refers to an invocation of the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity—a preconsecratory epiclesis, forming a further link with Alexandria. This 'Quam oblationem' prayer ('De Sacramentis,' A.D. 400) is certainly an invocation, but it can never be satisfactorily decided as to whether it is a genuine epiclesis survival.

Amid the various liturgies of Christendom with their changing Anaphoras there has always remained one immutable part, the *Words of Institution*, for here, although in primitive days the whole eucharistic prayer was looked upon as being said in one moment of time, the Transubstantiation is enacted, the bread and the wine are converted into the Body and Blood of Christ. The unknown author of the 'De Sacramentis,' writing from Ravenna (?) about the year 400, seems to hold that the words of Our Lord effect the Consecration: 'Ubi venitur ut conficiatur venerabile sacramentum jam non suis sermonibus utitur sacerdos sed utitur sermonibus Christi. Ergo sermo Christi hoc conficit sacramentum'; or as, later, St. Thomas Aquinas maintained: 'Hoc efficitur quod significatur'—the words of Christ 'operate what they state.' Severus of Antioch, a Monophysite of the sixth century, said: 'The priest who stands at the altar only fulfils there the function of a minister . . . it is Christ who accomplishes the sacrifice by the words that the priest pronounces, it is He Himself who changes the bread into His own flesh'; while the deacon, Florus of Lyon (between 830 and 852), in his 'De expositione missae' (60) declared: 'In his verbis sine quibus nulla lingua, nulla regio, nulla civitas, id est nulla pars Ecclesiae, conficere

potest, id est consecrare sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Domini, ipse Dominus tradidit Apostolis, unde universalis Ecclesia jugem memoriam sui redemptoris celebret.' That the Consecration takes place at this actual moment is a 'sententia catholica,' and Pope Pius VII (May 1822) has forbidden any other theory to be defended. The East, less rigidly bound to exact times, would perhaps incline to include the 'epiclesis,' or even the whole prayer, but of course the Oriental Catholics bow to the decision of Rome.

'Qui pridie quam pateretur' is a typically Western phrase, probably inserted against those who denied the reality of suffering, and the usual Eastern form is 'in the night in which He was betrayed.'

The *Elevation of the Host* at the Consecration was first practised in twelfth-century France, appearing in the Roman 'Ordo' two centuries later. Popularly said to have originated as a protest against the Berengarian heresy, it seems to have been first favoured by Hildebert, Bishop of Le Mans, about the year 1100, quickly spreading to some of the religious houses, although Fr. Thurston traces its beginning to a controversy among the doctors of Paris. According to this theory, Chancellors Peter Cantor and Peter Comestor (*ob.* 1197) taught that the bread was only transubstantiated after the words had been said over the chalice, so that to counteract this novel teaching the Host was elevated immediately after 'Hoc est enim Corpus meum,' with Eudes de Sully, Bishop of Paris (1191–1208), the first promoter of the ceremony. All the Oriental rites, even including the so-called 'Apostolic Constitutions,' have an elevation before Communion. The use of incense at this point seems to have been unknown in CatholicEngland, except at Chichester, where a special benefaction for the purpose was made from 1304 onwards, but acolytes' torches appear to have been general since the thirteenth century.

In the *Consecration of the Chalice* the words 'new and *perpetual* covenant: *mystery of faith*' are peculiar to Rome and Milan. In some districts the *Elevation of the Chalice* was introduced in the twelfth century (*e.g.* 'Speculum Ecclesiae' (chap. vii.) of Hugh of St. Victor, ascribed by Mabillon to

Robert Pullus in 1184), but the practice became general only in the fourteenth, as various reasons militated against a popularity for it similar to that of the Elevation of the Host. The ancient Statutes of Cîteaux (1259) order the faithful to prostrate themselves from the time that the Host has been elevated until after the Consecration of the Chalice; while the form of the cup, lower and wider than the more modern shape, introduced an element of danger, and in any case the Precious Blood itself was unseen.

Genuflections were only officially ordered by the uniform missal of 1570.

Following on the Lord's own words of doing what He has commanded in remembrance of Him, comes the prayer found in all liturgies called the *Anamnesis*, in which assurance is given that He will be remembered always. Such a prayer in the Roman Canon is the 'Unde et memores,' of extreme antiquity, as the words 'nos servi tui' show, but, according to Arnobius the Younger (first half of fifth century), at one time making mention of Our Lord's Nativity.

The various *Signs of the Cross*, both here and after 'per quem haec omnia,' are real blessings, denoting the ancient theory that there is no extension of time as regards the recital of the whole prayer.

'Supra quae,' although in this place a seeming dislocation, is a prayer which by the fifth century was common to most of the liturgies, an offering up to the Father (*προσφορά*), that God would receive this present Sacrifice as in times past He has received others. The addition of the words 'sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam Hostiam' has been ascribed to St. Leo I (440 461), who is said to have inserted them as a protest against the Manichean heresy.

A further difficulty is experienced in the 'Supplices te rogamus,' a similar prayer to which is connected in the East with the blessing of incense. Here, in spite of many suggested explanations, it seems clear that the 'Angel,' who is to take the Sacrifice on high, is an ordinary member of the Angelic hierarchy and not one of the Persons of the Blessed Trinity (*cf.* teaching of Epistle to Hebrews, and liturgy for St. Valerian and St. Euphemia in the Mozarabic rite). The

second half of the prayer, prefaced by the words ' ut quotquot,' begs that Communion may bear fruit in the souls of those who partake, while the conclusion witnesses to a further interruption in the Canon. Many writers have seen a remnant of the ancient epiclesis in the ' Supplices te rogamus,' with the essential clause left out, although it has also been suggested that, in this form of asking for the grace of the Paraclete on those about to communicate, we have an earlier tradition, which preceded the present type of Oriental epiclesis. The kissing of the altar at ' ut quotquot, ex hac altaris participatione ' was once repeated several times (*e.g.* Verdun, Vienne).

The commemoration of the faithful departed is now separated from the remembrance of the living, but the little word ' etiam ' shows its original position, immediately after the mention of those still on earth.

The memento of the dead may possibly be taken from the lapsed prayer for ' all sorts and conditions,' but such a phrase as ' dormiunt in somno pacis ' seems redolent of the language of the Catacombs and the age of the early persecutions.

As in most liturgies prayer for the dead is followed by a commemoration of the saints, so here there is a further list to supplement the other, containing the names of St. John Baptist, seven men and seven women. The inclusion of St. Mathias, St. Barnabas, and St. Ignatius of Antioch, none of whom had any cultus at Rome, would seem to point to an Antiochene origin. The raising of the voice, prescribed by the rubrics (' Ordo Romanus ' 1), at the words ' Nobis quoque peccatoribus,' appears at one time to have acted as a signal to the subdeacons, for, in an ancient Sacramentary of Bec, there is the direction : ' When the subdeacons, who have remained inclined behind the altar since the Sanctus, shall hear the " Nobis quoque peccatoribus " they shall raise their heads and prepare the vessels.'

The termination of this passage seems at first sight to end the Canon, but instead of the ' Amen ' that one would expect come the strange words ' Per quem haec omnia,' which have been variously interpreted, although they can obviously have no reference to the Blessed Sacrament. We have already spoken of the theory that these words indicate a remnant of

the primitive ' Logos epiclesis,' and there is also the view that they formed the solemn ending of the Canon, but a more probable opinion seems to be that the ' haec omnia ' denote those offerings of fruit, oil and other commodities which formerly (*e.g.* Leonine and Gelasian Sacramentaries) were blessed at this point in the Mass, despite the presence of the words, without any reference to a special blessing, in the seventh-century Sacramentary of Autun. Here, indeed, the bishop still consecrates the Holy Oils on Maundy Thursday, and here in the Lyon diocese some churches bless new fruits on the feast of St. James (July 25) and new grapes on the Transfiguration (August 6). Poland, also, provides an example of a blessing in this place, since the churches of the Archdiocese of Gnesen-Posen have the privilege of hallowing the bread and water of St. Agatha (February 5); although the Portuguese rite of Braga now blesses the new grapes on August 6, immediately before the beginning of Mass. The bread for the ' pain bénit,' however, seems to have been blessed after the Creed, at the time of the Offertory (*cf.* Paris missal, 1738). In a manuscript of the York rite (*c.* 1425), now in the possession of the Minster authorities, a space is left blank before the words ' Per quem haec omnia,' as if on some occasions, at least, other prayers were to be inserted here. The conclusion of this prayer ends the great Eucharistic Anaphora or Canon of the Mass with a very solemn *Doxology*, in which occurs the second or original Elevation, found in most ancient liturgies with the words ' sancta sanctis,' but reduced in importance in the Roman rite through the introduction of the ceremony at the actual Consecration. The three crosses made *over* the chalice at ' per ipsum,' etc., seem to date from the twelfth century, the two outside from the ninth, but the first Roman ' Ordo ' directs that the archdeacon, when elevating, should touch the chalice with the Host at these words—a possible origin for the deacon placing his fingers on the base of the chalice. In Belgium, Paris and elsewhere a bell is rung at the Little Elevation (' posse tolerari,' S.C.R., May 14, 1856) —now ' omnis honor et gloria,' although extended to the doxology until the fifteenth century (*cf.* Carthusians), and only for the ending at Cluny, Cîteaux, Prémontré and Bursfeld.

Before the time of St. Gregory, when the position of the Lord's Prayer was moved, the Fraction and Holy Communion followed almost immediately—their normal place, since the Elevation was a showing to the people of the sacred gifts before they were received. In ancient days the Mass was now practically finished and the Pope returned to his throne to make his Communion.

In every rite, except that of the Apostolic Constitutions – of which, however, we have no evidence of actual use—the *Pater noster* is found after the Anaphora, with an introduction as well as an embolism or expansion of the final clause. By an extension of 'panem nostrum quotidianum' the idea of Communion became associated with this prayer, the communicants taking it as a signal to approach the altar, with the subdeacon, in some places, elevating the paten as a warning, although at Tours an *acolyte* took the paten and exhibited it in the middle of the choir (*cf.* the raising of the sacred Host at 'sicut in coelo' at Lyon). According to Thalhofer, the 'Amen' is an interpolation of the later Middle Ages, but at any rate it is absent from the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries.

Until the days of St. Gregory (590 604) the 'Pater noster' came immediately after the Communion, although the Church of Africa, usually so similar to Rome in matters liturgical, had the prayer in its present place, according to St. Augustine. St. Gregory the Great altered the position, so that the prayer which Our Lord commanded should be said over the sacred Host immediately after the Canon ('mox post precem'), in order that the mere work of some scholar ('scholasticus quidam') might not supplant the Gospel prayer ('Breviarium totius Evangelii'—Tertullian, 'De Orat.,' cap. i.). The learned Pope also made, as it has been handed down to us, a most curious statement—namely, that the Apostles were accustomed to consecrate with this prayer *alone* ('ad ipsum *solummodo* orationem')—cf. *Journal of Theological Studies*, January 1928, p. 168; but, although the Canon may not then have been formed, it is manifest that at any rate the words of Institution must have been used. An alternative reading, however, favoured by Probst and Fr. Lucas, S.J., formed by

the insertion of a comma, makes the great Doctor assert the very opposite—namely, that the Apostles were accustomed to consecrate the Host with no other accompaniment than the sacrificial prayer: in other words, the 'Pater noster' had no place in the central portion of the primitive liturgy (*cf.* the Apostolic Constitutions, Ethiopic Church Ordinances, Serapion). Thus the sentence would run as follows: 'Orationem vero dominicam mox post precem dicimus, quia mos apostolorum fuit ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent.' The Introduction (*cf.* St. Cyprian: 'Ipse (Christus) formam dedit inter salutaria sua monita et praecepta divina'—'De Oratione dominica,' 11) may be said to prepare the soul for the hallowed words that are to follow, for, having been taught by the saving precepts ('praeceptis salutaribus') of the 'Missa Catechumenorum' and guided by the divine institution ('divina institutione') of the sacred Canon, the worshipper is now bold to say 'Our Father.' Unlike the Oriental rites, in the Roman and the Milanese the celebrant now sings all the 'Pater noster,' with the exception of the last clause, and at a nuptial Mass two prayers immediately follow.

The 'Libera nos quaesumus' (Gelasian Sacramentary, 'Ordo Romanus' 1), which forms the *embolism*, invokes peace on the Eternal City ('da propitius pacem in diebus nostris'), possibly because the 'pax' was once exchanged at this point in Rome as a seal before Holy Communion, after the formal acknowledgment of a universal brotherhood. Although St. Justin Martyr speaks of the 'pax' before the eucharistic prayer, Tertullian, as well as Pope Innocent I and St. Augustine, knew it as the seal before Communion. In the Gallican liturgy the embolism varied with every Mass. The name of St. Andrew was probably inserted by St. Gregory, for whom the liturgist and musician expressed a great devotion, founding a monastery in his honour in the family mansion on the Coelian Hill; although at one time saints could be commemorated at the will of the celebrant. Now signing himself with the paten and kissing it after 'omnibus sanctis,' a Meaux missal (1556) orders the priest to make signs of the cross—at 'adjuti,' 'liberi,' and 'securi.'

An essential feature in every Eucharist has been from the days of the Apostles the ' Fractio panis ' or *Breaking of the bread*, since it is but the repetition of what Our Lord did ' the day before he suffered ' ; while in early times this simple action gave its name to the whole rite. The Host is divided into three portions, in memory, says a rubric in the Rouen missal (1737), of an ancient custom which was to give the first part to the priest, the second to the people, and to reserve the third for the sick. The Gallican and Mozarabic rites made patterns with the broken particles, but the Roman Church, always more sober in its liturgy and more restrained in its mysticism, remained faithful to the simplicity of primitive usage—breaking only to give in Communion. The fraction, since the Gregorian alteration in the position of the Lord's Prayer, is now divorced in the Roman rite from its primitive doxology, taking place at the end of the embolism, immediately before the *Commixture* or placing in the chalice of a particle of the Host. The ' Commixtio ' is mentioned so early as A.D. 441, by the Council of Orange (Can. 17)—' Calix admixtione Eucharistiae consecrandus '—although it here seems to refer to the belief that a particle of the Host would sanctify a chalice of wine (*cf.* ' Ordinarium ' of St. Evre (Aper) at Toul, and Good Friday liturgy).

Until about the ninth century there were two mixtures in the Mass, that of the ' Sancta,' or portion of the Blessed Sacrament reserved from a former Mass in order to show the identity of the Sacrifice, placed in the chalice at the words ' Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum ' (are these words a relic of a primitive elevation ?), and that of a particle of the newly consecrated species inserted at the Communion. This second mixture has alone survived, although at the earlier point in the liturgy, and we may perhaps, without undue fancy, see in this action a last memento of the ' sacrum fermentum,' when the Pope sent a portion of the Host from his Mass to be put in the chalice at other urban churches, since the spread of the Gospel had necessitated the offering of the liturgy at basilicas and chapels other than that in which the Sovereign Pontiff was celebrating. The ' Liber Pontificalis ' (I. 168) ascribes the institution of the fermentum to Pope Militiades (311–314), but

the first clear testimony of its transport by acolytes is found in the Epistle of Innocent to Decentius (416), so that the martyr Tarcisius (' Protomartyr of the Eucharist ') could not have been carrying it when he met his death. The prayer ' Haec commixtio et consecratio ' is found in the first Roman ' Ordo ' in the eighth century. As the separate Consecration symbolizes the mystical death of Our Lord, so the Commixture connotes the reunion of soul and body in the Resurrection.

Mention has already been made of the ceremony laid down in the sacred Scriptures, ' saluting one another with a holy kiss ' (Rom. xvi. 16), and the *Pax* finds a place in every liturgy, although the East and Toledo still retain it at the beginning of the Mass of the faithful. The words ' Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum ' mark the position of the kiss of peace at Rome after the early fifth-century alteration of the place (*cf.* Ordination of Priests), but now the ' pax ' comes still later in the Mass, after the Agnus Dei and first Communion prayer. The Gelasian Sacramentary said that on Maundy Thursday the ' Pax Domini ' was absent, because there was no ' pax ' (*cf.* Good Friday). St. Gregory the Great in his ninth Epistle (' Epist.,' IX. 12) speaks of introducing ' Pax Domini.' A Salzburg missal (1555) ordered in Lent and other ferias that three psalms, with antiphon, prayers and three collects, should be said before this ; while Popes Nicholas III (1277–1280) and John XXII (1316–1334) had directed a psalm and collect *after* the ' Pax Domini ' at solemn Masses.

In primitive days, when fervour and singleness of purpose were more conspicuous in the Church of God, it was customary for all the faithful to share in the ' pax,' but now the kiss of peace—by the accolade or brede—is confined at high Mass to the sacred ministers and those who are assisting in a clerical capacity. Since a requiem Mass was originally without communions on the part of the laity, the ' pax,' which had become a preparation before reception, has never found a place there.

All the present chants in the Roman rite were composed to fill up the time when necessary actions were being performed, so we find that in the days of Pope Sergius I (687–701) the *Agnus Dei* was ordered to be sung during the actual ' Fractio panis,' before the Communion of the people (*cf.* papal

Mass), although the later (tenth- or eleventh-century) interpolation, ' dona nobis pacem '—still unknown at St. John Lateran—was inserted as preparatory to the kiss of peace. Mentioned by St. Gregory, the ' Agnus ' may very possibly have come to us from Constantinople—Sergius being a Palermitan—where the Byzantine priest, inspired by the thought of the paschal lamb, exclaims at the moment of the fraction, ' The Lamb of God is broken and distributed : the broken and not severed, the ever eaten and never consumed, but sanctifying the partakers.' The threefold striking of the breast recalls, according to St. Ivo of Chartres (*c.* 1040–1116), the three portions of the Host. The form of ' Agnus ' now in use at requiems originated about the twelfth century.

The three *Communion Prayers* belong to the Middle Ages, at first as private devotions, but since 1570 incorporated in the missal. From the ninth century different prayers have appeared in this place, seventeen formulas in all, from which Rome has selected the best, but the practice of reciting prayers here may very possibly have come from the East. The author of the ' Micrologus ' (end eleventh century), who with his companions were considered ' the most zealous observers of the ancient traditions,' admitted only one of these formulas, the second of our present selection—a custom still adhered to by the Dominicans. The same writer, inspired by a true liturgical spirit, also said : ' In fact the blessed Pope Innocent I, writing to the bishops, Augustine and Aurelius, assures us that one would acquire more profit by common and public prayers than by private prayers and those said for each in particular.' The first formula, ' Domine Jesu Christe, qui dixisti,' is referred to by Durandus in the thirteenth century, but it was known in the Mass of Illyricus (*c.* eleventh century) and in a Sacramentary of Trier (tenth century), as well as in an ' ad Pacem ' prayer of the Gallican and Mozarabic liturgies. The second and third prayers have a very distinctive individualistic character and were sometimes said *after* the reception of Holy Communion. Thus, we find the second in the Mass of Illyricus and the third in a thirteenth-century ' missale plenarium,' still preserved at Tournai, with the rubric : ' Dum lavantur digiti super calicem post perceptionem. Oratio

Perceptio.' This latter prayer, or at any rate the substance of it, appears in the Apostolic Constitutions (VII. 14); while, both because of its greater antiquity and its reference to the *Body* of Our Lord only, it finds a place in the Good Friday liturgy in preference to the others. Essential features in every liturgy are Sacrifice and a feast upon the Sacrifice, and in early times it was customary for all the worshippers to make their communions at every Mass; although the Peace of the Church speedily brought about tepidity and, in consequence, infrequency in the reception of Holy Communion, despite the fact that in the days of St. Gregory (590–604) the deacon was accustomed to chant 'Qui non communicat det locum.' Now, however, thanks to the Counter-Reformation and still more, perhaps, to that venerable servant of God, Pope Pius X (1903–1914), frequent and even daily Communion has been restored. In two respects the discipline of the Latin Church has been altered as regards the reception of the Blessed Sacrament. First, the sacred Host is received on the tongue, in place of the hands; and secondly, the chalice has been withdrawn from the laity—a custom already universal in the West by the fifteenth century.

'Domine non sum dignus' was mentioned as being especially applicable for recital before Communion by Origen, St. John Chrysostom and St. Augustine, but the prayer was not finally inserted into the missal until 1570 (not found in (Naples) missal of 1483), when also 'Panem coelestem accipiam' (Durandus, thirteenth century) and 'Quid retribuam Domino' were added.

The prayers used for the faithful when Holy Communion is given seem to have found their way into the Mass somewhere about the thirteenth century, but Communion outside Mass is in reality Mass of the Presanctified reduced to its simplest form, although liturgically the Blessed Sacrament should be received *in* the liturgy whenever possible. Until the sixteenth century the custom seems to have persisted for the laity to drink a cup of wine and water immediately after Communion —a practice retained at Menin until the end of the following century, at any rate on Maundy Thursday and Easter Sunday (*cf.* Carthusian and Lyon rites).

The *Ablutions* have only developed into a ceremony in the Western rites, and the prayers ' Quod ore sumpsimus ' and ' Corpus tuum, Domine,' although of ancient composition, were incorporated into the missal at its Tridentine revision. The earlier ' Ordines Romani,' Amalarius (ninth century), and the author of the ' Micrologus ' (end eleventh century) make no reference to the ablutions, but John of Avranches (eleventh century) desires that the priest should give the chalice to the deacon for cleansing ; while Innocent III prescribes that the same minister should consume the first ablution, as was the custom at Cluny and Cîteaux. Until the thirteenth century only water—poured into a basin—was used for the fingers, so that the lavabo, taken at a pontifical Mass after the second ablution, may very well be a survival of the old usage. ' Quod ore sumpsimus ' is found in the three Roman Sacramentaries (Leonine, Gelasian, Gregorian), as well as the ' Micrologus,' but as a prayer after Communion like ' Corpus tuum, Domine,' which seems to have originated in a very ancient ' Missale Gothicum,' appearing later in the ' Missa Illyrica ' and the fourteenth Roman ' Ordo.' This second prayer betrays its non-Roman character by its direct address to Our Lord, for the practice of Rome in primitive times was rather ' Deum colimus *per* Christum ' (Tertullian, ' Apolog.,' 21).

At a time when communions were numerous at every Mass it was natural that some kind of chant should have been sung, so we find, at least by the time of St. Augustine, that it was customary to have a psalm, with an antiphon before and after, as the faithful approached the altar (until the eleventh century). In later years this *Communio* was shortened to a single antiphon, alluding to the occasion of the Mass rather than to the reception of the Blessed Sacrament.

The more primitive arrangement of the liturgy, before the introduction of the chants (Introit, Offertory, ' Agnus,' Communion), is still seen in the first Easter Mass, sung on Holy Saturday.

The Sacrifice has been consummated by receiving the precious Body and Blood of the Lord, whether by the celebrant under both kinds or by the faithful through concomitance

under the species of Bread alone, and therefore gratitude or thanksgiving for the sacred gift necessarily follows. Once (until *c. temp.* St. Gregory) there were two prayers after Communion, that of thanksgiving and that of a blessing upon all those who had received (' oratio super populum ')—' When we have participated in this august Sacrament the thanksgiving ends the whole series of prayers ' (St. Augustine, ' Epist. CXLIX ').

The second prayer is still found in the missal for the ferias of Lent, where it is the Vesper prayer of the day, thus raising the questions, Were Vespers once joined to Mass as they are still in Holy Week, and is this ' super populum ' prayer therefore a survival of Vespers ? The Gelasian, as well as the Gallican Sacramentaries, use the term ' Post-Communio,' but Amalarius speaks of *this* prayer as the ' ultima benedictio ' and the second as the ' ulterior benedictio.'

The *Post-Communion* prayer may be a solitary fragment handed down to us of a diaconal litany and sacerdotal Collect, such as are still sung at this point in the Eastern rites, but it now exactly approximates in number, arrangement and style with the Collects.

All the liturgies of Christendom, except the Nestorian, have a *Dismissal* chanted by the deacon, and it was this order to depart—' Ite, missa est '—referred to by Tertullian and St. Cyprian, that gave the Roman rite its distinctive title of ' Mass.' The first ' Ordo ' (' Ordo Romanus ' 1) directed that the deacon could only give the dismissal after an intimation from the celebrant, since the inferior minister merely acted as a mouthpiece—a point of view dramatically expressed in the church of Verdun, where the deacon knelt to get the ' Ite ' from the priest, kissing his vestment and replying ' Deo Gratias,' before turning to the congregation and chanting it himself. The present custom of the priest facing the people during the singing of ' Ite, missa est,' remains as a relic of this delegation.

From about the eleventh century, on days that had a penitential character, ' Benedicamus Domino ' was sung in place of the ' Ite,' since on such days, instead of departing after Mass, the faithful remained for Vespers. Now the general rule is

for the choice of dismissal to be governed by the use or the absence of the ' Gloria in Excelsis.' ' Requiescant in pace ' at requiems was a ' general custom ' in the twelfth century.

As the Introit, once only used at the entry of the sacred ministers, now no longer marks the beginning of the Mass, since preparatory prayers are said ' in plano ' : so, also, ' Go, it is the dismissal ' has become a sign to stand fast, just as surely as ' Let us bless the Lord,' for ' Placeat,' Blessing and Last Gospel are still to follow.

The *Placeat*, a private ejaculation as the altar was kissed before the departure of the celebrant, known to some missals (' Missa Illyrica,' Rutoldus of Corbie) in the tenth century and to Rome from the end of the eleventh, has now become a fixed prayer and an admirable epilogue to the Mass ; while the *Blessing* of the Pontiff on his way to the sacristy has grown into a permanent ceremony at the altar, save in Masses of the dead. From the thirteenth century the episcopal blessing appears to have been similar to that given at the present day, although a form was in use three centuries earlier. Priests only seem to have begun to imitate their superiors in the eleventh century, with at first the distinction of signing the people with the paten. St. Pius V (1565–1572) ordered every celebrant to give the *triple* blessing at a solemn Mass, but this was revised by Clement VIII (1591–1605), who directed that a priest should sign the congregation but once and then in a low voice, to indicate that the bishop alone was in possession of inherent jurisdiction.

Since 1570 the *Last Gospel* has been ordered to be said at the conclusion of the liturgy, although in the Middle Ages (unknown before the thirteenth century) it was rather of the nature of a thanksgiving after Mass (*cf.* ' Benedicite '), Rome herself adopting the ' In principio ' about the year 1486.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(1) ' Missale Romanum Ex Decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini Restitutum S. Pii V. Pontificis Maximi jussu Editum Clementio VIII., Urbani VIII. et Leonis XIII. Auctoritate Recognitum et Novis Missis Ex Indulto Apostolico Hucusque Concessis Auctum.' Mechliniae : H. Dessain. MCMVI.

(2) ' The Mass : a Study of the Roman Liturgy.' Adrian Fortescue. Longmans, Green & Co. 1912.
(3) ' Ceremonies of the Roman Rite described.' Adrian Fortescue. Burns & Oates, Ltd. 1918.
(4) ' Genius of the Roman Rite.' Edmund Bishop. Being a Paper read at the Meeting of the Historical Research Society at the Archbishop's House, Westminster, on May 8, 1899. Second edition. F. E. Robinson. 1902.
(5) ' The Liturgy in Rome.' M. A. R. Tuker. A. & C. Black, Ltd., 4, 5, and 6 Soho Square, London, W. 1. 1925.
(6) ' The Sacramentary (" Liber Sacramentorum ") : Historical and Liturgical Notes on the Roman Missal.' Ildefonso Schuster. From the Italian by Arthur Levelis Marke, M.A. London : Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd. Vol. I, 1924 ; Vol. II, 1925 ; Vol. III, 1927 ; Vol. IV, 1929.
(7) ' Christian Worship : its Origin and Evolution. A Study of the Latin Liturgy up to the Time of Charlemagne.' Mgr. L. Duchesne. Translated by M. L. McClure. Fourth English edition. London : S.P.C.K. 1912.
(8) ' Vestments of the Roman Rite.' Adrian Fortescue. Catholic Truth Society.
(9) ' Sancta Maria Antiqua.' Dom Thomas Becquet, O.S.B. ' Irénikon,' No. 8, Tome IV, Collection 1928.
(10) ' Les Cérémonies de la Béatification et de la Canonisation.' 4me édition. Desclée et Cie, Rome, Piazza Grazioli (Palazzo Doria).
(11) ' Missel de Paris.' Imprimé par Ordre de Monseigneur de Paris. A Paris : Aux dépens des Libraires associés pour les Usages du Diocèse. MDCCXXXVIII. Avec Privilège du Roy. 4 vols.
(12) ' L'Office de la Semaine Sainte en Latin et en François. A l'Usage du Diocèse de Rouen. Selon les Nouveaux Missel et Bréviaire.' Imprimé par l'Ordre de Monseigneur l'Illustrissime et Révérendissime Nicolas de Saulx-Tavanes, Archevêque de Rouen. A Rouen : Chez François Oursel, Imprimeur de Monseigneur l'Archevêque, Grande Rue S. Jean, à l'Imprimerie. MDCCXXXVII. Avec Privilège de Sa Majesté.
(13) ' Cours et Conférences des Semaines Liturgiques.' Tome II, 5me Semaine. Louvain, du 10 au 14 Août, 1913. Abbaye de Mont-César, Louvain, 1914.
(14) Tome III : ' Congrès Liturgique.' Malines, du 4 au 7 Août, 1924. Abbaye du Mont-César, Louvain.
(15) Tome IV : ' La Paroisse.' Louvain, du 10 au 13 Août, 1925. Abbaye du Mont-César, Louvain.
(16) Tome V : ' La Sainte Messe.' Huy, du 8 au 12 Août, 1926. Abbaye du Mont-César, Louvain.

(17) Tome VI : ' La Préparation de l'Eucharistie. De l'Introit à l'Offertoire.' Louvain, du 1 au 4 Août, 1927. Abbaye du Mont-César, Louvain. 1928.

(18) Tome VII : ' Le Canon de la Messe, de la Préface à la Communion.' Tournai, du 25 au 29 Juillet, 1928. Abbaye du Mont-César, Louvain. 1929.

(19) ' Notes on Mediaeval Services in England, with an Index of Lincoln Ceremonies.' Chr. Wordsworth, M.A. London : Thomas Baker, Soho Square. 1898.

(20) ' The Church of our Fathers, as seen in St. Osmund's Rite for the Cathedral of Salisbury, with Dissertations on the Belief and Ritual in England before and after the coming of the Normans.' Daniel Rock, D.D. A new edition in 4 vols., edited by G. W. Hart and W. H. Frere. London : John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1905.

(21) ' The Principles of Religious Ceremonial.' W. H. Frere. Second edition. London : A. R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 28 Margaret Street, W. 1. 1928.

(22) ' La Sainte Messe. Notes sur sa Liturgie.' D. Eugène Vandeur. VII^{e} édition. Abbaye de Maredsous. Lille : Desclée, De Brouwer et Cie, 41 Rue du Metz. 1924.

CHAPTER III
DERIVED MONASTIC RITES

CHAPTER III

DERIVED MONASTIC RITES

On July 19, 1570, Pope St. Pius V (1565–1572) issued the Bull ' Quo primum,' the seal set upon the liturgical labours of the Commission appointed by the Council of Trent (1545–1563) to reform the missal and breviary. The missal issued was to be thenceforth obligatory on all Western priests, but with an important exception, for all rites that could prove a usage of at least two hundred years were allowed to remain. This saving clause kept not only the quasi-Gallican liturgies of Milan and Toledo, but also the uses of the primatial churches of Lyon and Braga and several distinctive Monastic rites.

Ambrosian, Mozarabic, Bragensian and Lyonnaise peculiarities will be dealt with in future chapters, so it will be convenient here to consider some of the Monastic missals, as to history, rite and ceremony.

' Religio Cartusianorum nunquam reformata, quia nunquam deformata '—an adage ascribed to the papal Bulls ' Thesauro virtutum ' (Alexander IV, February 8, 1257) and ' Romani pontifices ' (Pius II, August 13, 1460), although in point of fact found in neither—is the proud boast of the *Carthusian Order*; but if this is true of its religious life and discipline it may be considered to be equally correct when applied to liturgical customs. The motto of the Charterhouse, which dates from the thirteenth century—' Stat crux, dum volvitur orbis '—connotes stability of rite no less than of the ideals of the Cross as expressed by the sons of St. Bruno. The founder of the Order, although born in Cologne (*c.* A.D. 1035), installed foundations in France at Grande Chartreuse, near Grenoble, in Dauphiné—Notre Dame de Casalibus (1084)—and at La Torre in Calabria (1091), at which latter place he died in 1101, although it was not before 1514 that St. Bruno was raised to the altars of the Church (October 6), and then ' vivae vocis oraculo ' rather than by a formal process of canonization.

After eight centuries of existence the Order remains substantially the same as in the twelfth century, since the modifications effected in the intervening period have been quite secondary. The first rules were drawn up by Dom Guigo (fifth Prior) about the year 1126 in the ' Consuetudines,' a series of customs mainly culled from the observances of St. Bruno and approved by Pope Innocent II (1130–1143) in 1133. In the following century (1259) the ' Statuta Antiqua ' were promulgated by Dom Riffier, containing, in addition to the above, a number of ordinances and practices passed by previous General Chapters ; from which in 1368 a further compilation (' Nova Statuta ') was enacted by Fr. William Raynald.

From the fourteenth century until the present day two further amendments have been issued concerning the government of Charterhouses—that in 1509 by the ' Tertia Compilatio ' under Dom Francis Dupuy, and that set forth by the General Chapter of 1681 (Dom Innocent Le Masson), which abrogated all previous compilations (' Nova Collectio,' 1578). This final revision received papal approval (March 27) from Innocent XI (1676–1689) in the Bull ' Injunctum nobis.' The Statutes of the Order are divided into three sections—the ' Ordinarium,' which treats of the rites and ceremonies of Mass and the Divine Office ; a second part dealing with the government of the Order and the different external observances and offices held by the monks ; and a third which concerns the rules for lay brothers and nuns.

The *Carthusian rite* is mainly that of the diocese of Grenoble in the early thirteenth century—from 1132 to 1248 all its bishops except one were Carthusians—with some additions from other and later sources, but it is interesting to note that Lyon, where the old distinctive use is still followed, was the metropolitan see of Grenoble. A comparison, also, between the present Lyonnaise rite and that observed in houses of this Order will point to striking similarities. Thus, the preparatory versicle, ' Pone Domine custodiam ori meo,' and the prayer at the mixing of the chalice, ' De latere Domini nostri Jesu Christi,' are the same in both uses ; while the blessings of candles, ashes and palms are considerably shorter than those found in the ' Missale Romanum.' The Sundays between

Pentecost and Advent are reckoned after Trinity (*cf.* Dominican), and therefore differ in some particulars from those in the Roman rite, but for the last of the series Lyon appears to have changed from ' Si iniquitates ' to ' Dicit Dominus,' and that Church has now abandoned the earlier nomenclature. The predominance of the Sunday office in Charterhouses seems to have been re-echoed in the revised breviary of Pius X (1903–1914). The Calendar, when compared with that of Rome, has but few feasts, and a further pruning was made during the pontificate of Pius X, so that solitude might be the more frequent, for on feast days the monks are cenobitical rather than eremitical. In the earliest days of the Order the liturgy varied according to individual houses or provinces, but in 1222 a first attempt to compile one fixed rite was made, with a revision in 1259. Since that time, despite small changes, General Chapters (first held in 1142) have been averse to alteration, although the Carthusians have offered Rome the abandonment of their distinctive rite—a sacrifice which was not accepted. The missal was compiled by Guigo, the fifth Prior of Chartreuse, who seems to have followed Agobard, the ninth-century reformer of the Lyon liturgical books, in his rejection of everything that was not to be found in the Holy Scriptures. Archbishop Agobard (814–840) had carried on an acrimonious correspondence with Amalarius on the subject of the use of uninspired compositions in the liturgy, writing two treatises (' De divina psalmodia ' and ' De correctione Antiphonarii '), in which he refers to the ' horrible blasphemies to be found in the Antiphonarium ' of his day. Yet, despite his reforming proclivities, the cult of Agobard grew up at Lyon (June 6—Greater Double), and an office was composed in his honour.

It has been already pointed out that the derived Monastic rites are all Roman in essence, even though they may have preserved a few more features from the old Gallican rite than the revised Tridentine missal. Their peculiarity rests rather in the fact that they possess much that was common in mediaeval times to many service books, which they alone, in the conservative spirit common to religious corporations, have retained.

The first and chief patron of all houses of the Carthusian

Order is Our Lady, and from the days of St. Bruno, when a miraculous apparition bade the monks of Chartreuse reverence the Mother of God, a daily Mass in honour of the blessed Virgin has been said in every monastery of the Order. The Preface of Our Lady in the missal has even been ascribed to St. Bruno, although, short of popularizing it, there is but little probability of any connection. In addition to the Assumption and the Immaculate Conception, both the Visitation and the Nativity are observed with octaves.

Long before the visions of St. Margaret Mary (1673), Carthusian fathers were found with a tender devotion to the Sacred Heart (*e.g.* Ludolph of Saxony, 1295–1378), for, with their interior contemplation of God, the inexhaustible riches of the side of Christ could not be kept from them ; while it seems that the nuns of the Order were the first to adopt the devotion officially, when they applied for permission to honour the Heart of Jesus, from their Superior-General, Dom Innocent Le Masson, in 1692.

Except on feasts the monk says his prayers, excluding Matins and Lauds, Mass and Vespers, in his cell, where there is a stall with prie-Dieu called the ' Oratorium,' in which full choir ceremonial is observed, such as bowing, covering and uncovering.

Before leaving his cell for the night office the psalm ' Deus venerunt gentes ' (Ps. lxxviii.) is recited for the recovery of the Holy Land from the infidels. This was ordered to be said during Mass by the fourth Lateran Council of 1215, but, when the law ceased to bind, the Carthusians voluntarily retained it and transferred it to this position (*cf.* Calced Carmelites).

After Prime ' de Beata,' said on returning from the church about 2 A.M., a dry Mass or ' Nudum Officium ' (' Salve Sancta Parens ') takes place in the ' Oratorium.' This once followed the conventual Mass, when the ' Placeat ' was put off until the end and the vestments and altar lights were retained, but it was discouraged, if not abolished, by the Statutes issued by Dom Bernard Carassus in 1572, although there are traces of its persistence so late as 1750.

The present arrangement is to incorporate the ' Nudum

Officium ' with the breviary, and it is recited without any additional ceremonial adjunct. There is an Introit, Epistle and Gospel, but no Secret, while before the Gospel is a rubric to the effect that if the monk reciting it is in at least deacon's orders he must say ' Dominus vobiscum,' but if he is below that rank, ' Domine exaudi orationem meam ' is to be substituted.

This dry Mass, once common in Christendom on occasions when the Sacrifice could not be offered—in deserts, on journeys or after the partaking of food—has gradually ceased to be, although a certain resemblance between the Carthusian ' Nudum Officium ' and a dry Mass in a manuscript missal of the diocese of Grenoble makes it probable that this monastic office was borrowed from the cathedral use, at the inception of the Order.

The travelling ' Missa sicca,' employed by the Dominicans and Carmelites, lasted down to the time of the Reformation. High Mass is sung every day in the Carthusian Order at 7 A.M.—' Qui bene cantat, bis orat ' (' Sung prayer is double prayer ')—but even here there is real simplicity, and no instrument is used to accompany or sustain the chant, which, although Gregorian, is of a special slow and plaintive character, for, say the rubrics, ' as the duty of a good monk is rather to lament than to sing, we must so sing that lamentation, not the joy of singing, be in our hearts.' This peculiar heavy form of chanting seems to have been introduced during the sixteenth century into the houses in Germany and the Low Countries, and from there to have been adopted by the whole Order. It was not until 1861 that instrumental music found its way into the primatial church of Lyon, but the magnificent ceremonial pageantry seen in that cathedral forms a strange contrast to the rigid Carthusian simplicity and hatred of ostentation ; while a further comparison might very well be made between this rite, so plain and devoid of liturgical splendour, with an almost exclusive use of Scripture, and that of the Order of Preachers, drawn up about the same period and in the same country, but abounding with ornate pomp and rhyming responsories.

This conventual Mass is preceded by a quarter of an hour's

silent adoration of the Blessed Sacrament and the Litanies of the Saints.

The only days in the year when Benediction is given are Corpus Christi (1318) and its Octave day (1332), for, on the former occasion, the prior bears the Blessed Sacrament round the large cloister and, on the latter, round the little cloister; while at the close of each procession there is Benediction. During the intervening eight days continual Exposition is maintained.

The celebration of Mass in the Charterhouse is so different from the ordinary Roman rite that when a priest enters the Order he is obliged to refrain from saying Mass for several months, so that he may learn Carthusian usages; but when a priest of the Order says Mass in a church other than his own he is directed by the 'Ordinarium' to recite the Confiteor before the altar, use the Roman 'Agnus,' give the Blessing and perform all those 'other things which are not able to be omitted without scandal.'

After the corporate high Mass each priest says his own Mass with another father as server, although this is a later development, since the original custom was to have a single conventual Mass several times a week, at which all communicated, said by the hebdomadary. At the present day this tradition is still followed on the three solemn feasts of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost.

Incense is used only on Sundays and Chapter days (feasts)—presented by the Procurator—but persons are never censed at Mass. The number of altar lights varies from two to six, according to the rank of the feast, some days thereby earning the title of 'Festa candelarum.' From an early date the Carthusians had several categories of feasts, three lessons, twelve lessons, and twelve lessons with Chapter, the latter applying to the more important commemorations, although a transferred Chapter feast becomes automatically a simple feast of twelve lessons, and it was only in 1332, in order to conform to the precept of the Church, that the feasts of the Apostles, Evangelists and four Latin Doctors were elevated to the highest rank. From the time when the Epiphany was without a privileged octave, Charterhouses retain the feast of St. Paul

the Hermit on January 10 (*cf.* Mozarabic), and in order to observe ' De Dominica post Octavam Epiphaniae,' the Octave day is kept on January 11 when Easter falls exceptionally early (*e.g.* 1913).

The vestments of the celebrant are those common to all Western rites, with the deacon clad in the ' cuculla ecclesiastica,' a long flowing form of his habit with wide sleeves (*cf.* surplice); but at the Gospel a special kind of stole is used, and at the Offertory and change of Hosts in the tabernacle (reception of Communion at high Mass) a humeral veil (' syndon ') is worn over the left shoulder, hanging loose. When he is not actually needed for the ceremonies the deacon remains in the stall nearest the altar. The subdeacon, in his monastic habit, merely sings the Epistle at a lectern in the middle of the choir, coming out from his place to do so. On the days without incense no servers are employed in the Mass, but the deacon assists the priest, walking with slow solemn steps, bowing profoundly on passing before the tabernacle, as, with the exception of once after the Consecration of both Host and Chalice, genuflections are unknown in the Carthusian rite.

The stole in this Order is not crossed over the breast, but worn with the two ends falling straight, for, although the Synod of Braga (675) mentions the custom of wearing the stole crossed over the breast at Mass, this did not become general until the late Middle Ages. Symbolically this is said to call attention to the fact that by his vocation the Carthusian stands as the image of the risen Christ, unfettered and reigning in glory. On Sundays the liturgy is preceded by the blessing of water at the entrance to the choir, when the monks approach the altar to be sprinkled and the brothers and laity await the priest.

Before the beginning of Mass the vestments are laid on the Gospel side of the covered altar, where the celebrant vests, assisted at the conventual Mass by the deacon.

This done, the cloth over the ' mensa ' is rolled back and a cushion placed obliquely where the vestments had been laid, while the missal, which has a piece of stuff attached to its lower edge—large enough to form a cover—is put on the altar itself in its normal position at the Epistle horn. Outside the

Order, the Synods of Münster (1279), Liège (1287), and Cambrai (1300) prescribed that the book should be enveloped in a linen cloth before being laid on the altar, but cushions came into use towards the end of the thirteenth century, and a missal lectern is noted in an inventory of Angers Cathedral so early as 1297. After vesting, the priest is instructed to 'stand a little and lift his mind to God,' followed on feasts by a profound inclination (on ferial days the altar is kissed).

Then, for the preparatory prayers the celebrant stands on the Gospel side of the sanctuary, facing across towards the piscina, while the deacon (or server) responds by his side. In former times, since the Mass began with the Introit, these first prayers were often said at places other than before the altar, so that we find them in Tours at the tomb of St. Martin in a special chapel, Chartres in the choir, Soissons at the entrance to the sanctuary, and Reims in the sacristy. These prayers, which differ from the Roman, are: 'In nomine Patris,' etc.; 'Pone Domine custodiam ori meo,' with the reply from the whole choir, 'Et ostium circumstantiae labiis meis'; 'Confiteor Deo et Beatae Mariae et omnibus sanctis et vobis, fratres, quia peccavi nimis mea culpa per superbiam, cogitatione, locutione, opere et omissione. Precor vos orate pro me'; 'Misereatur tui, omnipotens Deus, per intercessionem Beatae Mariae et omnium Sanctorum et dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua et perducat ad vitam aeternam. Amen.' The 'per superbiam' seems, at first sight, most inapplicable for the sons of St. Bruno, although it recalls the fact that pride is the root of all sin.

After the corresponding Confiteor and 'Misereatur,' 'Adjutorium nostrum in Nomine Domini' and the answer, 'Qui fecit coelum et terram,' are said, and the priest, going before the altar and bowing profoundly, recites a 'Pater' and 'Ave' secretly. At the end of the sixteenth century the 'Hail, Mary' was added to the Lord's Prayer, both here and in the office. At one time the Confiteor seems to have varied with each Church, since a pontifical of Paris directs the bishop, after the verse 'Confitemini Domino,' to say the Confession 'secundum consuetudinem suam.' The form used at Cluny (Ulric, 1052) was 'Confiteor Deo et omnibus sanctis ejus, et

vobis Pater quia peccavi in cogitatione, locutione et operatione, mea culpa ; precor vos, orate pro me.' On reaching the predella a large sign of the cross is made, but at Cîteaux an old custom directed the altar to be kissed by both celebrant and deacon (left side).

The Introit and Kyrie are *more Romano*, but the ' Gloria in Excelsis ' is said from the Epistle horn (also Kyrie), and for the customary salutation before the Collects the celebrant does not return to the middle (*cf.* Middle Ages).

The Carthusian use is to say ' Dominus ' facing the altar and ' vobiscum ' facing the people, as is ordered in the Romano-Lyonnaise Ceremonial (1897).

No more than seven Collects (at least three) are allowed, during which, as for the Epistle and other times, the hands are placed together, one inside the other (' cancellat manus '). This septenary prohibition is found, also, in the rubrics of the ancient Sarum and Hereford missals. At one time Rome herself, even in Eastertide, had at least three Collects, a possible allusion to the Byzantine prayers of the three antiphons. While the Epistle is being sung the celebrant sits cowled in the sedilia (' cathedra ') with the deacon by his side. Over his knees is the mappula, after the manner of the episcopal gremial—held also during Tierce, in such a way that the hands are separated the one from the other.

There is no answer to either Epistle or Gospel, but after the former the thurifer, or failing him the priest, assists the deacon to put on his distinctive stole, which is worn over the left shoulder—wound round the body, brought up under the right arm and then across, so that it hangs over the left arm as a maniple. No Sequences or Proses are sung in Charterhouses, despite their prevalence in the Lyon rite.

The prayer before the Gospel is ' Dominus sit in corde meo et in labiis meis ut recte pronuntiem Evangelium pacis. Amen ' ; but when incense is put into the thurible there is neither formula nor blessing. In a low Mass the priest remains at the Epistle corner until the Gospel, when he moves the missal himself.

For the singing of the Gospel the deacon stands at a lectern, facing north ; while the celebrant is at the sedilia holding his

mappula until the conclusion, when he goes to the altar and kisses the book at the *edge* of the leaves.

During the Creed (rarely said except on Sundays), there is no genuflection at the ' Incarnatus,' but at ' Homo factus est ' the altar is kissed ; and the concluding words are ' Vitam *futuri* saeculi,' a translation from the text of the primitive Greek (*cf.* Cistercians). At the conventual Mass the first lavabo follows (two or three verses of the psalm are recited), together with the spreading of the large-sized corporal, the burse being placed on the *south* side of the altar.

Before the beginning of Mass (during the Epistle at a high Mass, unless a ' Credo ' is sung) wine was put into the chalice, but it is only at the Offertory that the deacon (at a ' Missa privata ' the celebrant adds the water), in a humeral veil, brings up the sacred vessels, when a small quantity of water is added, with the aid of a spoon. Before the fourteenth century it was the custom also at Rome for the *deacon* to add the water. At the mixture the priest says ' De latere Domini nostri Jesu Christi exivit sanguis et aqua in remissionem peccatorum in nomine Patris et Filii + et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.' The Host and Chalice are offered *together* with a single prayer : ' In spiritu humilitatis et in animo contrito suscipiamur a te Domine : et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum, in conspectu tuo hodie ut placeat tibi, Domine Deus ' ; and, making the sign of the cross with the chalice, there is added ' In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.'

The corporal is now folded over the chalice and paten—forming a small tent (*cf. temp.* St. Gregory)—for as long a time as the elements remain, and at the Consecration of the precious Blood it is held up at the back of the chalice with both hands. The chalice veil has no part in this rite.

For Sundays and Chapter days the following regulations concerning incense are required. First, the thurible is held over the chalice as the priest says ' Dirigatur, Domine, oratio mea, sicut incensum in conspectu tuo,' and then a cross is made once over the Host and Chalice, at the words ' In nomine,' etc.—once said at Rome—followed by a single censing in the form of a crown. For the altar, directions order one impulsion towards the cross, one at each side and three lower and before

the front of the ' mensa.' When the celebrant is taking a second lavabo the deacon walks round the altar with the thurible, holding it at the full length of the chains. The present Roman custom of apparently censing the altar candlesticks speaks of the time when altars invariably stood away from the wall and the censing was carried on behind as well as before (*cf.* Oriental liturgies).

The ' Orate fratres ' consists of ' Orate fratres pro me peccatore ad Dominum Deum nostrum,' when in low Masses the server holds up the front of the chasuble, to express union with the intentions of the Sacrifice. The priest, in turning back to the altar, does not complete the circle, and no answer is made to this petition. The Carthusians have never adopted the two new Prefaces (for the Dead and St. Joseph).

At ' Te igitur ' the altar is not kissed, and the rubric says ' profoundly inclined with joined hands ' ; while for the commemoration of the Church and the living the celebrant is directed to extend his arms in the form of a cross, a posture again affected at ' Unde et memores.'

At the ' Hanc igitur,' when, as in the Roman Mass, hands are spread over the oblations, the deacon lights a candle (' intorticium ') from the sanctuary lamp, holding it in his right hand, as he kneels behind the priest for the Consecration. The custom of ringing the church bell at the Elevation appears in Statutes of the Order which date from the twelfth century.

When the sacred Host and Chalice have been consecrated the celebrant is ordered to genuflect, but after each elevation to make a profound bow.

Although a real Elevation of the Host is made—probably in the lifetime of the Founder—the chalice is only just raised from the altar, still veiled with the corporal. From the Consecration to the ' Pater noster ' the server at a low Mass lies prostrate in the form of the letter S, leaning on his side and elbow, ' lateraliter et honeste ' ; while at the community Mass the monks lie prone at ' Homo factus est ' and at the Consecration and Communion—sacks of corn awaiting the hour for grinding, a hecatomb of crucified souls co-operating with the immolation at the altar. As at Rome until the sixteenth

century, the celebrant continues the little elevation at ' per omnia saecula saeculorum.'

The ' pax ' is given with the instrument at ' Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum.'

Very distinctive is the Carthusian method of reciting the ' Agnus '—the first in the Roman position, but the remaining two after the second ablution.

Only one prayer (' Domine Jesu Christi,' slightly expanded from the Roman missal) is said (profoundly inclined) before Holy Communion, which is received by the priest without any pause between the reception of the species and with the knees thrown forward. In the administration to the community (the deacon receives with the priest on Sundays) there is no Confession, Absolution or ' Domine non sum dignus,' and the form is that found amongst the Dominicans, and in the Roman rite for giving Viaticum—' Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat *te* [not ' animam tuam '] in vitam aeternam. Amen.' In the first days of the Order the server at a private Mass both drank of the chalice through a golden fistula and consumed the ablutions, but the reception of Holy Communion was infrequent. In 1335, in conformity with a Constitution of Clement V (1304–1314), all choir monks who were not priests were required to receive Communion at least on the first Sunday in each month, but by the end of the seventeenth century once a week had become the norm. When the community, on great feasts, receive the Blessed Sacrament at the conventual Mass a large chalice of blessed wine is passed round after reception.

In both ablutions wine only is poured into the chalice, with the water for the fingers on the lavabo dish. After the second ablution the celebrant wipes his mouth on a special mundatory.

In the primitive manner the chalice is cleansed without any ceremony—at a low Mass placed sideways on the Epistle horn, but at the conventual Mass the deacon removes it from the altar to the piscina, cleansing it immediately.

After the ' Complendae ' (Post-Communions) the two salutations are sung at the book, according to the use of the Order, and ' Ite, missa est ' (or the alternative) is chanted

facing east. When a choir office comes after the Mass the celebrant here intones ' Deus in adjutorium meum intende.'

The ' Placeat ' (regarded as a private prayer) alone follows and, the altar being kissed and the sign of the cross made, Mass is finished. Then, the vestments taken off, three ' Aves ' are said silently by the priest, prostrate on his side. In company with the Dominicans and Milanese, the ' Benedicite ' is recited on the way to the sacristy.

The Carthusians have two requiem Masses with four Epistles and Gospels, said in strict rotation. On Christmas Eve, as well as Christmas Day, a short Old Testament lesson, taken from Isaias, is sung before the Epistle (*cf.* York, Sarum, Braga, Dominican) ; while on Holy Saturday there are only four lections with responsories and Collects (*cf.* Lyon), followed immediately by the litanies and Mass without any solemn intoning of ' Alleluia ' (*cf.* Dominican). After Mass the celebrant sings ' Deus in adjutorium ' for the beginning of Vespers, and then leaves the altar.

The nuns attached to the Order (since 1147) receive the ' Virginal Consecration,' which is a trace of the primitive rule observed at Prébayon, at the time when affiliation to the regulations of St. Bruno took place, and which itself is said to date back to the days of St. Caesarius of Arles (*c.* 470–543) and the solemn benediction of deaconesses. The ceremony can only be performed by a bishop, and on the day of her ' consecration ' the nun wears a crown, stole, maniple on the *right* arm, and ring, which are worn again only on the day of her religious jubilee and after death. At the daily conventual Mass one of the fully professed nuns reads the Epistle, though without a maniple, and at Matins, if no priest is present, she chants the Gospel, wearing a stole. In the Russian Church (schismatic) abbesses have the privilege of assisting at the holy liturgy within the iconostasis and of reading the Epistle. Two Carthusian nuns have been raised to the honours of the altar and declared to be saints—Beatrix of Ornacieu (*ob.* 1303) and Roseline of Villeneuve (*ob.* 1329).

The *Cistercian Order*, owing its inception to Robert of Molesme, St. Stephen Harding and St. Bernard, with the Rule adopted and confirmed by Pope Calixtus II (1119–1124)

in 1119, has, since the middle of the seventeenth century, when Claude Vaussin was General, abandoned its own distinctive rite for that of Rome. There are, however, some interesting peculiarities, retained by the monks of the Stricter Observance and noted in the ' Rubricae Missalis ' (1924). The original simplicity of the Order is maintained by the following rubric : ' Nihil omnino ponatur circa Altare vel supra, quod modestiam et paupertatem Ordinis honestam dedeceat ; omnesque superfluae novitates et notabiles curiositates studiose evitentur ; nec aliquid apponatur quod sacrificio non deserviat.' At which one wonders whether the frenzied hatred that the ex-Cistercian Hooper showed in his Protestant diocese (Gloucester) against all beauty and ornamentation was really the subconscious return to the early simplicity of the Order which he had so shamelessly forsaken !

While the Introit is being sung at a solemn Mass the celebrant puts on incense in the sacristy (*cf.* Sacramentary of Stavelot, eleventh century ; Braga), and, having blessed the deacon, enters the choir during the singing of the ' Gloria Patri.' At such Masses incense is used as in the Roman rite, but on feasts of twelve lections, throughout the solemn Octaves of Easter and Pentecost, on days when two Masses are ordered and on the monthly anniversary, only at the Offertory and Consecration ; while at other times there is no incense unless it is specifically noted. From the Sanctus to the Communion a candle is lit at the Epistle horn of the altar for low Mass, and two standards on the steps for sung Mass. In addition to the customary kiss of peace at high Mass, if there are any communicants, after the prayer ' Domine Jesu Christi,' the celebrant kisses the altar and a server brings a pax brede, which, when the priest has said ' Pax tecum ' and the reply has been given, is taken to those who intend to make their communions. Besides the solemn Mass, the Cistercian Order has two further classes, the festive Mass and the Mass with a single minister. The former is sung on days of twelve or three lections, within octaves, at votives of the Holy Spirit, the Blessed Virgin, and St. Bernard, and on the monthly anniversary, when servers are dispensed with and the sacred ministers do what is required. At matutinal Masses and on

other lesser occasions, including requiems and ferial votives, a deacon (without dalmatic) acts as the only assistant, performing the duties of the subdeacon as well as his own, returning to the sacristy carrying the sacred vessels. If the minister is neither vested nor in sacred orders he acts as a server at low Mass, with the additional duties of reading the Epistle and giving the ' pax ' at the step to the communicants. In the Absolutions of the Dead the deacon, not the subdeacon, is enjoined to carry the cross. The 1924 edition of the ' Rubricae Missalis ' deletes the rubric that crosses and images are to be covered before Vespers on the Saturday after the fourth Sunday in Lent, and adds one to the effect that this is to be done after Compline on the first Sunday in Lent, at the same time ordering the violet veil to be drawn across the sanctuary (' cortina tendatur '). This Lenten veil (*cf.* Braga and East Sicily, *e.g.* Palermo, Cefalu), entirely concealing the altar from view, is finally removed on Maundy Thursday. The purificator seems to have originated in an ancient custom of this Order, when the chalice was cleansed by a linen cloth attached to the Epistle corner of the altar.

The *Carmelites*, according to tradition, trace their religious descent from Elias and Eliseus and hermits living on Mount Carmel under the old dispensation more or less subject to their influence ; yet, in spite of the fact that the Constitutions of the Order, Papal Bulls and the liturgy of the Church all bear testimony to this belief, it is probable that the succession down to the twelfth century has been little more than moral. At that time Christian hermits were found living on Mount Carmel, from whom the Order spread throughout the world, changing its ideals of eremitical life for those of mendicancy. A Rule was granted about 1210 and the approbation of the Pope was gained about 1226, but the Carmelite Order, as such, was only officially established by the second Council of Lyon in 1274. At the first Chapter, held at Aylesford, St. Simon Stock was elected General (1247–1265).

The oldest extant Constitutions date from 1324, but there is evidence of a thirteenth-century (*c.* 1256) collection, drawn up to supplement the Rule. In 1369 John Balistarius (1358–1374) issued a further edition of the Constitutions ;

while the mitigation of the Rule by Pope Eugenius IV (1431–1447) necessitated a revision by John Soreth in 1462 (printed in 1499). Blessed John Soreth was General of the Carmelites from 1451 to 1471, and it was during his term of office (1452) that several communities of Béguines affiliated themselves to the Order.

From Spain in the sixteenth century, through the energies and organizing abilities of the great Teresa (1515–1582), came the so-called Discalced Reform which divided the Order into two divisions, the original or Calced Carmelites and the Teresian or Discalced Carmelites. The latter obtained as their first General, Nicolas of Jesus (1539–1594), a Genoese by birth of the noble family of Doria, under whom (1586) the newly established reform abolished the venerable and ancient rite in favour of that of St. Pius V, albeit against the wishes of many of the brethren. There are at the present time about eighty convents of Calced friars, with eight hundred members, and twenty convents of nuns with about one hundred members. In 1926 the first post-Reformation house was established in England at Faversham, Kent, from the Calced Priory of White Friars Street, Dublin.

The venerable Carmelite rite is substantially that of the rite of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, as used in the middle of the twelfth century, although it has been subject to many changes and modifications, even down to most recent times (1919), as wherever a peculiar Western rite subsists there is always what one may call a Romanizing party, ever on the watch to ' level ' and to bring about a more exact conformity with the Roman missal.

It must, however, in fairness be pointed out that this desire to drop unique and ancient customs, traditional to some particular Church or Order, comes from within and *not* from Rome and the Sacred Congregation of Rites, where the maxim of Cardinal Bona (1609–1674) is strictly adhered to : ' Debet unaquaeque ecclesia custodire ritus suos, sed receptos a majoribus, longoque usu praescriptos, et legitima auctoritate approbatos ' (' Rer. Lit.,' Lib. VI. n. 3).

The Carmelite Rule, drawn up about the year 1210, ordered the hermits of Mount Carmel to follow the approved

custom of the Church, which, in this instance, implied the patriarchal church of Jerusalem.

This Crusading rite is Roman in origin and Gallicanized in form, coming in the main from Paris, but showing signs of other influences. Thus, local colour taken from the surrounding Holy Places necessarily connected the events of the ecclesiastical year with actual sites. St. Albert, Patriarch of Jerusalem (*ob.* 1215—April 8), who gave the Rule to the Order, must also have been concerned with the rite, and he had previously been acquainted with Augustinian usages. About 1240 the Order spread to Europe, and a General Chapter in 1259 passed a number of regulations affecting liturgical matters, which were altered and revised from time to time in later Chapters. That held at Cologne in 1315 approved the ' Ordinale Dominici Sepulchri,' as corrected by Master Sibert de Beka (*ob.* 1333), and decreed that it should be observed by the whole Order.

In 1324 the saying of the ' Salve Regina ' was made obligatory at the end of the canonical Hours and the conventual Mass.

A committee was appointed in 1532 to revise the liturgical books of the Carmelites, but they were only published in 1544, Nicholas Audet being Father General. After the Tridentine reform a further revision was undertaken in 1580, which resulted in a final edition of the breviary in 1584, the missal in 1587, and the ' Caerimoniale ' in 1616 (again in 1906). At this time the Chapter and General of the Order lost their complete power of altering the liturgy without reference to Rome, and, when Carmelite rubrics are silent on any given point, the decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites must now be followed. In 1660 there was a very marked tendency to give up certain venerable customs, which has even shown itself so lately as in the Chapter of 1919, through, it is said, the ' levelling ' spirit of the Dutch fathers.

The Carmelite Order has an especial devotion to Our Blessed Lady, and before the introduction of the scapular feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel (July 16 with vigil) about the year 1386, for which a Sequence or Prose is appointed, the titular feast was the Assumption (August 15).

In the Chapter of 1306, in addition to Corpus Christi, the feast of the Conception was instituted (' In Conceptione seu potius veneratione sanctificationis Beatae Virginis '), and towards the end of the same century feasts of the Order were introduced, including such names as St. Eliseus (June 14) and St. Elias (July 20). The Roman martyrology praises Elias on the same day, and in the Calendar of the Melkites, where the feast is a day of obligation, and the holy Prophets Moses, Aaron and Eliseus are also commemorated, the notice stands as ' Commemoration of the illustrious and holy Prophet Elias the Thesbite and of his ascension into heaven in a chariot of fire. *Ob.* 900 B.C.'

Sundays are reckoned as after Trinity.

From existing English inventories it would seem that the Carmelite Order, despite the existence of an early colour scheme in the Crusading Church of the Holy Sepulchre (twelfth century), had no regular sequence until the sixteenth century. Certain peculiarities, however, still persist in the matter of colours, since white is prescribed for Palm Sunday, at the blessing of the palms and at the procession, and on Holy Saturday, for the blessings of the fire, incense and font, in addition to that of the Paschal Candle ; while red appears for the Circumcision, St. John before the Latin Gate, and St. Elias.

The missal of 1866 gives the acolytes the choice of albs or surplices. Although in the first years of the Order the singing was of the simplest character, we find the Ordinal of 1312 allowing faux-bourdon, at least on solemn occasions, and by 1410 we can trace notices both of organs and organists.

In the revision of 1544 all Proses, with the exception of six, were abolished. Although genuflections have been introduced into this rite, a profound bow is added when passing the tabernacle. The Roman custom concerning altar lights has now superseded the ancient practice of one light at low Mass and only acolytes' torches at high Mass ; while the ' intorticium,' ordered in the ' Caerimoniale ' of 1906 to be lit at the Epistle horn at the beginning of the Canon, seems to have been abandoned (*vide* S.C.R., June 9, 1899). At the ceremony of the Asperges the antiphon ' Veni Sancte Spiritus ' is

recited, save in Paschal-tide (' Vidi Aquam ') and Trinity-tide (' Asperges me ').

As the priest, his head covered with the amice, goes from the sacristy to the altar he is directed to say (' submissa voce ') the psalm ' Judica me.' In low Masses, before the Confiteor, the chalice is made, when the server on presenting the water says ' Benedicite ' to which the priest replies ' In nomine Patris et Fi + lii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.' The paten, containing the Host, is then placed on the chalice and they are covered with the veil.

The preparatory prayers of the Mass, said (' clara voce ') in the customary place, begin with the sign of the cross and ' In nomine,' etc., followed by the versicle ' Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus,' and the response ' Quoniam in saeculum misericordia ejus.' In 1312 the second part of the Confiteor was added, which until that time was very short. Its present form is : ' Confiteor Deo omnipotenti, beatae Mariae semper Virgini, beato Patri nostri Eliae, omnibus Sanctis, et vobis fratres : quia peccavi cogitatione, locutione, opere, et omissione : mea culpa. Ideo precor beatam Mariam semper Virginem, beatum Patrem nostrum Eliam, omnes Sanctos, et vos fratres orare pro me ad Dominum Jesum Christum.'

' Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus, et dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua : liberet te ab omni malo : conservet et confirmet in omni opere bono, et perducat ad vitam aeternam.'

The ' Indulgentiam,' similar to the Roman, is followed by ' Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini,' and the reply ' Qui fecit coelum et terram.'

At high Mass the words ' In nomine Patris,' etc., are added to the customary form for blessing the incense ; while, before the altar is censed at both Introit and Offertory, the celebrant, on his knees, censes the tabernacle.

On greater doubles the Introit is recited three times—before the verse, immediately after the verse and after the ' Gloria Patri ' (*cf.* Lincoln, ' when the choir had rulers,' and Braga, on some feasts) ; and at solemn Masses the celebrant recites the Introit with the deacon on his right and the subdeacon on his left.

For the Kyrie the position of the assistants in the sanctuary is :

Celebrant (at the book)
Deacon
Acolyte Subdeacon Acolyte
Thurifer
Acolyte Acolyte Acolyte

—with a somewhat similar arrangement for the Epistle. During the singing of the ' Gloria in Excelsis ' (or Kyrie) the deacon brings up the burse and spreads the corporal. Before turning to give the salutations the altar is not kissed in this rite, but the celebrant signs himself with the cross and, when the subdeacon kisses his hand after reading the Epistle, he blesses with the words ' In nomine,' etc.

In some places, says the ' Caerimoniale ' of 1906, those rites are still observed in very solemn Masses which are found in the missal of 1504 (' Rubr.' 41, ' De modo celebrandi Missam conventualem ')—namely, that the celebrant and deacon sit in the sedilia during the chanting of the Epistle, with the mappula over the knees of the priest, and that here the preparation of the chalice takes place.

During the chants that precede the singing of the Gospel the chalice is made at high Mass, when the subdeacon in a humeral veil, with the thurifer, brings the vessels up to the altar, where the wine and water are added and the chalice and paten covered with the veil until the Offertory. In addition to the Sequences or Proses found in the Roman missal a special one is included for the feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel (July 16) :

' Flos Carmeli
Vitis florigera,
Splendor Coeli,
Virgo puerpera
Singularis.

Mater mitis,
Sed viri nescia,
Carmelitis
Da privilegia
Stella Maris. Alleluia.'

Some metrical compositions, sung as ' Offertoria ' in the use of York, bear great resemblance to this Carmelite hymn. Where a Sequence is sung, if time allows, the sacred ministers may retire to the sedilia, but only after the preparation of the chalice.

Before the Gospel the priest blesses the deacon, saying : ' Dominus sit in corde tuo, et in labiis tuis : ut digne, et competenter annunties sanctum Evangelium suum : in nomine,' etc. ; and, after signing the book and himself, the deacon says secretly : ' Gloria tibi Domine, qui natus es de Virgine, cum Patre, et sancto Spiritu in sempiterna saecula. Amen ' ; while the choir sings ' Gloria tibi Domine ' and the book is censed thrice. After the Gospel both celebrant and deacon make the sign of the cross.

When the Creed is sung and the sacred ministers retire to the sedilia, they are directed at the ' Incarnatus ' to kneel, either before their seats or at the altar step, as is most convenient.

At the Offertory the priest signs the oblata with the words ' In nomine,' etc., and raising the chalice and paten together says the following prayer : ' Suscipe sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem, quam tibi offerimus in commemorationem passionis, resurrectionis, ascensionisque in coelum Domini nostri Jesu Christi : et honore beatae et gloriosae Dei Genetricis, semperque Virginis Mariae : et omnium Sanctorum, qui tibi placuerunt ab initio mundi : ut illis proficiat ad honorem, nobis autem ad salutem : et omnibus illis pro nobis intercedentibus in coelis, sit in salutem vivorum, et requiem defunctorum. Qui vivis et regnas in saecula saeculorum. Amen.'

The Host being put on the corporal, at high Mass the paten is not given to the subdeacon at this point, but later in the service ; the oblata are then blessed with the words ' Benedictio Dei omnipotentis, Patris, et Fi + lii, et Spiritus Sancti, descendat super hanc oblationem : et maneat semper. Amen.'

For the lavabo the Roman method has now superseded the old use, when the celebrant washed his hands at the piscina, with a choice of saying Psalm xxv., ' Veni Creator,' or ' Deus Misereatur ' (Ps. lxvi.).

Before the ' Orate fratres,' with an inclination to the altar, the priest says : ' In spiritu humilitatis, et in animo contrito suscipiamur a te Domine : et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum, ut a te suscipiatur hodie, et placeat tibi Domine Deus noster. Amen.' Then, signing himself and making a complete circle, he continues : ' Orate fratres ut meum, ac vestrum sacrificium acceptabile fiat apud Deum Patrem Omnipotentem ' ; to which the answer is made : ' Memor sit Dominus omnis sacrificii tui : et holocaustum tuum pingue fiat. Tribuat tibi secundum cor tuum : et omne consilium tuum confirmet ' ; and the celebrant, secretly saying ' Domine exaudi orationem meam : et clamor meus ad te veniat,' recites the Secrets.

According to the ' Ordinale divini officii ' of the year 1544 the deacon *should*, and according to the ' Caerimoniale ' of 1616 the deacon *may* (server at low Masses), at the time of flies, after the beginning of the Secrets, hold a fan in his hand, so as to prevent the celebrant being troubled. This is to be done wherever it has been the custom, and for low Masses it is also added ' and to soothe the priest a little . . . especially in hot districts ' (' atque ad Sacerdotem aliquantulum consolandum . . . praecipue in locis calidis '). The ' Caerimoniale ' of 1906 relegates this rubric to an appendix. The old Cluniac customs (1110) prescribed : ' Unus autem ministrorum stans cum flabello prope sacerdotem, ex quo muscarum infestatio exurgere incipit donec finiatur, eas arcere a sacrificio et ab altari seu ab ipso sacerdote non negligit.'—' Antiq. Consuet.,' II. 30.

In addition to the Prefaces found in the Roman missal, the Carmelite rite has a proper Preface for St. Teresa (Avila) : ' Vere dignum et justum est, aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, per Christum Dominum nostrum. Qui beatam Teresiam Sanctorum Scientia, ac divinae Charitatis ardore munerare, et Angeli visione ignito jaculo praecordia ejus transverberantis vehementius inflammare, eamque sibi spiritali connubio sociatam, data dextera significare dignatus est. Quo charitatis incendio dum beatae Teresiae vita consumitur, spiritus ejus columbae specie egredi visus, sublimem coelestis gloriae gradum conscendit. Et ideo cum Angelis, et Archangelis, cum Thronis et Dominationibus, cumque omni

militia coelestis exercitus hymnum gloriae tuae canimus sine fine dicentes.'

At the Sanctus the subdeacon receives the humeral veil and paten (*cf.* Sarum (acolyte), Lincoln, Braga). Until the sixth century the Host seems to have been consecrated on the paten, but in the first Roman 'Ordo' (eighth century) this was already held by an acolyte, who may perhaps have originally borne the 'sancta.'

The Paris missal speaks of the subdeacon holding the paten a little elevated, 'in signum instantis communionis.'

For the 'Hanc igitur' the rubric says nothing about 'hands spread over the oblations,' but the priest is to bow with his hands joined and placed on the altar. In the actual Consecration, at the word 'fregit,' the Host is ordered to be lightly pressed at the top, with the thumb and index finger of the right hand, which represents a movement as of breaking—a ceremony found in the Ordinal of 1312.

The 'Unde et memores' is said with arms outstretched in the form of a cross, and at 'Supplices te rogamus' the missal directs a profound inclination with arms enclosed ('brachiis cancellatis')—right under left—towards the shoulders.

The crosses made at 'Per ipsum,' etc., differ slightly in their positions from those of the Roman rite; while the rubrics in the 'Libera nos' order first the paten to be kissed, then the left and right eyes to be touched with the paten, and, finally, the sign of the cross to be made with it. The prayer at the Commixture is: 'Haec sacrosancta commixtio Corporis et Sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, fiat mihi, et omnibus sumentibus, salus mentis et corporis: et ad vitam aeternam promerendam, atque capessendam praeparatio salutaris. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.' The Agnus Dei and prayer 'Domine Jesu Christi, qui dixisti,' are said as in the use of Rome, but at high Mass, when the 'pax' is given, there are variations, for at the words 'secundum voluntatem' the celebrant kisses both the pall and the lip of the chalice and, at the conclusion of the prayer when the 'pax' is given by placing the right hand on the left shoulder, the priest says to the deacon: 'Habete vinculum pacis, et charitatis: ut apti sitis sacrosanctis mysteriis Domini nostri

Jesu Christi.' The deacon, however, in transmitting the 'pax' says only 'Pax tecum.' The prayer 'Domine Jesu Christi, Fili Dei vivi,' has the alteration of a single word, '*obedire* mandatis,' in place of '*inhaerere* mandatis,' but 'Perceptio Corporis' is identical with that found in the 1570 missal.

'Panem coelestem accipiam' does not appear in the rite, but the salutation, 'Salve Salus mundi, Verbum Patris, Hostia sacra, viva caro, Deitas integra, verus homo.'

The 'Domine non sum dignus' has been said since 1568.

For the prayers at the Ablutions, the first has the additional words 'in vitam aeternam. Amen'; and the second, after the Roman prayer 'Corpus tuum, Domine,' has 'Tibi laus, tibi gloria, tibi gratiarum actio, O beata, et benedicta, et gloriosa Trinitas, Pater et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus.'

In Paschal-tide—that is to say, from Holy Saturday to Trinity (exclusive)—'Ite, missa est' has two 'Alleluias'; while on the three Rogation days and in votive Masses without Glorias said within the same period, 'Benedicamus Domino' has a single 'Alleluia.' As regards the 'Placeat,' two differences may be noted: '*hoc* sacrificium' in place of 'sacrificium,' and 'in vitam aeternam' for 'Per Christum Dominum nostrum.'

The form of Blessing is: 'Benedictio Dei omnipotentis, Patris, et Filii, + et Spiritus sancti descendat super vos, et maneat semper. Amen'; and at high Mass the deacon and subdeacon stand on the step below the predella, facing each other and profoundly inclining.

So early as 1490 the Last Gospel appears in a missal of the Order as part of the Thanksgiving, albeit an integral part of the service. Before this, however (1324), a General Chapter had decreed the saying of the 'Salve Regina,' or its equivalent, after Mass, so that at the present time, before the Last Gospel, except at requiems, the celebrant, kneeling (standing on Sundays) on the top step (not on the predella), recites the 'Salve,' a versicle and response and the Collect 'Protege.' In Paschal time this is changed to 'Regina coeli laetare,' with the Collect 'Deus, qui per resurrectionem.'

At the response before the Last Gospel ('Gloria tibi Domine') the priest says secretly: 'Qui natus es de Virgine,'

etc.; and at the concluding reply (' Laus tibi Christi '), having made the sign of the cross, he says ' Per Evangelica dicta deleantur nostra delicta.' The Last Gospel appointed for the third Mass of Christmas is the Gospel for the Nativity of Our Lady (September 8), ' Liber generationis.'

The Thanksgiving after Mass in the Carmelite missal consists of the ' Te Deum,' the versicle ' Sit nomen Domini benedictum ' and its response, together with the prayers ' Protector in te sperantium,' ' Actiones nostras ' and ' A subitanea, et improvisa morte.'

As we have already seen, the Carmelite Order originated in the Holy Land, and therefore prayer for the recovery of the Holy Places may be said to be especially incumbent upon it. Realization of this duty was the more marked before the Chapter of 1919, which abolished the singing of a psalm for this end in certain conventual Masses. Before this time, in the ferial Masses of Lent (Ash Wednesday to Palm Sunday) and on the Vigils of Christmas and the Epiphany, after the Elevation of the Chalice, the psalm ' Deus venerunt gentes ' (Ps. lxxviii.) was sung, together with the Kyrie, ' Pater noster,' a versicle and response and the prayer ' Plentissime Deus.' On the Sundays of Advent and Lent (Passion Sunday inclusive), as well as on semi-doubles, simples, most simples, ferias, vigils and votive Masses, with the exception of octaves, feasts celebrated within octaves and Paschal-tide, the psalm ' Laetatus sum ' (Ps. cxxi.) was substituted for the above, with other versicles and three prayers.

Liturgy, everywhere essential to the Catholic Church, becomes to the Order of Preachers an especial means to an end, since St. Dominic founded a ' canonical Order,' and the due carrying out of the ' work of God,' in addition to the offering of the Holy Sacrifice, has always been a first claim upon the time and care of his religious offspring.

The *Dominican rite* is the third important monastic exception to the following of the Tridentine missal, escaping extinction, like the two liturgies already mentioned, by its antiquity and freedom from corruption.

The rule of the first six Masters-General of the Order (1206–1283) saw the genesis and final establishment of the

rite, duly entrenched behind papal authorization, and from this thirteenth-century use, with very minor alterations, the Order of St. Dominic has derived its extant liturgy.

The great founder himself (1206–1221), obtaining confirmation of his Order from Pope Honorius III (1216–1227) in 1216, although presiding in person at two General Chapters, never attempted to create one universal use for his spiritual children, but suffered each foundation to adopt the rite existing in that particular district or province. So great indeed was the latitude of this liturgical diversity that the Dominican house at Milan even adopted the Ambrosian rite.

The basic principle of the common life was indeed unity of prayer and worship, but with these divergences in liturgy and ceremonial—especially injurious to the common weal at a General Chapter, when the corporate performance of divine worship by the members of different provinces was well-nigh impossible—it became an imperative necessity to settle upon one uniform rite for the whole Dominican Order. This desire for unification seems to have originated with the second Master-General, Blessed Jordan of Saxony (1222–1237), in whose Constitutions (1228) we find a paragraph prohibiting any further modification of the chant, although his untimely death at sea (1237) postponed the centralizing efforts in the Order. A Chapter-General, however, whose acts, dating from about this time, are lost, says: 'We confirm all the Office, night and day, and we wish it to be observed by everybody, in such a way that it is not allowable for anyone to change anything.' The Chapters of Bologna (1240) and Paris (1241) suffered each convent to conform in ceremonial matters with local custom, but John the Teuton (1241–1252) at Bologna in 1244 ordered the Definitors, who had been appointed for the Chapter in the following year (Cologne), to bring to that assembly their special notes and rubrics from office books, missals, graduals and antiphonaries, 'pro concordando officio.' Cologne (1245) determined upon a commission of four, one from each of the provinces of France, England, Lombardy and Germany, who were to do the work of codification at Angers and to report to the Chapter of Paris in 1246. Here the work was approved and the result of their labours was declared to

be the one Dominican use; while the lectionary, revised by Humbert of Romans, was also adopted. Succeeding Chapters, held at Montepulciano in 1247 and Paris in 1248, endorsed these decisions, but criticisms continued, particularly in the matter of the interpretation of the rubrics, so that when the Order met at London (1250) the commission was asked to reassemble at Metz in the ensuing year with a liturgy revised in the light of the complaints. The result of these further efforts was approved both at Metz (1251) and Bologna (1252), but as there still seemed room for liturgical improvement in the books of the Order, Humbert of Romans (1254–1263), who had previously occupied the position of Provincial of the Paris Province (also Rome) and was in 1254 by the Chapter of Buda elected Master-General, was entrusted with the entire revision of what resulted in the final Dominican rite for the world. This *magnum opus* of fourteen volumes—lectionary, antiphoner, psalter, collectar, martyrology, processional, gradual, high altar missal, Gospel book, Epistle book, side altar missal, pulpitory and portable breviary—save for slight modifications in lessons, antiphons and the observance of new feasts, remains practically untouched to-day—as can be seen by a comparison between the rubrics of the modern missal of the Order and those in Master Humbert's work, preserved in the British Museum. Authorized by the Chapter of Paris in 1256, all subsequent assemblies have endorsed its decision. The Paris Convent appears to have made itself responsible for the provision of copies of this new liturgical version, for the 1256 Chapter levied a tax to bear its expense, authorizing each provincial prior to collect twenty pounds tournois and to send them to Paris. The provincial Chapter, held at Avignon in the same year, directed that every convent was to contribute sixteen shillings 'pro communibus exemplaribus que fiunt Parisiis de officio ordinis.'

Humbert's great work appears to have been looked upon as complete by 1259, for in the Chapter of that year (Valenciennes) an entry was made in the Acta to the effect that only that version could be used: 'Sciant omnes quod magister ordinis nichil de cetero immutare proponit.' In 1267, at the request of the sixth Master-General, Blessed John of

Vercelli (1264–1283), the Dominican liturgy received the official seal of the Catholic Church, as by the Bull ' Consurgit in nobis ' (July 7, 1267) Pope Clement IV (1265–1268) not only authorized its use, but, in lauding the work of Humbert of Romans, he forbade the introduction of any further changes without authority.

In 1285 Honorius IV (1285–1287), in ' Meritis Vestrae,' empowered General Chapters to make such alterations in the rubrics and office as they might consider necessary, but the Bull virtually remained a dead letter.

The author of the famous ' Quo primum ' decree, Pope St. Pius V (1565–1572), was himself a Dominican, who, before his elevation to the Supreme Pontificate, used the rite drawn up by Humbert of Romans.

To the General Chapter of 1601 Cardinal Baronius (1538–1607) was sent, to declare the wishes of Clement VIII (1591–1605), who desired the Order of Preachers to put its Church books in harmony with the breviary, diurnal and missal of Rome—' servato tamen antiquo praedicti ordinis ritu.' Master Xavierre, the General at that time, appointed a commission for the purpose which corrected, especially in matters concerning the lectionary, without in any way altering the original liturgy. One improvement effected was to make the Dominican and Roman Sunday Collects, Epistles and Gospels coincide, especially after Epiphany, Easter and Pentecost, still retaining, however, the distinctive method of counting, since at Rome the first Sunday is that which follows the feast, while the sons of St. Dominic reckon it to be that which follows the octave ; thus the third Sunday after Pentecost becomes the first Sunday after the Octave of Trinity.

Popes Innocent XI (1676–1689) and Clement XII (1730–1740) prohibited the printing of liturgical books without the permission of the Master-General, and no Dominican is allowed to use for his office any book which does not bear the seal of the General, as well as a reprint of the pontifical decree ' Quo primum.' It is, however, necessary to obtain the sanction of the Sacred Congregation of Rites for any contemplated alterations in the liturgy.

The reforms undertaken by the Chapters of Salamanca

(1551), Rome (1777), and Ghent (1871) were to restore the service books to the old exemplars at Paris and Bologna. Thus, all attempts that have been made to abandon the old Dominican rite have been frustrated and the original work of Humbert of Romans, used in over fifty English priories before the Reformation, remains to this day in a living liturgy. Although the ' Caerimoniale ' does not figure amongst the first books of the Order, from 1644 to 1868 collections of ceremonial notes were gathered together, so that the liturgical services might be the more accurately and exactly carried out. From whence then comes the Dominican Mass, and to what Churches do we owe its production ?

The liturgical diversity in the thirteenth century has been already shown, but it is necessary to press the point that, with the many differences in this particular or that, all the rites were Roman in essence.

Some writers even go so far as to say that the Dominican rite, inasmuch as texts, chants and customs abandoned by Rome have been inserted into this derived monastic liturgy, is really more Roman in character than the actual Roman rite, for by an adroit adaptation of Tertullian's ' Id verius quod prius,' the meaning becomes ' The more ancient Roman a thing is, the more Roman it is.' Humbert of Romans, also, was Provincial of Rome and, when the commission of four were pursuing their studies, he made a uniform copy of liturgical books and customs for his province, which Brother Peter, Sub-Prior of St. Sabina, was officially commissioned to undertake and which, in course of time, became disseminated in other houses of the Order, thus possibly effecting the final revision. There may perhaps be some truth in these ingenious theories, but one is rather tempted to deem them a case of ' the wish as being father to the thought,' since they are developed with the idea of disproving a Parisian origin for the rite, on the assumption that the rite of Paris was Gallican and that Gallican implied, if not disloyalty, at any rate tepidity towards the Holy See. This, however, is a complete fallacy, due to the use of the term in that sense in the seventeenth and following centuries, but having no possible connection with the ancient liturgical customs of the Church in France. The

distinctive Gallican liturgy was, but for the exceptional cases of Milan and Toledo, extinct by the thirteenth century, although we can trace its influence in all the service books of the period, including that of Rome.

As we have stated before, different Churches, centring round important metropolitical sees, had their own variants of what may be termed the Gallico-Roman rite, but in none of them was there any trace of opposition to the ' Mother and Head of All the Churches.'

When the Dominican rite is examined much is found that is common to the four chief English uses (Sarum, York, Hereford, Bangor) as well as to the Church of Paris, but, in spite of many differences, there seems little doubt but that the last-named rite formed the chief model from which the Order of Preachers derived its liturgy.

Blessed Jordan of Saxony was greatly attached to the Parisian rite and often assisted at the functions at Notre Dame; while Humbert of Romans, when elected Master-General of the Order, was Provincial of the Paris province, and Henry of Herfort, a fourteenth-century Dominican, definitely states that Humbert ordered and corrected the liturgy of Paris, when fashioning the rite for his Order.

One of the principal sources for the Dominican ' Consuetudines ' was the Institutions of the Canons Regular of Prémontré.

In common with so many of the Religious Orders, the Black Friars have a peculiar method of classifying feasts, and, as we have already observed, Sundays are reckoned after the Octave of Trinity instead of after Pentecost. It was, however, to a Dominican (St. Thomas Aquinas) that the Catholic Church owed its masterpiece of liturgy, the Office of the Blessed Sacrament, while yet another son of the Order, Armand du Prat (*ob.* 1306), was responsible for the Office of St. Louis, King of France (August 25).

The ' Caerimoniale ' of 1868 orders the thurifer and acolytes at the high Mass to wear either surplices or albs, according to the rank of the feast, and the vestments of the sacred ministers are normally Gothic in shape (not at Naples or Waterford), as being more suitable for the venerable

thirteenth-century rite ('ornements qui exhalent le parfum de l'antiquité chrétienne'). The custom of wearing the amice to and from the altar is observed; while for the dominical Asperges the celebrant has girded alb, stole and *maniple* (*cf.* Lyon), with a cope if there is a procession to follow. The rite for the aspersion of the water has variations from the Roman form on Passion and Palm Sundays, Easter Sunday, the other Paschal Sundays and Pentecost. Thus, in Passiontide, 'Et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum dele iniquitatem meam' is said in place of the 'Gloria Patri.' For Easter Sunday the versicle is 'Haec dies, quam fecit Dominus: exultemus, et laetemur in ea. Gloria Patri . . .,' followed by the second half of the 'Vidi aquam'; but on the following Sundays 'Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus: quoniam in saeculum misericordia ejus,' with 'Emitte spiritum tuum et creabuntur; et renovabis faciem terrae' on the feast of Pentecost.

At low Mass the chalice is made at the altar before the preparatory prayers and, in handing the water cruet, the server says 'Benedicite,' to which the priest replies 'In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.' The 'In nomine,' found once in the Roman rite (*cf.* Mozarabic), probably originated the practice of making the sign of the cross over the water, whereas its absence at requiems has resulted in no blessing at Masses for the dead. Then, before descending 'in plano,' the celebrant in a low voice recites 'Actiones nostras, quaesumus, Domine, aspirando praeveni, et adjuvando prosequere, ut cuncta nostra operatio a te semper incipiat, et per te coepta finiatur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen,' as he was bidden to do in the old York and Hereford uses.

The ancient rite of the Church of Paris ordered the making of the chalice before the celebrant vested for Mass.

The Dominican preparation, which omits the 'Judica me,' consists of 'In nomine Patris,' etc., 'Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus' and the response 'Quoniam in saeculum misericordia ejus,' a form of the Confiteor and 'Misereatur,' 'Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini' with its reply, and the prayer 'Aufer a nobis.'

The present Confiteor is ' Confiteor Deo omnipotenti, et beatae Mariae semper Virgini, et beato Dominico Patri nostro, et omnibus Sanctis, et vobis fratres, quia peccavi nimis cogitatione, locutione, opere, et omissione, mea culpa, precor vos orare pro me.' The words ' semper Virgini ' were added by the Chapter of 1629, ' Patri nostro ' by that of 1644, and ' omnipotenti ' in 1650. The ' Misereatur ' has the form ' Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus, et dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua : liberet te ab omni malo, salvet et confirmet in omni opere bono, et perducat te ad vitam aeternam ' ; and the following prayer omits the word ' Indulgentiam,' with ' peccatorum *vestrorum* ' in place of ' peccatorum *nostrorum*.' When the altar is kissed there is no prayer ' Oramus te Domine,' but the priest, signing the altar with his thumb, kisses it and then signs himself.

In solemn Masses the sacred ministers approach the altar towards the end of the singing of the Introit (' Officium '), when the deacon carries the missal and the subdeacon the book of the Gospels, but in Masses of the dead and at certain other times the altar vessels, without any humeral veil, are brought, in lieu of the Gospel book. During Mass the ministers and acolytes, even though the Blessed Sacrament is reserved, do not genuflect, but bow.

The acolytes' torches are put out at the altar, to be lit again just for the singing of the Gospel and then, finally, after the Ablutions for the return to the sacristy.

Incense is never used before the Gospel, and not at all in requiems. For the Introit, Kyrie (said at the book) and Gloria the deacon and subdeacon stand on the right of the celebrant, in order of dignity.

When time permits, the ministers go to the sedilia during the singing of the Kyrie, with the celebrant in the seat nearest the altar and a mappula, on which the hands are placed, spread over the knees of the three officiants. This mappula, used, also, between the Collect and the Gospel, is a fair linen cloth, although silk is occasionally provided. At the Gloria and ' Credo ' there is no withdrawal to the sedilia, but during the former the priest is bidden by the ' Caerimoniale ' to read some of the pious prayers, found as a preparation before the

beginning of Mass. The Gloria is begun in the middle of the altar and completed at the Epistle corner ; while, during the singing of it (or Kyrie), the subdeacon, preceded by an acolyte, goes to the sacristy and returns with the sacred vessels under a humeral veil (the acolyte carrying the cruets). These he places on the altar above the folded veil, to the right of the tabernacle. In the old Gallican rite this procession of the oblata took place at the ' Offertorium,' when the faithful brought up the bread and wine for the Sacrifice.

At the ' Dominus vobiscum ' the celebrant does not have his back to the altar, but turns, as in the Roman rite, when the Blessed Sacrament is exposed, and the deacon at solemn Masses raises the chasuble a little. After the Collects the sacred ministers go to the sedilia (the subdeacon when he has sung the Epistle at the lectern), and the deacon, taking the burse to the altar, washes his hands and spreads the corporal, returning to the celebrant to assist him in reading the Epistle, Gradual and Gospel. During the singing of the Gradual and ' Alleluia ' the subdeacon, after a lavabo, carrying the vessels in the humeral veil and preceded by an acolyte with the cruets, goes to the sedilia, where the deacon takes the paten and Host to show them to the priest, and the subdeacon pours the wine and water into the chalice. At the latter ceremony the subdeacon says ' Benedicite,' to which the deacon, sitting on the left of the celebrant, continues ' Dominus,' and the priest gives his blessing with the words ' In nomine Patris,' etc. Then the paten is once more put on the chalice and the subdeacon takes the vessels back to the altar, depositing them at the Epistle horn until after the Offertory, when they are moved to the centre. This preparation of the oblata is a relic of Gallican usage, for although the mode of application is different, yet the principle remains the same, namely, that it takes place before the Mass of the faithful ; while it is also a relic of the choosing of the matter for the particular Sacrifice, out of that which the people have brought up. In the four Masses of Christmas an Old Testament lesson, taken from Isaias, is sung before the Epistle : Vigil, Isa. lxii. ; Midnight, Isa. ix. ; Aurora, Isa. lxi., lxii. ; Midday, Isa. lii. (*cf.* Carthusian, Braga).

In addition to the Sequences found in the Roman missal

the Dominican liturgy has a further three: for the third Mass of Christmas ('Laetabundus'), St. Dominic ('In Coelesti hierarchia'), and St. Francis ('Sanctitatis nova signa').

No response is made at the end of either Epistle or Gospel, but at the beginning and end of the evangelical lection the celebrant signs himself with an ordinary cross, in addition to the customary usages. When the thurifer has brought the incense to the sedilia to be blessed and the subdeacon has carried the Gospel book to the deacon, the latter seeks the celebrant's blessing, receiving it in the words: 'Dominus sit in corde tuo et in labiis tuis ad pronuntiandum sanctum Evangelium pacis. In nomine + Patris,' etc. On all feasts above the rank of a duplex, during the making of the chalice, the thurifer and acolytes go to the sacristy and return with the crucifer (in processions the figure of the cross faces backwards), so that at the singing of the Gospel the priest is at the altar and the remaining ministers and assistants stand in the form of a cross facing north.

If there is a Creed at Mass it is said at the Gospel corner, the priest coming to the centre for the 'Incarnatus,' but at high Mass the chanting of the profession of faith has been surrounded with elaborate ceremony. While the celebrant is saying his Creed he stands at the Gospel horn with the ministers and acolytes at his left, but at the approach of the 'Incarnatus' they all go to the middle of the altar. On the lower step are the deacon (right) and the subdeacon (left); while 'in plano' are the acolytes and crucifer (if the rank of the feast allows), with the thurifer behind, thus forming a cross with double arms. When the genuflexion is over the two sacred ministers stand behind the priest and the acolytes retire, extinguishing their candles.

The 'Offertorium' is read at the Gospel horn, followed immediately by the offering of the oblata, Host and Chalice together under one prayer, when the deacon at high Mass says: 'Immola Deo sacrificium laudis et redde Altissimo vota tua'; to which the priest answers: 'Quid retribuam Domino, pro omnibus quae retribuit mihi? Calicem salutaris accipiam, et nomen Domini invocabo.' Then, elevating the paten and chalice, the celebrant continues: 'Suscipe sancta Trinitas

hanc oblationem, quam tibi offero in memoriam Passionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi ; et praesta, ut in conspectu tuo tibi placens ascendat : et meam, et omnium fidelium salutem operetur aeternam.' This prayer, which, since 1570, Rome has ordered to be said after the lavabo, has varied in name, place and subject-matter, but it should be noted that the Dominican form only recalls the Passion and may very well represent the Paris use of the thirteenth century. The author of the ' Micrologus ' (eleventh century) asserts that it was only said ' by ecclesiastical custom and not by virtue of a prescription,' so that the Carthusians are without this prayer in their Mass. The form at the blessing of the incense consists only of ' In nomine Patris . . .'

No prayer is said at the censing of the oblata and altar, but for the former the sign of the cross is made over the chalice, with three impulsions in front of it.

After the celebrant has been censed by the deacon, or at low Masses directly after the Offertory, the priest washes his hands, reciting the first three verses of Psalm xxv. (the subdeacon gives the water and the deacon the towel).

Before the ' Orate fratres ' an adaptation of the words of the Three Holy Children in the fiery furnace (Dan. iii. 39) is said : ' In spiritu humilitatis, et in animo contrito, suscipiamur Domine a te : et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum, ut a te suscipiatur hodie, et placeat tibi Domine Deus.' At ' Orate fratres, ut meum, ac vestrum pariter in conspectu Domini sit acceptum sacrificium ' the deacon slightly lifts the chasuble, but no response is made to the invitation, and, turning back to the altar, the celebrant continues : ' Domine exaudi orationem meam, et clamor meus ad te veniat.' The insertion of ' Suscipiat Dominus sacrificium ' was of a later date than the formula of the priest, since it is absent from the rite of Good Friday, as well as from that which we are now considering, and Innocent III in his description of the Mass makes no mention of it. The missal is brought to the centre of the altar for the Secrets and Canon.

In addition to the Roman Prefaces a proper Preface is provided for St. Dominic : ' Vere dignum et justum est, aequum et salutare : Nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere,

Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus. Qui in tuae sanctae Ecclesiae decorum ac tutamen apostolicam vivendi formam, per beatissimum Patriarcham Dominicum, renovare voluisti : Ipse enim, Genetricis Filii tui semper ope suffultus, praedicatione sua compescuit haereses, fidei pugiles gentium in salutem instituit, et innumeras animas Christo lucrifecit : Sapientiam ejus narrant populi, ejusque laudes nuntiat Ecclesia. Et ideo cum Angelis,' etc.

For the Sursum Corda (Agnus Dei) the deacon and subdeacon turn inwards on the top step, while the acolytes ' in plano ' also face one another. After the ' Gratias agamus ' has been sung, the thurifer, who since the Offertory has been standing before the altar, censes both the sacred ministers, the acolytes and the choir, and at the Sanctus (*cf.* Carmelite rite) the subdeacon takes the paten, covering it with the ends of a humeral veil. Just before the elevation a third candle or torch (' intorticium ') is lit at the Epistle horn, which remains lighted until after the Communion, but at high Mass two standard lights are sometimes used. It was only in the fifteenth century that it became customary at Rome for the celebrant to spread his hands over the oblations at ' Hanc igitur,' so the Dominican liturgy still gives no order requiring this, and the warning bell is rung when the priest makes five signs of the cross over the chalice.

Originally there was no rubric prescribing genuflections at the Consecration, but, as a first step towards the present custom (*more Romano*), the Chapter of 1569 ordered the priest after the Consecration of the Body of the Saviour and after that of the precious Blood to bow profoundly, while the other ministers and the choir were to kneel. Now, regulations demand that those in choir kneel a little before the Consecration and remain with head raised until after the second elevation, when they are directed to prostrate themselves. The ' Constitutiones,' 1358–1363, found in the Additional Manuscripts (23935) of the British Museum (ff. 572–579 v°), under the heading ' De inclinationibus. II. capitulum,' say : ' In ferialibus quoque diebus jacemus prostrati a " Sanctus " usque ad " Agnus." In festis vero trium vel novem lectionum, jacemus ab elevatione corporis usque ad " Pater noster." '

At high Mass the deacon kneels to the right of the celebrant, with the subdeacon on the left, the former censing the Blessed Sacrament continuously during the elevation—a custom first found in a Dominican 'Ordo' of the thirteenth century. After the Consecration the deacon stands behind the celebrant, coming up to the altar as required.

For the 'Unde et memores' the priest holds his arms in the form of a cross, while at 'Supplices te rogamus' he bows down, his hands crossed, but not resting on the altar (*cf.* four chief mediaeval English uses, Carthusians, old Roman rite). It is true that the Dominican rubric only says 'Extendat brachia plus solito, mediocriter tamen,' but St. Thomas sees in this gesture an imitation of Christ on the Cross, and three 'Caerimonialia' of different seventeenth-century Franciscan provinces speak of 'He prays crosswise,' 'He prays his arms extended in the form of a cross.' The 'Caerimoniale Romano-seraphicum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum' (1908) on the duties of the server at low Mass directs: 'The server returns to his place (after the elevation) and there on his knees, with his arms extended crosswise, he remains until the "Pater noster," silently reciting six "Paters," "Aves" and "Glorias"'—to which a further note adds, 'according to the custom of the Order' (*cf.* Carthusians and Calced Carmelites from twelfth century—never apparently at Rome).

In the signings at the close of the final Doxology their exact positions differ from those in the Roman Mass, and there is no little elevation ('non tamen populo ostendat'). Thus, the cross which accompanies the name of the Father is made before the chalice 'in alto,' and that of the Holy Spirit 'versus pedem,' an arrangement originally observed at Rome, although the five crosses do not seem to have been made before the end of the eleventh century. At the first intonation of the 'Pater noster' the subdeacon uncovers the paten and so holds it until the end of the prayer, when he brings it up to the altar —since Our Lord's Passion we are the children of God, and we can say 'Our Father' without any shade or veil between Him and us.

At 'da propitius pacem in diebus nostris' in the embolism the priest signs himself with the paten, kisses it and then places

it on the altar away from the corporal (*cf.* Hereford use), not under the Host, as in the Roman use. When at high Mass the deacon hands the paten to the celebrant he kisses the shoulder of the priest, unless the Blessed Sacrament is exposed.

As the words ' per eumdem Dominum nostrum ' are said the sacred Host is broken into two parts, and again at ' Qui tecum vivit et regnat,' so that two particles are held in the left hand over the chalice until the Communion, and the third particle, with which the three crosses are made at ' Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum,' is inserted into the chalice at the Commixture, which is made *after*, not before, the ' Agnus ' (Dominicans do not strike the breast). The prayer said at the Commixture is : ' Haec sacrosancta commixtio Corporis et Sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi fiat mihi, et omnibus sumentibus, salus mentis et corporis : et ad vitam aeternam promerendam atque capessendam praeparatio salutaris. Per eumdem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen '—which is similar to that found in the old Sarum, Bangor and Hereford uses.

The celebrant then kisses the right side of the chalice, which recalls the old custom of kissing the Host itself—*e.g.* missal of the Abbey of St. Remi at Reims (1556), which directs the celebrant to say as he does this, ' Pax tua sit mihi Christe.' At the ' pax ' the priest first salutes the paten or instrument and then presents it to the deacon with the words ' Pax tibi et Ecclesiae sanctae Dei ' ; who in his turn offers it to the subdeacon (*cf.* Paris missal of 1738 : ' Pax tibi, frater, et Ecclesiae sanctae Dei '). Only one prayer is said before Communion : ' Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi, qui ex voluntate Patris, cooperante Spiritu sancto, per mortem tuam mundum vivificasti : libera me per hoc sacrosanctum Corpus et Sanguinem tuum ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis, et universis malis : et fac me tuis semper inhaerere mandatis, et a te nunquam separari permittas : Qui cum eodem Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto vivis et regnas Deus in saecula saeculorum. Amen.'

No ' Domine non sum dignus ' is said before the priest's Communion, although it is now used when the people communicate. At a low Mass the server is directed to ring the bell once, when the priest uncovers the chalice after receiving the

Sacred Host. As he communicates himself the celebrant only says ' Corpus et Sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiant me in vitam aeternam. Amen.' It has been already pointed out that a Dominican priest holds two particles of the Host in his left hand, from the time of the fraction until his Communion, and now he receives the Host from his *left* hand—a practice which is absolutely unique and one which has given rise to many theories and speculations. Both the Celtic liturgy and also that of the Church of Paris are said to have had the same practice, although, in the absence of any documentary proofs, such suppositions must remain conjectural.

Four possible explanations have been put forward to account for this singularity—one scandalous and ill-natured, another sentimental, another mystical and, finally, one that is practical and, consequently, more likely to be the truth.

The first theory seems to have been invented, or at any rate promulgated, by a Franciscan, who wrote in the ' Chronicle of Lubeck ' in 1420 that the Dominicans had been ordered to receive Holy Communion with the left hand in punishment for the supposed murder of the Emperor Henry VII by means of a poisoned Host administered to him by his Dominican confessor. Henry of Luxembourg, who was at war with Pope Clement V (1304–1314) and was excommunicate, died suddenly of fever at Buonconvento, near Siena, in 1313, but the Ghibelline party raised a storm against the alleged perfidy of the Order of Preachers, and so great was the outcry that the Chapter of London in 1314 counselled members of their Order to say daily the Litanies of the Saints. In reality, the practice of the celebrant receiving from his left hand was at least sixty years older than the death of the Emperor.

The second explanation suggests that it is because the left hand is nearest the heart.

Savonarola in his ' Treatise on the Mass ' employs a mystical signification. The three particles into which the Host is divided represent the three states of the Church. That put into the chalice at the Commixture stands for the Church Triumphant, because the elect are inebriated with heavenly delights. The Church Suffering is represented by the portion from which the priest broke off the particle dropped into the

chalice, because, although the souls in Purgatory are sure of heaven, they are still undergoing purification. Lastly, the Church Militant is expressed by the particle which lies for a time upon the paten, because her members are still sojourners upon earth. Among the Dominicans, however, that particle destined for the chalice is not laid on the paten, but, being held in the right hand, signifies glory, while the two to be consumed by the priest, remaining in the left, connote trial and suffering, conformably to the Bride of the Canticles: 'His left hand is under my head; his right hand embraces me' (Cant. ii. 6).

The fourth suggestion is merely derived from what actually takes place with the Host prior to its reception in Holy Communion. In consequence of the fraction of the Host over the chalice, this fraction is made and the particle is put into the chalice with the right hand, so that in order to communicate with this same hand two awkward movements would have to be made—to change the Host from the left hand into the right, and then to take the chalice, over which he makes his Communion, into the left—and therefore it is more simple and harmonious to receive from the left hand, which sufficiently accounts for this Dominican peculiarity.

In administering the Blessed Sacrament, 'custodiat *te*' is said, in place of the Roman 'animam tuam.'

Two ablutions are taken, but there is only a prayer at the second, which has a resemblance to the first ablution prayer in the Roman rite: 'Quod ore sumpsimus, Domine, pura mente capiamus, *ut de Corpore et Sanguine Domini* nostri Jesu Christi fiat nobis remedium sempiternum. *Amen.*' In the old Parisian rite the priest washed his hands immediately after the ablutions at the piscina, and in the Dominican liturgy this is still permitted, although the celebrant is counselled rather to rinse his fingers over the chalice. An ancient Meaux missal directed the priest to say the 'Nunc Dimittis' at this lavabo. When, at a high Mass, the subdeacon has given the two ablutions to the celebrant, he washes his own fingers and stands to the right of the other ministers for the 'Communio.' Then he purifies and covers the chalice, taking it straight to the sacristy, if there is

more than one Post-Communion prayer and it is not too far distant, or, failing this, he carries the sacred vessels out in the procession at the end of Mass.

The Dominican ' Placeat ' is similar to that found in the Roman missal, and the same prayer was in the mediaeval use of Paris.

According to the primitive text of the Order of Preachers the Blessing could be given or not, ' secundum modum patriae,' but in the present service books the fixed form is : ' Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Patris + et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, descendat super vos, et maneat semper. Amen.'

At the high Mass the sacred ministers stand one behind the other for the Blessing, the deacon and subdeacon inclining their heads, after which the missal is given to the former and the Gospel book to the latter, unless he is carrying the chalice.

The Last Gospel is now said at the altar, with the deacon and subdeacon standing on the left of the celebrant, but in the Dominican missal published in 1502 at Lubeck (Bodleian) the priest is told that he may say it as he unvests. Except in solemn Masses the corporal is not folded up and put into the burse until after the reading of this Gospel. As in the Carthusian and Ambrosian rites, the ' Benedicite ' is recited on the way back to the sacristy.

After the low Mass, if the server accompanies the priest to the sacristy, he genuflects and asks for a blessing, saying ' Benedictus Deus,' to which the priest continues, ' Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus,' and the server answers ' Amen.'

Only these three Orders—Carthusian, Calced Carmelite and Dominican—can be said to possess a distinctive rite, although, in addition to the Cistercians, the *Norbertine Fathers* or *Canons Regular of Prémontré* have certain peculiarities in their Mass. The founder, St. Norbert, was born at Xanten about the year 1080, dying as Archbishop of Magdeburg on June 6, 1134, and canonized by Pope Gregory XIII (1572–1585) in 1582. In 1120 Norbert founded the *Premonstratensian Order* at Prémontré near Laon, which was officially confirmed by Honorius II (1124–1130) six years later.

Living under a monastico-canonical rule, the especial

devotions propagated have been the cultus of the Eucharist and Our Blessed Lady.

St. Norbert, since 1627, has been buried in the Abbey of Strahov, Prague, having become patron and protector of what is now Czecho-Slovakia, thus preserving the body of the holy founder, as in the French Revolution the old mother house was dissolved and destroyed.

The liturgical books of the Norbertines were reprinted at the instance of the General Chapter, held at Prémontré in 1738, when Claude Honoratus Lucas was Abbot-General, but, albeit new editions of the missal and breviary appeared after the Prague Chapter in 1890, the rites and ceremonies found in the eighteenth-century 'Ordinarius' have remained unchanged, although a revised edition was contemplated at the Chapter-General, held in 1927 at Tongerloo (Belgium).

The music of the Prefaces differs from that of Rome; while feasts are classified according to triples of the first and second classes, greater and lesser triples of the third class, greater doubles, lesser doubles, feasts of nine lessons, feasts of three lessons, and commemorations.

The third Saturday after Pentecost is observed as the feast of the Triumphus of St. Norbert, recalling the successful contest of the saint in a Eucharistic controversy in the Low Countries with Tanchelin—the Office of Corpus Christi with a commemoration of St. Norbert.

In the Litanies of the Saints both petitions and Collects differ from Roman usage.

The colour sequence, the 'Ordinarius' points out, is 'secundum usum Romanae Ecclesiae.'

In well-equipped houses of the Order there are three daily Masses—the chief Mass, the matutinal Mass (usually for the dead) and the Mass 'de Beata.'

The ceremonial appointed for the dominical Asperges is as follows: On approaching the altar the crucifer precedes the subdeacon, who carries the book of the Gospels, and who is immediately followed by the deacon and celebrant. On days, however, when no procession is prescribed, neither cross, candles nor incense are brought. Then at the lowest step of the altar the acolyte stands with the cross, the assistant ministers

' unus post alterum,' and the celebrant in front of the crucifer. After the intonation of the antiphon the priest turns to the Sacrament house, if the Blessed Sacrament is not reserved on the altar itself, and, after a genuflection, asperses it. Then, proceeding to the predella and again genuflecting, he sprinkles the altar three times, after which he kisses the ' mensa ' and, where practicable, makes the circuit of the altar, aspersing as he goes. A little water being thrown towards the cross, the aspergillum is handed to the deacon and subdeacon, so that they may sprinkle themselves with fingers dipped in the water. Then the crucifer is aspersed and, on doubles, the assistants, the abbot, when he is present, sprinkling himself as well as the priest, who, on receiving back the aspergillum, proceeds to the rest of the community in choir.

Arriving at the pulpit the celebrant, now vested in a cope, sings the prayer.

In this rite, in addition to Sundays, the ' Ordinarius ' enjoins the Asperges before the procession on Ash Wednesday, the days of the Greater and Lesser Litanies, and the Ascension.

Processions are made on all Sundays and triple feasts, when the aquabajulus leads, holding the holy water in his left hand and the sprinkler erect in his right. Behind him walks the crucifer, with the figure of the cross turned towards the community, *more archiepiscopo*, preceded on doubles by two taperers.

Then come the thurifer—two on triple feasts—and the sacred ministers, the rest of the community following in due order. Before entering the choir and again at the sanctuary step prayers are said.

The entry for high Mass is begun during the Introit, in such a manner that a halt is made before the door of the choir until the psalm after the Introit. On feasts, however, above the rank of nine lessons, when, as in the Carmelite rite (*cf.* Braga), the Introit is repeated thrice, the halt is made until the second repetition. On Sundays and more solemn occasions two taperers are enjoined, but otherwise only one is required by the ' Ordinarius.'

The names of St. Augustine and St. Norbert have been added to the Confiteor.

If the feast be a lesser double the celebrant, at the beginning of Mass, kneeling on the predella with his assistant ministers, censes the altar with three double swings, but on triples, greater doubles, and especially solemn votives both cross and altar are censed.

For the Kyrie, the priest, with the deacon on his right and the subdeacon on his left, stands in the middle before the altar.

Apart from the penitential seasons of Advent and Lent, the ' Gloria in Excelsis ' is said in the following votive Masses : Holy Trinity, Holy Spirit, Blessed Sacrament, Our Lady, Our Holy Father Saint Norbert, Holy Angels and Patron of the Church. After the words ' suscipe deprecationem nostram ' have been chanted at a high Mass (or during the Kyrie), two acolytes go to the sacristy, where the senior prepares the chalice and the junior the cruets. These are then brought into the choir during the first Collect (unless it is necessary to fetch them earlier to escort the subdeacon to the ambo at the appointed time), and placed on the credence or in the customary position. If the senior acolyte should not be ' in sacris ' he uses a linen cloth (' muffula linea '), kept for the purpose.

When ' Dominus vobiscum ' is sung at a high Mass the deacon, kneeling, kisses the edge of the front of the vestment.

The corporal is spread during the Collects or the Gradual, whichever is more convenient, and if the feast be a double or triple the vessels are placed on the credence, otherwise in the middle of the altar.

Where there is a sung Mass without ministers, the priest may either sing the Epistle himself or allow a surpliced clerk to do so (' vel potius in loco consueto aliquis Lector superpelliceo indutus '). A divergence from the Roman rite is found in the matter of Sequences or Proses, for here a special Prose is provided for the feast of the Nativity, and the ' Stabat Mater ' is not indicated for the Seven Dolours. In votive Masses of the Holy Spirit, in place of ' Veni Sancte,' the Tract ' Qui confidunt ' is used from Septuagesima to Easter.

Outside Corpus Christi and its Octave, in Masses of the Blessed Sacrament, only the last part of the Prose is said, beginning ' Ecce Panis Angelorum,' and in the season before

Easter the Tract ' Ab ortu Solis ' is substituted. For both the Gospel and ' Ite, missa est,' the deacon puts an almuce over his arm, and he does not kiss the hand of the celebrant before the lection, unless it be the abbot ; while in censing after the Gospel this is done by the thurifer on ordinary days and only by the deacon on greater doubles and triples.

For the Creed the sacred ministers stand one behind the other, and sitting in the sedilia is only permitted on solemnities which attain to the rank of at least a double.

One noteworthy peculiarity in this Norbertine rite is found in the rubric which orders kneeling in the Creed from ' " Et incarnatus est " usque ad " Et resurrexit " ' exclusive (*cf.* Benedictine rite of Tibaes).

On great feasts, when the Creed has been intoned, the subdeacon, having presented the Gospels to the celebrant, goes, preceded by taperers and thurifer, to the abbot, in order that he may cense him and offer him the open Gospel book to kiss. This done, the subdeacon presents the *shut* book to all in choir (*cf.* Toledo, where canons in choir touch the closed book, kissing their hands, and ministers at the altar kiss the book itself), saying to each, ' Haec est Lex Christi,' and eliciting the response, ' Corde credo, et ore confiteor.' The Paris missal (1738) directed that the subdeacon should say ' Haec sunt verba sancta,' and the priest reply ' Credo et confiteor ' ; while the Rouen book (1737) enjoined ' Haec est Lex sancta.'

After the Creed, when the vessels are on the credence, the subdeacon in a humeral veil brings up the chalice and paten, but, having assisted at the Offertory, he holds the chasuble during the censing, which varies according to the rank of the feast. Thus, after the oblations and cross, on days not above a lesser double, the celebrant three times censes each horn of the altar, but on more solemn occasions the use is similar to that of the Roman rite.

In the answer to the ' Orate fratres ' is one of the very few differences in the text of the Mass, the addition of a single word : ' Suscipiat Dominus *hoc* sacrificium.'

Save on doubles and triples, the subdeacon receives the paten in a humeral veil, after the ekphonesis of the Secrets has

been sung, but on these greater feasts both the taking of the paten and the subsequent censing are reserved until the Preface. In the former order, after ' Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro,' the thurifer hands the censer to the deacon, who, standing behind the celebrant, three times censes either horn of the altar. Then, where it is possible, the deacon makes a complete circuit of the altar, censing continuously, returning to his former position, and, if the Blessed Sacrament be in a Sacrament house (' Aedicula Venerabilis Sacramenti '), he censes the sacred Host three times on his knees, concluding with the censing of the subdeacon and, finally, that of himself at the hands of the thurifer.

Elevation torches (' intorticia ') are taken out after the elevation of the chalice, except on greater triples, when they remain until after the Communion; but from the ' Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum ' until after the Agnus Dei the taperers at high Mass hold lighted candles at the steps. At low Mass also an ' intorticium ' is ordered—' Cereus ad Elevationem Sacramenti accendendus.' It is a constant tradition of the Order that the elevation of the Host was introduced by the Holy Father Norbert himself, although in the earliest Statutes we find no mention of the elevation of the chalice (*cf.* Carthusians, Cîteaux (1215)). The custom of ringing the church bell at the Consecration dates from the twelfth century (*cf.* Carthusians, Camaldolese (1105)).

In the ' Libera nos,' before ' da propitius pacem,' the priest raises the paten from the altar with his right hand, signing himself with it as he says the words, and kissing it at ' pacem.'

The *Servite Order*, arising in thirteenth-century Italy, has, with other friars, the privilege of wearing the amice over the head to and from the altar.

Mass begins with the first half of the ' Hail, Mary ' and ends with the ' Salve Regina ' and the prayer ' Omnipotens sempiterne Deus '; while in the Confiteor there is the addition of ' septem beatis patribus nostris.' Consonant with the especial devotion to Our Lady of Sorrows a vigil is observed on the Saturday next before the Feast of the Seven Dolours.

The missal for use in *Benedictine* churches provides Sequences for both St. Benedict (March 21, July 11) and his sister (St. Scholastica, February 10).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(1) 'Missale Sacri Ordinis Cartusiensis.' Auctoritate Apostolica Approbatum R. Patris D. Anselmi Mariae Prioris Cartusiae et totius Ordinis Ministri Generalis. Studio et cura Editum. MDCCCLXXXIII. Cartusiae S. Mariae de Pratis.

(2) 'Ordinarium Cartusiense.' Nova editio. Gratianopoli. Ex Typis Baratier FF. et Dardelet. MDCCCLXIX.

(3) 'Les Chartreux.' Émile Baumann. Collection 'Les Grands Ordres Monastiques.' Publiée sous la direction d'Edouard Schneider. Chez Bernard Grasset. 1928.

(4) 'Rubricae Missalis ad usum Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensium Strictioris Observantiae A/S. Rituum Congregatione decreto 11 Junii 1924.' Approbatae et a Capitulo Generali Ordinis ejusdem anni Promulgatae. Westmalle: Typographia Ordinis Cisterciensium Strictioris Observantiae. MCMXXIV.

(5) 'Missale Fratrum Ordinis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae semperque Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo.' Ad praescriptum Breviarii ejusdem Ordinis. Auctoritate Apostolica approbati Restitutum et Reverendissimi P. Magistri Angeli Savini Foroliviensis totius Ordinis Vicarii Generalis jussu editum. Romae: Ex Typographia Collegii Urbani. De Propaganda Fide. MDCCCLXVI.

(6) 'Caerimoniale Ordinis Fratrum Beatissimae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo.' Romae. MCMVI.

(7) 'Rituale Ordinis Fratrum Beatissimae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo.' Jussu reverendissimi patris Pii Mariae Mayer, Prioris Generalis. Romae. MCMIII.

(8) 'Missel Dominicain Quotidien selon le Rite de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs.' Éditions de l'Année Dominicaine. 222 Faubourg Saint-Honoré, Paris. 1924.

(9) 'Dominican Mass Book.' By a Dominican of the Second Order, Carisbrooke. R. and T. Washbourne, Ltd.

(10) 'La Liturgie Dominicaine. I: Idées historiques—Commentaires généraux.' Société Saint Augustin. Desclée, De Brouwer et Cie, Lille, Paris, Bruges.

(11) 'Caerimoniale juxta Ritum S. Ordinis Predicatorum Reverendissimi Patris Fr. Vincentii Jandel ejusdem Ordinis Generalis Magistri Jussu Editum.' Mechliniae: H. Dessain, Summi Pontificis, S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide et Archiepiscopatus Meculiniensis, Typographus. MDCCCLXIX.

(12) 'The Constitutions of the Dominican Order, 1216 to 1360.' G. R. Galbraith. Manchester: At the University Press. 1925.

(13) 'Ordinarius sive Liber Ceremoniarum ad usum Canonici Ordinis Praemonstratensis.' In Capitulo Generali. An. 1738. Renovatus et Reverendissimi in Christo Patris ac Domini D. Claudii Honorati Lucas, Abbatis Praemonstratensis, totius Ordinis Generalis, ejusdemque Capituli Generalis. Auctoritate primum editus. Virduni. MDCCXXXIX.

CHAPTER IV
LYON RITE

CHAPTER IV

LYON RITE

SOME years ago there was a current theory, sedulously propagated by those whose interests lay chiefly in belittling the debt which Christendom owed to the Apostolic See, to the effect that Lyon was the centre from which the Gallican use became diffused, and that it came to the Church of Irenaeus through contact with Asia Minor—Ephesus in particular—thus linking up the Gallican rite with St. Polycarp and even with St. John. However gratifying it might have seemed to these amateur liturgiologists for a Church to be in no way indebted to the supreme bishopric of the Church of God, the theory is one which will not bear critical examination. If Gaul, Milan and Spain derived their usages from Lyon, it presupposes at least a political or social pre-eminence, and yet as early as Diocletian (284–305) when Lyon ceased to be the metropolis of the three Gauls, the prestige of the city had declined. In the persecution under Marcus Aurelius 177), when forty-eight martyrs witnessed for Christ, including the aged Bishop Pothinus (June 2) and the slave girl Blandina (August 8), the Church was certainly organized, but there was no fixed liturgy capable of transmission, and, even if there was, such a liturgy could not have been elaborate and complicated as the Gallican liturgy.

The Lyon use is mediaeval Roman, with a few Gallican survivals in both rite and ceremonial, which, having antiquity, was saved in 1570 by the Bull ' Quo primum.'

When the multiplicity of French usages grown up in the seventeenth century, often under Jansenist and disloyal influences, was made to cease by Pius IX, although some alterations were insisted upon, the venerable liturgy of the ' Prima sedes Galliarum ' was retained, together with its grand and stately ceremonial. So early as 1839 Mgr. Parisis, Bishop of

Langres, had prescribed the pure Roman rite for his diocese, but the somewhat weak Camaldolese Pope then reigning (Gregory XVI, 1831–1846) declined (1842) to issue any injunction on the matter, albeit deploring the ' variety of uses ' and praising those who had adopted the ' universal liturgy.' Pius IX (1846–1878), however, was made of sterner stuff, so that, ably championed by the Benedictine Dom Gueranger, he swept away all ' baroque ' liturgical accretions, even the strongly Gallican Sibour, Archbishop of Paris, falling into line in 1856. The initial Bishop of Lyon was St. Pothinus, a nonagenarian martyr, and an early successor in the see was the great writer St. Irenaeus (177–202), but it was perhaps during the episcopate of St. Lupus (538–542) that the pallium was first received, and in that of St. Nicetius—Nizier, April 2 (552–579)—that the Pope granted the title of Patriarch, although the list of prelates in the ' Ordo ' for 1930 makes St. Agobard (June 6) the first archbishop. Of especial interest to English Catholics is the tradition that it was St. Aetherius, Archbishop of Lyon (588–603), who consecrated St. Augustine, so that by some ingenious Anglicans a theory might be invented to the effect that the Province of Canterbury should follow the rite of Lyon ! Under Leidrade (798–814) and Agobard (814–840), when Charlemagne and the Carolingian reformers were insisting upon the purification of the Gallican liturgical texts, Lyon upheld its own traditions, although conforming to the wishes of the Romanizing party in many particulars. Agobard, in defending his antiphonary against Amalarius of Metz, declares that ' the holy Church of Lyon, by the Lord's protection, faithfully cherishes the rite of its ancestors [' paternum morem '], not abandoning the ancient customs of the Church of God in anything.'

So early as 1173, when the beatification of the martyred archbishop took place, the cult of St. Thomas of Canterbury was found at Lyon, for during his exile he had offered the Holy Sacrifice in the old church on the heights of Fourvière.

In the time of St. Jubinus (Gebuin)—1077–1081—St. Gregory VII established the primacy of the Church of Lyon over the provinces of Rouen, Tours and Sens (April 20, 1079)—a concession which was confirmed by Calixtus II

(1119–1124), despite the protests of Louis VI, who favoured Sens—although such a headship ceased in respect of Rouen in 1702. When Pope Paschal II (1099–1118) consecrated the Abbey Church of St. Martin d'Ainay, during a visit to the city, one of the altars was dedicated to the Conception of Our Lady and the feast was kept in Lyon about the year 1126, possibly through the influence of St. Anselm, who had lived in the town for four and a half years. Much capital has been made by some controversialists out of the letter which St. Bernard wrote to the Canons of Lyon as to their propriety in observing the festival of the Immaculate Conception, but the point at issue was not whether the dogma was true or false, but that the feast had been instituted without consulting Rome. In this letter ('Epist. 74') St. Bernard writes: 'Among the Churches of France that of Lyon has hitherto had ascendency over all others, as much for the dignity of its see as for its praiseworthy institutions. . . . It is especially in the Church Offices that this judicious Church has never readily acquiesced in unexpected and sudden novelties, and has never submitted to be tarnished by innovations which are becoming only to youth.' Four Canons of Lyon have ascended the Chair of Peter: Innocent IV (1243–1254), Clement IV (1265–1268), Blessed Gregory X (1268–January 28, 1276), and Boniface VIII (1296–1303); while Blessed Innocent V (1276), as Peter of Tarentaise, was archbishop from 1272 to 1273. Two Ecumenical Councils have been held at Lyon (1245 and 1274), and, in memory of the reunion schemes put forward at the second, two processional crosses have stood at the ends of the high altar since that time, although they are removed after the Vespers of the first Sunday in Lent until Holy Saturday. On June 25, 1696, the crosses, which had been of simple wood, were replaced in copper. The solemn ceremonies connected with the abortive union of the Latin and Greek Churches took place, under the presidency of Gregory X, on the feast of the holy founders of the Roman Church (June 29), when East and West met in the narthex of the cathedral, the Latins coming from the church of St. George and the Greeks from that of St. Paul. Then, having placed their respective crucifixes behind the high altar, Mass was sung by the Pope,

St. Bonaventure preaching the sermon. The Creed was first intoned in Latin by the cardinals and then taken up by the primatial clergy, after which the Patriarch Germanus and the Oriental prelates sang it in Greek, but when the fateful words ' qui ex Patre filioque procedit ' were arrived at a pause was made and then, in higher tones, the all-important clause was repeated three times.

In the seventeenth century Cardinal Bona (1609–1674), in his treatise ' De divina psalmodia,' pays homage to the Church of Lyon in tones somewhat similar to those expressed by St. Bernard; but in the following century Archbishop Antoine de Montazet (1758–1788), contrary to the agreement of 1570 and inspired by a Jansenistic tenor of mind, changed the texts of both missal and breviary. Against these liturgical novelties Pius IX and Cardinal de Bonald (1839–1870) waged an unceasing war, terminating in the introduction of the Roman missal and breviary into the primatial church of St. John Baptist on December 8, 1869. The great resistance which canons, priests and laity alike made to these changes, culminating in the protest of 1861, was due to a complete misunderstanding, for the fate of the venerable Lyon rite (' Ritus Romano-Lugdunensis ') was never at stake, but only the purging of the liturgy from elements which, if not heretical, were at least ' offensive to pious ears.' Such indeed was the declared intention of Pius IX when he received in audience the parish priests of Lyon (February 4, 1864), although he signified his disapproval at their unfilial agitation. In the brief of March 17, 1864, the progressive introduction of the Roman books was enjoined, and the missal (' Missale Romano-Lugdunense '), issued in 1866, still remains substantially in use for the archdiocese. Although one later occupant of the Chair of St. Irenaeus, Mgr. Ginoulhiac (1870–1875), was suspected in some quarters of latent Gallicanism, thereby losing his chances of a red hat (alone among the metropolitans of the nineteenth century), no archbishop has ever attempted to interfere with these liturgical decisions. An edition of the missal, published in 1904, bears the title, ' Missale Romanum in quo antiqui Ritus Lugdunenses servantur.' In anticipation of this work, the Sacred Congregation of Rites issued a decree (May 1, 1902)

in which the early liturgical history of Lyon was set forth : ' Nobilis Lugdunensis Ecclesia, antiquitate et dignitate in Galliis praestantissima, proprios ritus quos ab Irenaeo Praesule suo et Martyre accepisse fertur, a priscis temporibus fideliter tenuit.' Then, describing the part undertaken by Charlemagne in introducing the Roman rite, the same document continues : ' et ipsa Lugdunensis Ecclesia nemini secunda plenissimum dedit consensum, nonnullis tantummodo retentis, de ipsius Apostolicae Sedis assensu, ritibus et consuetudinibus quibus clerus populusque fidelis firmius adhaerebant.' The Lyon use, maintained by St. Pius V and modified by his nineteenth-century namesake (Pius IX), is finally acknowledged as lawful by this same supreme Roman Congregation : ' Kalendarii et Proprii Officiorum et Missarum pro eadem Archidioecesi Apostolicam approbationem obtinuit ; servatis tantum ex vetusta Lugdunensis Ecclesiae liturgia a memoratis novitatibus purgata quibusdam ritibus et consuetudinibus Romanae Liturgiae consonis et probatis.'

The Roman character of the Lyonnaise rite has been already pointed out, and this is abundantly clear if the ancient ' Ordines Romani ' are compared with the extant use at Lyon, for one sees many things in the pontifical Mass of to-day which existed in the earlier Roman rite, but have now fallen into disuse at Rome.

In addition to the missal with its rubrics, the Archbishop of Lyon and Vienne—Primate of the Gauls, as he is grandiloquently styled—issued an official ' Cérémonial Romain-Lyonnais ' in 1897, which since that date has guided all the priests of the archdiocese in their conduct of divine worship. Thus all churches under the jurisdiction of the diocesan of Lyon employ the Romano-Lyonnaise rite, save those religious Orders which have their own uses. By an indult dated February 20, 1880, priests of Lyon may use the pure Roman rite when they are away from their diocese.

The rule for the classification of feasts is the same as in the ordinary Roman rite, with due allowance for local commemorations, since we find St. Pothinus (June 2) a double of the first class with an octave in the town of Lyon, and a double of the second class outside ; while St. Irenaeus (June 28), who has

been raised to be patron of the diocese, is kept everywhere as a first-class feast. The fourth Sunday after Easter, also, is kept as an external solemnity in honour of St. Pothinus, although its observance is optional, unless he is the titular of the church.

The ' Gloria in Excelsis ' is omitted at every Mass in Advent and Lent, except on first-class feasts. An immemorial Lyonnaise custom enjoins a solemn requiem for the day following the Octave of the Epiphany, unless January 14 is a Sunday, when the Mass is transferred to the following day.

In the primatial church the blessing of ashes on the first day of Lent takes place in the Chapel of the Holy Cross. In other churches this ceremony must not be carried out at the altar where Mass is to be said, and, failing a second altar, the Communion rails are considered a suitable place. One acolyte with a candle is required ; while the subdeacon carries the missal on a cushion and the deacon the ashes. A surpliced clerk assists with the holy water and incense. The simple prayer at the blessing is : ' Deus, qui non mortem, sed poenitentiam desideras peccatorum, fragilitatem nostram benignissime respice ; et hos cineres quos causa proferendae humilitatis atque pomerendae veniae capitibus nostris imponi decrevimus : bene + dicere pro tua pietate digneris ; ut qui nos cineres esse, et ob pravitatis nostrae meritum in pulverem reversuros cognoscimus : peccatorum omnium veniam, et praemia poenitentibus repromissa misericorditer consequi mereamur.' During the imposition, the antiphon ' Exaudi nos ' and the psalm ' Salvum me fac ' are sung, and, after a collect (Roman) —' Concede nobis, Domine '—the procession returns to the sacristy (' juxta vestibulum ') until the Gloria of the Introit. The Lenten ferias all have ' Flectamus genua ' and ' Levate ' before the prayer at Mass.

Reminiscent of the time when Lent began on the first Monday, dalmatics and tunicles are still worn on the first Sunday, and after Vespers on that day a large veiled cross is erected in the chord of the apse in the primatial church. Before the first Vespers of Passion Sunday all images and crosses are covered, except the cross standing in the middle of the altar and those used for processions and funerals. Lyon,

also, retains the Gloria in the Introit throughout Passion-tide. For the blessing of palms, two acolytes, a subdeacon in girded alb (carrying the cross), and a deacon in a violet cope (carrying the Gospel book) are required in addition to the celebrant. Only one prayer, sung to the tone of the Mass collect, precedes the distribution and procession. Incense is used, as in the Roman rite, for the latter part of the Passion on Palm Sunday, but it is expressly forbidden for the other Passions during the week. At ' Emisit spiritum ' a rubric enjoins kneeling for the space of a ' Pater ' and the kissing of the ground. On Good Friday the cross is brought from the Chapel of St. Stephen (cathedral), veiled in red, by the treasurer, who is vested in a black cope and without shoes. The Mass of the Presanctified has a mutual Confiteor and Absolution ; while before the ' Pater noster ' the celebrant, holding the Host over the uncovered chalice, says : ' Per ip+sum, et cum ip+so, et in ip+so, est tibi Deo Patri + omnipotenti, in unitate Spiritus + sancti, omnis honor et gloria ' ; and then, so as to be heard by those near by, ' Per omnia saecula saeculorum.' A white stole and maniple are worn for the four lections on Holy Saturday, which immediately follow the blessing of the new fire, and the liturgy comprises no fewer than three litanies : (1) before the ' Exultet,' (2) ' ad descensum fontis,' and (3) at the Introit. The responsory ' Cantemus Domino ' is sung on the way back from the font.

The Candlemas ceremony (February 2) begins with a preliminary procession, and the candles are blessed (two collects) at the altar, where the station prayer is normally said. In the country parishes of the archdiocese a ' procession rurale ' takes place after the Asperges on every Sunday from May 3 to September 14 to invoke God's blessing upon the fruits of the earth. The great Litany of the Saints, chanted on the three Rogation days, contains the names of no fewer than 169 saints, whose prayers are piously sought. The Immaculate Conception, Annunciation, Assumption, Nativity of Our Lady, Nativity of St. John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, and St. Andrew have a procession before high Mass enjoined in the missal by collect and antiphon ; while the visit to the cemetery on All Souls' Day (November 2) may be commuted to a procession

round the church (five stations), observing the rites once found in Lyonnaise burials.

The colour sequence is Roman, with the addition of ash colour for Lent, but on ' Laetare ' the cathedral and large churches use a green antependium on the high altar, while for Lenten ferias the primatial church has a frontal of white wool ornamented with a violet cross.

Two kinds of corporals are found in this rite—the little corporal, similar to the Roman, which generally serves for low Masses and at Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, and the large corporal, double the length and used especially at solemn Masses. This second variety is similar to that found in the Carthusian rite, where the lower part is the corporal and the upper part takes the place of the pall.

In addition to the sacred ministers and those clothed as such, the acolytes at a solemn Mass, as well as the lectors of the lections and prophecies, with the singers of the graduals, alleluias and tracts on certain days, wear girded albs. The ' Cérémonial ' speaks of this vesture for acolytes as being ' convenient ' on solemn feasts and when the Blessed Sacrament is exposed. (A lector may read the Epistle in a surplice, preferably an ecclesiastic in choir, although a simple clerk or choir boy is tolerated—' Miss. Rom. Cérémonial de Lyon,' 1708.) The rubrics of the Church of Lyon order the amice to be put on by the clergy after the alb and girdle, but, except on Palm Sunday and the ' Triduum Sacrum ' before Easter, the present usage of the Roman Church is now generally followed. The old Lyonnaise custom, however, seems reminiscent of the practice of the bishop in conferring the subdiaconate, since the new subdeacon is already vested in an alb when he receives the amice ; and the Ambrosian priest is also bidden to vest in a similar order. The assistant deacons and subdeacons (' induti,' ' revestiti ') proper to this rite, no less than the ordinary auxiliary ministers, wear, in addition to dalmatic and tunicle, the ' colletin,' a kind of collar which recalls the apparelled amice and is put on after the vestments, fastened with ribbons. By an indult, dating from the year 1878, these assistants or ' induti ' who have this ' collar ' are dispensed from wearing the amice.

As in the Dominican rite, the celebrant wears the maniple for the blessing of the water and for the Asperges ; while the lector in the Mass carries it between the middle and ring finger of the left hand, as quoted by De Moléon in his ' Voyages Liturgiques ' (p. 63), where he describes the ceremonies of Holy Saturday : ' Les enfans de chœur chantent les Prophéties le Samedi-saint avec un maniple à la main gauche, c'est-à-dire entre leurs doigts '—a practice which originated in the holding of a handkerchief in readiness for use during a long service. The present missal (1904), where lections are to be read other than the Epistle and Gospel, gives the rubric : ' Lectio sequens cantatur in tono Lectionum Officii Nocturni a Lectore alba induto *cum manipulo inter medium digitum et annularem sinistrae manus* ' (*cf.* Cluny).

For the processions ordered on Palm Sunday, St. Mark, and the Rogations, as well as for those on certain feasts, before the solemn Mass, the deacon wears a cope and carries the Gospel book ; while the cantors are similarly vested on semi-doubles, lesser doubles and solemn requiems.

The humeral veil is only used to hold the Blessed Sacrament or a reliquary, for in the Mass the subdeacon has the paten in his maniple.

The gremial is an episcopal ornament, which, although of the same shape as the humeral veil, is generally narrower. At pontifical functions two ministers (canons assistant) carry it in front of the prelate and when seated stretch it across their knees, but in churches other than the primatial this office is performed by the deacon and subdeacon or by two ' induti ' priests. In processing with a relic the *priest* who bears the reliquary walks between the deacon and subdeacon, who hold up a gremial.

Peculiar to the use of Lyon are the ' orfroi ' and the ' manchettes,' worn by the thurifer at solemn Vespers and Lauds and by the crucifer in processions where the officiant is in sacred vestments. The ' orfroi ' is a survival of a tunicle, such as acolytes still wear in Seville Cathedral (once at Notre Dame, Paris, and Cluny), consisting of two bands of stuff, of the colour of the vestments, falling over the shoulders before and behind and reaching to the girdle, joined to each other on

either side by a similar band. The ' manchettes ' are cuffs round the alb, of the same material as the ' orfroi,' and recalling both the embroidery on the sleeves of the tunicle and the apparels on the mediaeval alb. Lyonnaise acolytes are forbidden to wear coloured cinctures (*cf.* Lisieux, Bayeux), and their girdles are not worn round the loins, in spite of the prayer which presupposes this, but higher up, in order to recall two passages in the Apocalypse : ' Vidi filium hominis . . . praecinctum *ad mamillas* zona aurea ' (Apoc. vi. 13), and ' septem angeli . . . vestiti lino mundo et candido, et praecincti *circa pectora* zonis aureis ' (Apoc. xv. 6).

The missal may either rest on a stand or a cushion, but for solemn Masses the Gospel book (' Textus ') lies on a cushion in the middle of the altar ; while affixed to the sedilia is a reading desk, to which, when the Mass is not sung by a bishop, the missal is brought immediately the Collects are over. The high altar of the cathedral has only one altar card (middle), and ancient diocesan usage directs that this shall be in the form of a triptych. The conservative instincts of the Church of Lyon were retained to an even greater extent before the eighteenth century, for Morel de Voleine, writing in 1861, at the time of the difficulties with Rome, says : ' L'autel était une table rase et sans autres ornements que ses parements d'étoffes. Ce ne fut qu'en 1746, que l'on prit l'habitude d'y laisser les chandeliers et la croix, qu'auparavant on mettait pour la messe et que l'on ôtait ensuite ' (*cf.* Seville, Saragossa). Sieur de Moléon, more than a century earlier (1718), complained of the number of candles that had been so unnecessarily introduced : ' Il est possible que cette illumination attire des curieux, mais à coup sûr elle est fort opposée à l'ancien esprit liturgique de la Primatiale, si grave, si opposé aux petits procédés mis en usage pour produire de l'effet.'

On either side of the primatial altar stand two large urns, used for incense on solemn occasions, for at the high Mass acolytes replenish it at the Asperges, the beginning of the Mass, the ' Gloria in Excelsis,' the Sanctus and the Consecration. Behind the high altar and joined to it is the altar of St. Speratus, which does duty for the credence, and on the south side of the choir is the Chapel of the Holy Cross,

formerly dedicated to ' Notre Dame du Haut Don,' where at the pontifical Mass the preparation of the matter for the Holy Sacrifice and the ' Pregustatio ' ceremony take place.

The old archiepiscopal throne is in its ancient place in the chord of the apse, where the Primate of the Gauls sits surrounded by his presbyters, but near the high altar is a fine modern Gothic throne, where the archbishop presides on those occasions when he is not the celebrant.

Before considering the Lyonnaise ceremonial at a pontifical Mass, a high Mass and a low Mass, it would be convenient to give the rite, noting especially its differences from that found in the Roman missal.

In the first place the preparatory prayers, said at the foot of the altar, are dissimilar in many respects—a peculiarity which has already been noted in the derived Roman monastic liturgies.

After ' In nomine Patris ' and ' Introibo ad altare Dei,' with its response, are two further versicles : ' Pone Domine, custodiam ori meo,' with the reply, ' Et ostium circumstantiae labiis meis,' and ' Confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus,' with ' Quoniam in saeculum misericordia ejus.' There is no psalm ' Judica me,' but the Confiteor is the ordinary Roman. After the assistants' Confiteor, however, the priest says : ' Amen, fratres, per virtutem sanctae Crucis, et per intercessionem beatae et gloriosae semperque virginis Mariae, et per merita omnium Sanctorum et Sanctarum Dei. Misereatur nostri omnipotens Deus, et dimittat nobis omnia peccata, et perducat nos Dominus noster Jesus Christus cum suis Sanctis ad vitam aeternam.' ℟. ' Amen.'

' Absolutionem et veram remissionem omnium peccatorum vestrorum, per confessionem, contritionem, poenitentiam, et per satisfactionem et emendationem vitae, tribuat vobis omnipotens Pater, pius et misericors Dominus.' ℟. ' Amen.'

These prayers are followed by :

' Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.'
℟. ' Qui fecit coelum et terram.'
' Sit nomen Domini benedictum.'
℟. ' Ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum.'

' Domine, exaudi orationem meam.'
℟. ' Et clamor meus ad te veniat.'
' Dominus vobiscum.'
℟. ' Et cum spiritu tuo.'

As the priest goes up to the altar he says : ' Conscientias nostras, quaesumus, Domine, visitando purifica, ut veniens Dominus noster Jesus Christus paratam sibi in nobis inveniat mansionem ' ; while in the middle of the altar the prayer ' Deus qui non mortem ' is recited : ' Deus qui non mortem, sed poenitentiam desideras peccatorum, me miserum fragilemque peccatorem a tua non repellas pietate, neque aspicias ad peccata et scelera mea, et immundas turpesque cogitationes, quibus flebiliter a tua disjungor voluntate ; sed ad misericordias tuas, et fidem devotionemque eorum, qui per me peccatorem tuam expetunt misericordiam. Et quia me indignum medium inter te et populum tuum fieri voluisti, fac me talem, ut digne possim exorare misericordiam tuam pro me et pro eodem populo tuo. Et adjunge voces nostras vocibus Angelorum tuorum, ut sicut illi te laudant in excelsa beatitudine, ita nos quoque eorum interventu mereamur te laudare in hac peregrinatione. Amen.'

The Lyon rite retains a large number of distinctive Sequences or Proses (twenty), always sung at high Mass—recited privately by the celebrant sitting in the sedilia—but optional in low Masses (' ad libitum in Missis privatis '), except on the titular feasts of St. Pothinus and St. Irenaeus. That appointed for St. Irenaeus (June 28) runs :

' Irenaeum pangimus
Martyres recolimus
Et patronos Patriae.
Polycarpi filius
Fit laboris socius
Particepsque gloriae.

Mundi noctem pellere
Christo gentes subdere
Forti tentat animo.
Quam delusit vanitas
Lugdunensis civitas,
Nunc servis Altissimo.

Mox caecorum oculis
Cura sancti Praesulis,
  Veri lux exoritur.
Valentinis incolis,
Burgundiae populis,
  Praeco Dei mittitur.

Irenaeus impiorum
Debellator, Gnosticorum
  Refellit mendacia.
Vere dictus pacis cultor
Orientis est pacator,
  Cito fit concordia.

Scriptis Deo militat ;
Quos haeresis excitat,
  Errores insequitur.
Persecutor terreat,
Schismaticus ardeat ;
  Hosti murus ponitur.

Quam vivens asseruit
Fidem fortis astruit
  Illustri martyrio
Exemplum plebs sequitur,
Unoque percutitur
  Pastor et grex gladio.

Ducem manent tot coronae,
Quot consortes in agone
Secum victor ad aeternae
  Vitae duxit bravium.
Hoc crurore purpurata.
His triumphis illustrata,
Serva fidem, urbs beata,
  Nece partam civium.

Vos, Sancti, quos colimus,
Quos dedit Altissimus
  In tutum praesidium,
Date vos laudantibus,
In supernis sedibus
  Idem ferre praemium. Amen.'

In place of the 'Munda cor meum' the Lyonnaise priest has: 'Domine, labia mea aperies, et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam'; and at high Mass the deacon craves a blessing with 'Domne, jube benedicere' (not 'Jube, Domne benedicere').

When uncovering the chalice at the Offertory the celebrant says: 'Quid retribuam Domino, pro omnibus quae retribuit mihi? Calicem salutaris accipiam, et nomen Domini invocabo'; and extending his hands over the bread: 'Dixit Jesus discipulis suis: Ego sum panis vivus qui de coelo descendi. Si quis manducaverit ex hoc pane, vivet in aeternum.'

The prayer at the making of the chalice is: 'De latere Domini nostri Jesu Christi exivit sanguis et aqua pro redemptione mundi, tempore passionis, id est mysterium sanctae Trinitatis: Joannes Evangelista vidit et testimonium perhibuit, et scimus quia verum est testimonium ejus.' Then, signing the oblations, the celebrant, as in some monastic rites, offers the Host and Chalice together with a single prayer: 'Hanc oblationem, quaesumus, omnipotens Deus, ut placatus accipias, et omnium offerentium, et eorum pro quibus tibi offertur, peccata indulge.' Raising the oblata a little higher he continues: 'In spiritu humilitatis et in animo contrito suscipiamur, Domine, a te, et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum, ut a te suscipiatur hodie, et placeat tibi Domine Deus. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.'

In solemn Masses the form for the blessing of the incense is: 'Ab illo sanctificeris in cujus honore cremaberis, in nomine Patris . . .'; and at the censing of the altar: 'Dirigatur, Domine, oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo.'

Only two verses of Psalm xxv. are recited at the lavabo and, returning to the middle of the altar, the Holy Spirit is invoked with: 'Veni, Sancte Spiritus; reple tuorum corda fidelium, et tui amoris in eis ignem accende.' Before the 'Orate fratres' is the prayer: 'Suscipe, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem quam tibi offero in memoriam *Incarnationis*, *Nativitatis*, Passionis, Resurrectionis, Ascensionisque Domini nostri Jesu Christi, necnon Sancti Spiritus consolationis, et in

honorem semper virginis Mariae, et omnium Sanctorum tuorum qui tibi placuerunt ab initio mundi, seu eorum quorum hodie festivitas celebratur, et quorum nomina et reliquiae hic habentur: ut illis proficiat ad honorem, nobis autem ad salutem; et ut illi omnes Sancti pro nobis intercedere dignentur in coelis, quorum memoriam agimus in terris; per eumdem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.'

Both the Lyonnaise 'Orate fratres' and the response differ from those in the Roman missal: 'Orate pro me, fratres, ut meum Sacrificium et vestrum fiat acceptabile ante conspectum Dei'; and 'Dominus Deus omnipotens suscipiat Sacrificium de ore tuo et de manibus tuis, ad utilitatem sanctae suae Ecclesiae, et ad salutem omnis populi christiani, et ad remedium omnium Fidelium defunctorum.'

To the fifteen Roman Prefaces Lyon has an additional eight—Advent, Maundy Thursday, St. Pothinus and St. Irenaeus, Of the Blessed Sacrament, Nativity of St. John Baptist, Of the Saints, and Dedication. On the feast of St. James (July 25), in churches where it is the custom, the celebrant at high Mass blesses new fruit before 'Per quem haec omnia' in the Canon, saying the prayer marked in the missal: 'Bless, O Lord, these fruits of new apples; and grant that those who eat them to the glory of thy Name may rejoice in health of mind and body. Through Christ Our Lord' ('Bene+dic, Domine, hos fructus novorum pomorum; ut quotquot ad nominis tui gloriam vescentur illis, salutem mentis et corporis consequantur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum'—*cf.* Pontifical of Egbert of York, 732–766). Then, the gifts being sprinkled with holy water, the priest continues the Canon and two clerks distribute the fruit to those in choir, after the manner of the 'pain bénit.' In the following month, on the Transfiguration (August 6), a similar ceremony takes place at this point of the Mass with new grapes, when the celebrant prays: 'Bless, O Lord, in thy infinite goodness these new fruits of the vine, that thou hast been pleased to bring to maturity, in spreading over them the heavenly dew, and in granting them both the refreshing rain and the calm and peaceful weather of which they stand in need; grant, O Lord, that as we use them we may give all our

thanks for this kindness in the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ' ('Bene+dic, Domine, hos fructus novos uvae, quos tu, Domine rore caeli, et inundantia pluviarum, et temporum serenitate, atque tranquillitate ad maturitatem perducere dignatus es, et dedisti eos ad usus nostros, cum gratiarum actione percipere, in Nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi'—*cf.* Cluny missal).

The embolism to the Lord's Prayer is said aloud or sung, as in Milan, and the Commixture takes place after the threefold 'Agnus' and not at 'Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum.' When the particle is put into the chalice the celebrant says: 'Haec sacrosancta commixtio Corporis et Sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit mihique omnibusque sumentibus salus mentis et corporis, et ad vitam aeternam capessendam praeparatio salutaris. Per eumdem Christum Dominum nostrum' —which is similar to but not identical with the corresponding prayers in the Calced Carmelite and Dominican rites.

In Pontifical high Mass, after the 'Libera nos quaesumus' has been sung, the solemn blessing is given by the bishop, a survival of the blessing before Communion found in the old Gallican rite, abolished in France by Pepin and Charlemagne.

St. Germanus of Paris speaks of these lengthened benedictions as being used by bishops, and St. Augustine says that in his day requests were made at the time when the people were blessed before Communion.

These blessings especially called down the papal anger, for Pope Zachary (741–752), writing to St. Boniface, declares that 'these things are not done by Apostolic tradition, but from vain glory, and that they draw down damnation on their perpetrators, since it is written, "If anyone should preach to you a Gospel other than has been preached let him be anathema!"'—'Pro benedictionibus autem quas faciunt Galli, ut nosti, frater, multis vitiis variantur. Nam non ex apostolica traditione hoc faciunt, sed per vanam gloriam hoc operantur, sibi ipsis damnationem adhibentes, dum scriptum est: "Si quis vobis evangelizaverit praeter id quod evangelizatum est, anathema sit!"'

It seems curious, however, that such a harmless and apparently edifying custom should have merited so ferocious

an onslaught. The blessing was given in this particular position because in the early ages of the Church all those who were not receiving Holy Communion retired at this point of the Mass. As well as at Lyon the practice still persists in the East and in the Mozarabic rite, originally existing at Rome (*cf.* nuptial Mass) and appearing in the Sarum Manual of 1554, where directions were given for a preliminary proclamation similar to that found in Spain. The liturgy, published at Venice in 1520, recalls these blessings, while at the same time noting specifically that they were not in use in the Roman Church. Here the bishop is directed to rest his elbows ('cubitos suos') on the shoulders of the chaplain and the deacon as he gives the threefold (or longer) blessing. Dom Martène, in the course of his liturgical pilgrimage, records how he received such a blessing at Liège on the feast of the patron of the city—St. Lambert, September 17 ('Itiner. Liturg.' (1724), p. 192). In the Council of Milan, held under the auspices of St. Charles Borromeo in 1576, it was proposed to restore these ancient pontifical benedictions to the Ambrosian liturgy; but the subsequent missals give no hint of their use. A relic of the presbyteral blessing, as used by priests at Paris in the time of St. Germanus (*c.* 496–576), may be seen in the Ambrosian 'Pax et communicatio Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit semper vobiscum,' said in the same position.

At 'Per Dominum' of the 'Libera nos' the canon-deacon of Lyon receives the crozier, at 'Amen' he genuflects to the altar and then, turning towards the west and lifting up the crozier in both hands, he chants 'Humiliate vos ad benedictionem,' to which the choir replies 'Deo gratias.' The formulary is the same as that used by St. Caesarius of Arles (*c.* 470–543), and similar to the Mozarabic 'Humiliate vos benedictioni.' A Greek counterpart is found in '*τὰς κεφελὰς ἡμῶν τῷ κυρίῳ κλίνωμεν*!' The bishop, genuflecting, then turns towards the choir and, wearing his mitre, sings the five phrases of the blessing, the first three of which vary with the feast, the last two remaining the same. Special pontifical blessings are found in the missal for Christmas, St. Stephen, Epiphany, Purification, Maundy Thursday, Holy Saturday, Easter, St. Pothinus (St. Irenaeus), Ascension, Vigil of Pentecost,

Pentecost, Corpus Christi, Sacred Heart, Nativity of St. John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, Assumption, All Saints, and ' For any day ' (*vide* Appendix).

On the feast of St. Pothinus and his Companions (June 2) the form is : ' Benedicat vos auctor et consummator fidei vestrae Dominus, beatorum Pothini et Sociorum suffragiis exoratus, per quos de tenebris vos vocavit in admirabile lumen suum.' R7. ' Amen.'

' Et qui Martyrum horum laboribus et sanguine, secundum misericordiam suam magnam regeneravit vos in spem vivam, ipse servare dignetur, eisdem intercedentibus, in hereditatem incorruptibilem et incontaminatam.' R7. ' Amen.'

' Quatenus modicum nunc contristati variis tentationibus subinde exsultetis laetitia inenarrabili et glorificata, reportantes finem fidei vestrae, salutem animarum.' R7. ' Amen.'

' Quod ipse vobis praestare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum.' R7. ' Amen.'

' Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Pa+tris, et Fi+lii, et Spiritus + sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper.' R7. ' Amen.'

At the fourth phrase the deacon hands the bishop his pastoral staff.

After the blessing, the celebrating pontiff, taking a particle of the sacred Host, sings ' Et pax ejus sit semper vobiscum,' thus uniting these words to the preceding benediction. At Christmas, Easter and Pentecost the missal supposes a corporate Communion at the pontifical high Mass, in accordance with ancient tradition, so that it directs the old anthem, ' Venite, populi ' (' Venite, populi, sacrum immortale Mysterium et libamen agendum. Cum timore et fide accedamus. Manibus mundis poenitentiae munus communicemus : quoniam Agnus Dei propter nos Patri sacrificium propositum est. Ipsum solum adoremus, ipsum glorificemus, cum Angelis clamantes : Alleluia '), to be sung between the first and second ' Agnus.' A note in the ' Ritus in Missa sollemni servandus ' directs that Holy Communion must be distributed, ' quantum fieri potest,' *within* Mass, and it is not deferred until after the liturgy, ' sine magna Rituum Ecclesiasticorum perturbatione,' as the prayers

which follow reception are for all the communicants, not only for the celebrant.

In the three prayers before Communion the first and third (Roman second) are the same as in the Roman missal, with the exception of a few verbal differences, but the second reads : ' Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, da mihi hoc Corpus et Sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi ita sumere, ut remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum per hoc merear accipere, et tuo Sancto Spiritu repleri, quia tu es Deus, et in te est Deus, et praeter te non est alius nisi tu : Qui cum eodem Filio et Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas Deus, per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.'

As in some of the monastic rites, a composite prayer is said before the actual reception of Holy Communion : ' Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi et Sanguis ejusdem custodiat me, et perducat in vitam aeternam. Amen.' The first Roman ablution prayer is the second at Lyon, somewhat altered, but the first in this rite is : ' Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi quod accepi, et Sanguis ejus quo potatus sum, inhaereant visceribus meis, et non veniant mihi ad judicium nec ad condemnationem, sed proficiant mihi ad salutem, et ad remedium animae meae. Per eumdem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.'

If the Mass is sung by the archbishop or his auxiliary there is no second blessing at the end of Mass, but if the archbishop is only pontifically present he gives the Roman blessing in the customary place, but preceded by a chant from the priest sacristan of ' Humiliate vos ad benedictionem.' In the primatial church the celebrant, even in the absence of the archbishop, gives no blessing. In low Masses the Last Gospel is said at the altar, but at solemn Masses (*cf.* Roman pontifical Mass) it is begun at the altar (in the centre) and concluded in the sacristy, and if the Last Gospel is proper the celebrant reads it in the sacristy, assisted by his sacred ministers.

Although ceremonial variations are found in both low Mass and high Mass, yet the splendours of the Lyon rite are only fully displayed in the pontifical Mass, sung from the ancient throne in the apse, either by the archbishop himself or by his auxiliary.

When the metropolitan officiates he intones Tierce, but returns to the sacristy during the office to vest for Mass, since a Lyonnaise bishop does not receive his vestments from the altar. The entry of the thirty-six assistants during the singing of the Introit presents a most wonderful pageant, when with slow gait and recollected mien the procession advances through the choir, the singing boys, in cassocks with long trains sweeping the floor and surplices covered with black circular cloaks, which resemble monastic scapulars, being already in their places behind the high altar.

After the 'suisse' and mace-bearer come seven acolytes with lighted tapers, vested in red cassocks with trains and girded albs, followed by the bearers of the primatial cross and the episcopal crozier without their insignia. Then appear the seven subdeacons—the senior or canon-subdeacon carrying the cross, if the archbishop is the celebrant; the seven deacons—the canon-deacon with the crozier; the six concelebrating priests ('symmistae'); the archbishop with two clergy in copes holding the gremial; and, finally, the four assistants for book, hand-candle, mitre and maniple respectively.

The number seven for each order of ministers (*cf.* Tours on some days) is said to have been inspired by the visions of St. John the Divine in the Apocalypse, since through St. Polycarp, the intimate of the beloved Apostle, the Church of Pothinus and Irenaeus is linked to 'the disciple whom Jesus loved' (*cf.* Blessing of Holy Oils on Maundy Thursday, when, according to the Roman pontifical, twelve priests, seven deacons and seven subdeacons assist in the ceremony; the priests as 'witnesses and co-operators of this holy action,' the remainder as 'ministers and inspectors'). The assistant subdeacons and deacons are not necessarily in those orders, but if they are below the rank that they are representing they do not wear maniples. Writing in his 'Voyages liturgiques en France' (1718), De Moléon describes a somewhat similar custom at Sens in Auxerrois, where, out of the sixteen rectors of the city, thirteen are called 'Presbyteri Cardinales,' since they assist the bishop at his solemn Mass. The late Mgr. de Gondrin employed concelebrants at every pontifical function in his cathedral, whereas, the eighteenth-century writer

continues, the present occupant of the see has reduced their assistance to Maundy Thursday and the feasts of the Patron Saint (St. Stephen) and the Dedication. These 'Cardinales' are so called since they stand at the corner of the altar ('ad cardines altaris,' 'in cardines altaris'; *cf.* Fr., 'corner angle')—so that there were the 'priests of the corner' and the 'priest (bishop) of the middle' ('presbyter in medio'). At the present day all the canons of the cathedral assist at pontifical Masses in copes. In the mediaeval Lincoln use three deacons and three subdeacons assisted on great feasts.

When the bishop auxiliary pontificates, as in other solemn Masses in the primatial church, there are only five of each rank. Birettas are neither worn nor carried by the ministers at high Mass in the cathedral, although elsewhere their use is optional and at low Mass in the diocese they are *de rigueur*. Formerly the canons had the privilege of wearing the mitre. The assistant priests originally celebrated *with* the pontiff, as indeed they still do on Maundy Thursday. For the preparatory prayers at the foot of the altar the priests and deacons form one line; while the subdeacons stand at the entrance to the choir facing east, four on the right and three on the left, and the acolytes, having placed their candles across the middle of the choir, stand near the subdeacons, facing each other.

After the preparation the pontiff with his priests go up to the altar, and the archbishop says the prayer 'Deus qui non mortem' and kisses the Gospel book, which is on a cushion in the middle of the altar, but there is no incense at this point beyond that which is put into the stationary bowls. For the 'Gloria in Excelsis' the archbishop and his priests retire to the throne, but the deacons stand before the high altar as the seven angels before God. The acolytes come to their tapers and return to the same places with them, but at 'suscipe,' when the choir is on its knees, they make a slow genuflection, and at 'cum sancto Spiritu' go up almost to the edge of the carpet, lowering their tapers at 'Pax vobis' and elevating them during the Collect, after which they retire behind the altar.

During the Gloria, the subdeacons having approached the throne, the senior, preceded by the first assistant subdeacon

carrying the book and cushion from the altar, returns to the entrance of the choir, where, on the south side facing east, he *sits* to chant the Epistle from the book held before him.

At the beginning of this lection the deacons sit on either side of the altar, and after the Gradual the singers go to the throne for the pontiff's blessing.

During these chants between the Epistle and Gospel is the 'Administration and Testing of the Wine' ('Vini Experimentum'), which takes place in a side chapel on the right side of the choir ('Sacellum Beatae Mariae de Alto Dono'), presided over by the chaplain-sacristan vested in a cope. For this ceremony a procession is formed, consisting of an acolyte bearing a lighted taper, four other acolytes, the seven subdeacons with the canon-subdeacon carrying the altar vessels, the seven deacons with the canon-deacon carrying the wine cruet, the sacristan and, finally, a priest who holds the burse containing the corporal. On arrival at the chapel the acolytes and 'induti' form two lines on either side, with the senior acolyte in the middle facing the altar.

The priest-sacristan, standing at the altar, having unfolded the corporal, takes the chalice and lays his hands upon the Host (saying 'Dixit Jesus,' etc.). Then he pours a little wine into a glass, which the priest who carried the burse is holding, and tastes it. This done, if no ill effects are forthcoming, wine is poured into the chalice ('De latere Domini,' etc), and, the vessels and cruet being given as before, the procession returns to the choir behind the high altar. In explaining these ceremonies a small local manual on this pontifical Mass gives, in addition to the fear of poisoning, the danger lest water should be in the cruet in lieu of wine, which, as the author naïvely says, 'would singularly complicate the ceremony, when at the Communion the pontiff should perceive his error!' The priest-sacristan takes the chalice and wine cruet and places them on the altar of St. Speratus, which serves as a credence. Then, pouring a little water into the chalice ('et aqua,' etc.), he takes off his cope and retires, the other officiants having already returned to their places.

Before the Gospel the canon-deacon, carrying the boat and preceded by the first subdeacon with the censer, goes to the

throne for the blessing of the incense. Then, taking the Gospel book from the altar, with the canon-subdeacon holding its cushion, they go with two taperers and the thurifer to the west end of the choir, where the Gospel is sung from a desk. In the meanwhile, the first assistant subdeacon swings the censer in front of the altar, and at the beginning and conclusion of the lection censes the altar cross three times (' trino ductu '). At ' Gloria tibi Domine ' a genuflection is made by the ministers. After the Creed has been intoned, the deacon presents the closed Gospel book on the cushion for the pontiff to kiss, returning to the rest of his order in front of the altar. The subdeacon takes the book to the six concelebrants and all the priests in choir, finally placing it on the credence and retiring to the throne. When the ' Oremus ' of the Offertory has been sung the pontiff washes his hands, and a small attendant (' petit clerc ') in white cassock with a train and white shoes carries his gloves on a dish and places them on the altar.

As in the Roman rite, it is at this point that the bishop ascends to the altar for the ' Missa Fidelium,' the priests standing at either end of the altar, the subdeacons and acolytes remaining behind. When Holy Communion is given the concelebrants now go to the altar of St. Speratus and receive the Hosts, which they present to the bishop.

The canon-subdeacon brings the chalice to the deacon, which, together with the Host, the pontiff then offers ; while the subdeacon takes the paten and puts it on the credence. During this time both assistant priests and deacons sit on either side of the high altar.

For the censing at the Offertory, after the bishop has censed the oblations (' ter directe ducens thuribulum super Calicem simul et Hostiam ') and the altar, he is himself censed with two swings (' duplici ductu ') by the deacon, who, proceeding round the altar and censing the cross from behind (' trino ductu '), gives the thurible to the acolyte. Walking along the stalls of the canons with slow measured steps swinging his censer, the server returns to cense the canon-deacon, as he stands before the altar with his ' induti.' The concelebrants are now again at either end of the altar, and for the Sacrifice the bishop is assisted by two priests in copes. If the ' Offering of

the Clergy ' is to be made it is carried out after the bishop has censed the altar. At the Sanctus the acolytes, four of whom carry elevation torches, and the subdeacons come from behind the altar, standing in front for the Consecration ; while the canon-subdeacon remains on the right, holding up the paten in his maniple.

The Lyon rite provides for no incense at the Consecration. After the elevation of the chalice the acolytes and subdeacons return to their former positions until the ekphonesis which precedes the Lord's Prayer, when they again come forward until ' Fiat voluntas tua.' All in the choir kneel for the first half of the ' Pater noster,' but after the elevation which precedes ' panem nostrum quotidianum ' they rise. When the pontiff has chanted the embolism the Gallican blessing is given (*vide* rite).

The choir sings the Agnus Dei twice kneeling and the third time standing, and for the ' pax ' the instrument is employed. When Holy Communion is given to the assistants in the Mass a chaplain follows the archbishop with a paten and the ceremonarius with a chalice of wine and a towel, so that those who have received Communion may take an ablution of the mouth. The Hosts which remain are given to the dean to transmit to the altar of the Blessed Sacrament (' Ecclesiam Sanctae Crucis ' —missal of 1904), for after the ' Pater noster ' the dean and six canons had left their stalls to put on copes behind the altar. The ablutions over, the priest-sacristan removes the burse and corporal to the credence, while the celebrant hands the chalice and paten, holding them horizontally, to the deacon, who in his turn delivers them to the subdeacon to take to the credence, both kissing the stem of the chalice before receiving it. These kisses, as well as those for the Gospels and the celebrant, are given even at requiems. After a further lavabo the deacon, having kissed the left shoulder of the pontiff, carries the missal to the Epistle side.

The canon-deacon chants ' Ite, missa est,' standing ' in plano ' in the midst of his deacons, with the subdeacons and acolytes behind the altar ; while, if the special papal Benediction is not to be given (twice annually), the prelate begins the Last Gospel and the procession returns to the sacristy.

The Lyonnaise high Mass is necessarily a curtailment based on the pontifical rite, so that many features and positions that appear in the Mass just cited exist in the lesser function, especially when celebrated in the primatial church.

The ' Cérémonial ' lays down the number of ministers allowed at high Mass, graded according to the rank of the day. Thus, on lesser ferias and simple feasts there is one acolyte in a girded alb, without his taper ; while the deacon and subdeacon have neither dalmatic nor tunicle. On entering and leaving the choir the alb of the acolyte is covered by the choir habit (surplice and, possibly, the black cloak, taken off before singing the Gradual and put over the left arm before retiring to the sacristy after the first Post-Communion). On greater ferias—that is to say, vigils, Ember days and weekdays in Advent and Lent—the sacred ministers wear folded chasubles ; while the solitary acolyte carries a taper (wooden candlestick in Lent) ; but this is changed on semi-doubles for the assistants to use dalmatic and tunicle, and on doubles, as well as Sundays, two acolytes are required. For the singing of the Gradual three priests in choir dress are employed on greater doubles, to whom on doubles of the second class a canon is added. For lesser doubles two acolytes are enjoined, and on simples, ferias and semi-doubles the acolyte of the Mass. Further exceptions, also, occur during Lent, since on the first Sunday and Palm Sunday there are two priests in copes, and from the first Monday until Spy Wednesday (not Annunciation) an albed canon.

Doubles of the second class and All Souls' Day expect, at any rate in the primatial church, that all the sacred ministers shall be provided with an additional two in each order ; while on first-class feasts these assistants (' induti ') are increased to four, and a priest in rochet and tippet stands at the book.

Where *all* these ' induti ' are not forthcoming the priest must content himself with deacon, subdeacon and two acolytes. When not carrying anything acolytes have their arms crossed on their breasts, right over left, and they are forbidden to sit down during high Mass, their usual place being behind the altar facing one another.

Holy water for the Asperges is blessed in a stoup at the

western end of the choir, which in the cathedral is a bowl on a tripod (in small churches at the principal stoup). The subdeacon, flanked by acolytes, carries the cross (in Lent (not first Sunday) the ' Textus ' or book of the Gospels) ; while the deacon and two clerks assist the celebrant. In aspersing, the priest walks round the altar and sprinkles the processional cross held by the subdeacon (' Textus '), genuflecting before and after. Then, in perambulating the church, the following antiphon is sung : ' Oremus dilectissimi nobis Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, ut cunctis mundum purget erroribus, morbos auferat, famem repellat, aperiat carceres, vincula dissolvat, peregrinantibus reditum, infirmantibus sanitatem, navigantibus portum salutis indulgeat, et pacem tribuat in diebus nostris, insurgentesque repellat inimicos, et de manu inferni liberet nos propter nomen suum. Alleluia ' ; with a versicle, response and prayer in the nave and the Roman Collect in the choir. In Eastertide Lyon may retain ' Asperges me,' and ' Alleluia ' is not added to the versicles ; while the ceremony is also performed on Christmas Day.

Throughout the Mass the inclination of the head ordered in the Roman use implies a moderate genuflection at Lyon. Six altar lights are prescribed for Sundays and feasts above a lesser double, and high Mass on an inferior day demands four or at least two. During most of the liturgy the acolytes' tapers stand on the ground in the middle of the choir. Censers are used at neither Introit nor Consecration, but on festivals in the metropolitan church large bowls stand on either side of the high altar, into which incense is thrown (Asperges, beginning of Mass, ' Gloria in Excelsis,' Sanctus and Consecration).

Semi-doubles (and over) have the Gospel book (' Textus ') placed on a cushion in the centre of the altar, removed to the credence after the ceremonial kissing which follows the second lection. The great respect paid to the ' Textus ' at Lyon recalls the Eastern reverence for the Gospels, culminating in the Little Entrance (*μικρὰ εἴσοδος*).

The sacred ministers approach the altar at the Gloria of the Introit with, where sufficient clergy are forthcoming, ' induti ' for each order of the ministry. If the archbishop is pontifically present all stand at his throne before beginning

the preparatory prayers, genuflecting, bowing and then again genuflecting. Where a single acolyte is assisting, he stands, in choir habit, by the first stall on the right side until the end of the first Collect. The Confiteor is said behind the altar in the primatial church at the Mass called ' Matutina.'

After the prayer ' Deus qui non mortem ' the celebrant kisses the ' Textus.' In a high Mass without ' induti ' the deacon, after the preparatory prayers, goes to the Gospel horn of the altar, kisses it and then proceeds behind the altar to the opposite corner to answer the Kyrie. All kneel (assistant subdeacons and acolytes make a slow genuflection) at the words ' suscipe deprecationem nostram ' in the Gloria, genuflecting at ' Adoramus te ' and ' Jesu Christi.' The subdeacons go behind the altar, sitting in front of the credence of St. Speratus. Throughout the Mass the assistant priests, where present, either sit at the sides of the choir or face each other at the ends of the altar. Save at the Offertory and Consecration the priest stands without ministers, the deacons assisting at the sanctuary step, with the subdeacons at the west end of the choir or in their former positions. As in the twelfth-century rite of Grenoble, still used in the main by the Carthusian Order, ' Dominus ' is sung facing the altar, in making a small inclination to the cross, with ' vobiscum ' towards the people. The deacon, also, is directed to salute the choir at these words, except before ' Ite Missa est.'

Before taking the book for the Epistle the subdeacon kisses the shoulder of the celebrant, as also the deacon on removing the missal for the Communion (even at requiems).

After the Collects the priest retires to the sedilia, where he sits in the seat farthest removed from the altar, and from the missal which has been brought to a book-stand by his side he reads the Epistle, Gradual, Prose, Gospel, and even the Creed and Offertory, with the other priests and deacons on his right. As in the pontifical Mass, the subdeacon chants the Epistle *sitting* facing the altar, but if the stalls face east he occupies the second or third stall on the same side, and on ferias and simples he sings from the middle of the choir. As in so many mediaeval uses, the time between the Epistle and Gospel (an account written in 1717 says : ' Durant que le diacre chant

l'évangile au jubé, on prépare la matière du sacrifice derrière l'autel') is occupied with the preparing of the sacred gifts, the priest-sacristan spreading the corporal on the altar in the primatial church. The ceremonarius ('chori matricularius') makes the chalice on the altar of St. Speratus, vested in choir dress, without a stole, and using the customary prayers. Elsewhere the deacon says over the bread at the credence, 'Dixit Jesus discipulis suis,' etc., and, pouring wine into the chalice, 'De latere Domini . . . sanguis.' The subdeacon, in adding the water, replies 'Et aqua pro redemptione,' etc., and he takes the pall (if small corporal), corporal and purificator to the altar on the thumbs and index fingers of his two hands. At the Offertory the subdeacon (sacristan) brings the chalice and paten to the altar. In solemn requiems a genuflection is made in the Sequence at the words 'Pie Jesu Domine.'

When the senior deacon receives the blessing before the Gospel the form used is 'Corroboret Dominus sensum tuum et labia tua, ut recte pronunties nobis eloquia sua secundum Evangelium; et pax tecum sit, in nomine Patris et Fi+lii, et Spiritus Sancti'; while, kissing and taking the book from the altar, he says: 'Pax Christi, quam nobis per Evangelium suum tradidit, conservet et confirmet corda et corpora nostra in vitam aeternam. Amen.'

Incense is put once into the thurible (even at requiems), blessing the contents of the boat, with the words 'Ab illo sanctificeris in cujus honore cremaberis. In nomine Patris. . . .' In churches with neither ambo nor pulpit the Gospel is sung from the altar.

When the closed 'Textus,' or open Gospel book, which has been kissed by the deacon, is brought by the subdeacon after the intoning of the 'Credo,' he says 'Haec sunt sancta Evangelia,' to which the priest replies 'Credo et confiteor.'

During the singing of both Gloria and 'Credo' the sacred ministers stand before the altar, kneeling at 'Suscipe deprecationem nostram,' 'Et incarnatus est,' and 'simul adoratur.' The first lavabo, without any accompanying words, takes place before the Offertory or the blessing of the bread. Where this latter ceremony is performed the bread is aspersed and the offerers kiss either the 'pax' or a hand-cross, presented at the

Communion rails. In the primatial church the solemn oblation takes place here on all ferias, from the first Monday in Lent until Spy Wednesday.

The deacon hands the chalice at the Offertory and the oblation is carried out as in other Masses, the subdeacon (sacristan) removing the paten to the credence. The oblata and altar (' Dirigatur, Domine, oratio mea, sicut incensum in conspectu tuo ') are censed, *more Romano* (with variations), the priest receiving two impulsions from the deacon, before that minister continues the censing as in the pontifical rite. Two acolytes with ' intorticia,' and the subdeacon, holding the paten in his maniple, come from behind the altar during the singing of the Sanctus. In most churches ' O Salutaris Hostia ' is sung immediately after the Elevation of the Host, and, when the clergy corporately receive Holy Communion, the ancient anthem ' Venite, populi,' follows at the Administration.

At ' Unde et memores ' in the Canon the celebrant stretches out his arms in the form of a cross (' extensis brachiis in modum crucis '), and at ' Supplices te rogamus ' he folds them on his breast in the shape of a St. Andrew's cross (' manibus supra pectus cancellatis in modum crucis ') ; while from the last doxology of the Canon until ' Panem nostrum ' in the Lord's Prayer, before which an elevation is made, the Host is held in the right hand above the chalice. The Lyon ' Cérémonial ' prescribes the bell to be rung at this elevation (no bell at the cathedral)—a rite signifying that these symbols come from heaven, descending on earth to provide food for man. The deacon in giving the paten kisses the arm of the celebrant and then, preceded by the subdeacon, retires behind the altar until the ' pax.' There is no striking of the breast at the ' Agnus,' but a particle of the Host is held over the chalice.

After Holy Communion the subdeacon removes the missal to the Epistle side, and the deacon, having folded the corporal, takes it behind the altar, both kissing the left shoulder of the celebrant before carrying out their respective duties. For the ablutions, the subdeacon gives the first and an acolyte the second. The Post-Communions being finished, one of the assistant subdeacons carries both missal and desk behind the altar, the senior subdeacon standing with head inclined at

the Epistle corner for the Blessing. Before the deacon chants ' Ite, missa, est ' or its equivalent, the priest says the same words in a low voice. In the primatial church the celebrant never gives the Blessing, but after the ' Placeat ' proceeds at once to the Last Gospel, which is finished in the sacristy.

Before the chief Mass in small churches, from May 3 to September 14, the celebrant, in a surplice and without a stole, reads the Passion according to St. John at the Gospel horn of the altar.

When there is no incensing at the Offertory (or Gospel), the first lavabo, made before the oblations are received, is omitted (as in a low Mass), and if the Mass is without sacred ministers the Last Gospel is said at the altar.

As to the celebration of low Mass only two further observations are necessary : first, the Proses may be omitted, except those which are found incorporated in the body of the missal —viz. Easter, Pentecost, Corpus Christi, St. Pothinus, St. Irenaeus, the Seven Dolours, and the Dead ; and secondly, the ' Libera nos quaesumus ' is always said aloud, as in the Ambrosian use.

APPENDIX

Proper Prefaces peculiar to the Lyon Rite

De Tempore Adventus

Vere dignum et justum est, aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, per Christum Dominum nostrum ; quem perdito hominum generi Salvatorem misericors et fidelis promisisti : cujus veritas instrueret inscios, sanctitas justificaret impios, virtus adjuvaret infirmos. Dum ergo prope est ut veniat quem missurus es, et dies affulget liberationis nostrae : in hac promissionum tuarum fide piis gaudiis exultamus.

De Feria V. In Coena Domini

. . . per Christum Dominum nostrum, verum aeternumque Pontificem, et solum sine peccati macula Sacerdotem ; qui in

novissima Coena formam sacrificii perennis instituerís, sacerdos et victima semetipsum obtulit, et praecepit offerri ; qui typico Paschati finem imponit, ut dum legalis observantia mutatur, novo Sacramento compleatur.

De SS. Pothino et Soc. et de SS. Irenaeo et Soc.

. . . Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus ; qui nos secundum misericordiam tuam magnam de tenebris ad lucem vocare dignatus es, et de potestate satanae ereptos, in filios adoptionis assumere. Tua enim, Domine, misericordia, tua gratia, verbum fidei in nobis Martyrum tuorum labore seminatum est, et sanguine foecundatum. Nunc ergo, Pater sancte, confirma hoc quod operatus es in nobis, et gregem istum quem Filio tuo donasti, conserva veritate, perfectum in unitate, consumare digneris in gloria.

De Ss. Sacramento

. . . per Christum Dominum nostrum, qui remotis carnalium victimarum inanibus umbris, corpus et sanguinem suum nobis in sacrificium commendavit, ut in omni loco offeratur nomini tuo quae tibi sola complacuit oblatio mundo. In hoc igitur inscrutabilis sapientiae et immensae caritatis mysterio, idipsum quod semel in cruce perfecit, non cessat mirabiliter operari ipse offerens et ipse oblatio. Et nos unam secum hostiam effectos, ad sacrum invitat convivium, in quo ipse cibus noster sumitur, recolitur memoria Passionis ejus mens impletur gratia, et futurae gloriae nobis pignus datur.

De Nativitate S. Joannis Baptistae

. . . Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus ; et in die festivitatis hodiernae, qua beatus Joannes exortus est, tuam magnificentiam collaudare ; qui vocem matris Domini nondum editus sensit, et matris adhuc clausus utero adventum salutis humanae prophetica exultatione significavit : qui et genetricis sterilitatem conceptus abstulit, et patris linguam natus absolvit, solusque omnium Prophetarum Redemptorem mundi quem praenuntiavit, ostendit, Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum.

De Sanctis

. . . Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus : qui glorificaris in concilio Sanctorum, et eorum coronando merita, coronas dona tua : qui

nobis in eorum praebes et conversatione exemplum, et communione consortium, et intercessione subsidium : ut tantam habentes impositam nubem testium, per patientiam curramus ad propositum nobis certamen, et cum eis percipiamus immarcescibilem gloriae coronam ; per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, cujus sanguine ministratur nobis introitus in aeternum regnum.

De Dedicatione

. . . aeterne Deus ; et pro (annua) dedicatione Tabernaculi hujus, honorem debitum tibi referre, cujus virtus magna, pietas copiosa : respice, quaesumus Domine, de coelo, et vide, et visita domum istam ; ut quisquis in ea nomini tuo supplicaverit, libenter exaudias, et satisfacientibus clementer ignoscas. Hic tibi sacerdotes tui sacrificium laudis offerant ; hic fidelis populus vota persolvat. Hic peccatorum onera deponentur ; hic fides sancta stabiliatur. Hinc pietas absoluta redeat ; hinc iniquitas emendata discedat. Inveniat apud te, Domine, locum veniae, quicumque satisfaciens huc confugerit, et conscio dolore victus altaria sua rivis suarum eluerit lacrymarum. Hic si quando populus tuus tristis maestusque convenerit, tu acquiesce roganti, et rogatus indulge, per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Benedictiones Pontificales

Quae intra Missam solemnem dantur ab Archiepiscopo, pro Temporum ac Festorum diversitate, juxta Rubricam Missae Pontificalis, Cap. VI.

In Nativitate Domini

Ad Missam in die

Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus, vestramque ad superna excitet intentionem qui hanc sacratissimam diem Nativitate Filii sui fecit esse solemnem. ℟. Amen.

Et qui eum qui Panis est Angelorum, in praesepio Ecclesiae cibum fecit esse fidelium animalium : ipse vos et in praesenti saeculo degustare faciat aeternorum dulcedinem gaudiorum, et in futuro perducat ad satietatem aeternorum praemiorum. ℟. Amen.

Quique ejus infantiam vilibus voluit indui pannis, ipse vos caelestium vestimentorum induat ornamentis. ℟. Amen.

Quod ipse vobis praestare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. ℟. Amen.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Pa+tris, et Fi+lii, et Spiritus + sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper. ℟. Amen.

In Festo S. Stephani, Protomartyris

Deus, qui beatum Stephanum Protomartyrem coronavit et confessione fidei et agone martyrii, mentes vestras circumdet in praesenti saeculo corona justitiae, et in futuro perducat vos ad coronam gloriae. ℟. Amen.

Illius obtentu tribuat vobis Dei et proximi caritatem semper exuberare, qui hanc studuit etiam inter lapidantium impetus obtinere. ℟. Amen.

Quo ejus exemplo roborati et intercessione muniti, ab eo quem ille a dextris Dei vidit stantem, mereamini benedici. ℟. Amen.

Quod ipse vobis praestare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. ℟. Amen.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Pa+tris, et Fi+lii, et Spiritus + sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper. ℟. Amen.

In Epiphania Domini

Deus lumen verum, qui Unigenitum suum hodierna die, stella duce, Gentibus voluit revelare, sua vos dignetur benedictione ditare. ℟. Amen.

Quo exemplo Magorum mystico, Domino Jesu Christo munera offerentes, spreto antiquo hoste spretisque contagiis vitiorum, ad aeternam patriam redire valeatis per viam virtutum. ℟. Amen.

Detque vobis veram mentium innocentiam, qui super Unigenitum suum Spiritum sanctum demonstrare voluit per columbam : eaque virtute mentes vestrae exerceantur ad intelligenda divinae legis arcana, qua in Cana Galilaeae lympha est in vinum conversa. ℟. Amen.

Quod ipse vobis praestare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. ℟. Amen.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Pa+tris, et Fi+lii, et Spiritus + sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper. ℟. Amen.

In Purificatione B.M.V.

Omnipotens Deus, qui Unigenitum suum hodierna die in adsumpta carne in templo voluit praesentari, benedictionis suae vos munere fultos bonis operibus faciat exornari. ℟. Amen.

Et qui eum, ut legem adimpleret, ministrum voluit effici legis, mentes vestras legis suae spiritualibus instruat documentis. ℟. Amen.

Quo ei et pro turturibus, castitatis seu caritatis munera offerre valeatis, et pro pullis columbarum Spiritus sancti donis exuberetis. ℟. Amen.

Quod ipse vobis praestare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. ℟. Amen.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Pa+tris, et Fi+lii, et Spiritus + sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper. ℟. Amen.

Feria V. In Coena Domini

Benedicat vos Deus, qui per Unigenti Filii sui Passionem vetus Pascha in novum voluit converti, concedatque vobis ut, expurgato veteris fermenti contagio, nova in vobis perseveret conspersio. ℟. Amen.

Et qui ad celebrandam Redemptoris coenam, mente devota convenistis, aeternarum dapum vobiscum epulas reportetis. ℟. Amen.

Ipsiusque opitulante clementia mundemini a sordibus peccatorum, qui ad insinuandum humilitatis exemplum, pedes voluit lavare discipulorum. ℟. Amen.

Quod ipse vobis praestare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. ℟. Amen.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Pa+tris, et Fi+lii, et Spiritus + sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper. ℟. Amen.

Sabbato Sancto

Deus, qui de Ecclesiae suae intemerato utero novos populos producens, eam, virginitate manente, nova semper prole fecundat, fidei, spei et caritatis vos munere repleat et suae in vos benedictionis dona infundat. ℟. Amen.

Et qui hanc sacratissimam noctem Redemptoris nostri Resurrectione voluit illustrare, mentis nostras a peccatorum tenebris mundatas, virtutum copiis faciat coruscare. ℟. Amen.

Quo eorum, qui modo renati sunt, innocentiam imitari certetis, et vascula mentium vestrarum exemplo praesentium luminum illustretis, ut cum bonorum operum lampadibus, ad ejus sponsi thalamum, cujus resurrectionem celebratis, cum prudentibus virginibus intrare possitis. ℟. Amen.

Quod ipse vobis praestare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. ℟. Amen.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Pa+tris, et Fi+lii, et Spiritus + sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper. ℟. Amen.

In Die Sancto Paschae

Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus, hodierna interveniente Paschali solemnitate, et ab omni miseratus dignetur defendere pravitate. ℟. Amen.

Et qui ad aeternam vitam Unigeniti sui Resurrectione vos reparat; in ipsius adventu immortalitatis vos gaudiis vestiat. ℟. Amen.

Et qui, expletis jejuniorum sive Passionis Dominicae diebus, Paschalis festis gaudia celebratis, ad ea festa quae non sunt annua sed continua, ipso opitulante, exsultantibus animis veniatis. ℟. Amen.

Quod ipse vobis praestare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. ℟. Amen.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Pa+tris, et Fi+lii, et Spiritus + sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper. ℟. Amen.

In Festo SS. Pothini et Soc.

Benedicat vos auctor et consummator fidei vestrae Dominus, beatorum Pothini et Sociorum suffragiis exoratus, per quos de tenebris vos vocavit in admirabile lumen suum. ℟. Amen.

Et qui Martyrum horum laboribus et sanguine, secundum misericordiam suam magnam regeneravit vos in spem vivam, ipse servare dignetur, eisdem intercedentibus, in hereditatem incorruptibilem et incontaminatam. ℟. Amen.

Quatenus modicum nunc contristati variis tentationibus subinde exsultetis laetitia inenarrabili et glorificata, reportantes finem fidei vestrae, salutem animarum. ℟. Amen.

Quod ipse vobis praestare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. ℟. Amen.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Pa+tris, et Fi+lii, et Spiritus + sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper. ℟. Amen.

In Ascensione Domini

Benedicat vobis omnipotens Deus, cujus Unigenitus hodierna die coelorum alta penetravit, et vobis, ubi ille est, ascendendi aditum patefecit. ℟. Amen.

Concedat propitius, ut sicut post resurrectionem suam discipulis visus est manifestus, ita vobis in judicium veniens videatur placatus. ℟. Amen.

Et qui eum consedere Patri in sua majestate creditis, vobiscum manere usque in finem saeculi secundum suam promissionem sentiatis. ℟. Amen.

Quod ipse vobis praestare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. ℟. Amen.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Pa+tris, et Fi+lii, et Spiritus + sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper. ℟. Amen.

In Vigilia Pentecostes

Benedicat vobis omnipotens Deus, ob cujus Paracleti Spiritus adventum, mentes vestras jejunii observantia praeparatis. ℟. Amen.

Instar modo renatorum infantium, talem innocentiam habeatis, ut templum sancti Spiritus, ipso tribuente, esse possitis. ℟. Amen.

Atque idem Spiritus sanctus ita vos hodie sua habitatione dignos efficiat, ut cras se vestris mentibus vobiscum perpetim habitaturus infundat, et peracto praesentis vitae curriculo vos ad caelestia dona perducat. ℟. Amen.

Quod ipse vobis praestare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. ℟. Amen.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Pa+tris, et Fi+lii, et Spiritus + sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper. ℟. Amen.

In Die Sancto Pentecostes

Deus, qui hodierna die discipulorum mentes Spiritus Paracleti infusione dignatus est illustrare, vos quoque dignetur sua benedictione replere et donorum ejusdem Spiritus vobis copiam ministrare. ℟. Amen.

Ille ignis qui super discipulos apparuit, peccatorum vestrorum sordes expurget, ut sui luminis infusione corda perlustret. ℟. Amen.

Quique dignatus est diversitatem linguarum in unius fidei confessione adunare, in eadem vos faciat fide perseverare, et per hanc ad speciem suae celsitudinis pervenire. ℟. Amen.

Quod ipse vobis praestare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. ℟. Amen.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Pa+tris, et Fi+lii, et Spiritus + sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper. ℟. Amen.

In Festo Corporis Christi

Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus, vestramque ad superna excitet intentionem, cujus Unigenitus Filius, pridie quam pateretur, sub sacramento mirabili Passionis suae memoriam reliquit. ℟. Amen.

Et qui eum qui Panis est Angelorum in praesepio Ecclesiae cibum fecit esse fidelium animalium, ipse vos in praesenti degustare faciat aeternorum dulcedinem gaudiorum, et in futuro perducat ad satietatem sublimium praemiorum. ℟. Amen.

Illiusque, cujus caro mirabiliter in veritate sumitur et sanguis bibitur sub specie panis et vini, caro mundet, sanguis lavet peccata vestra quae carne et sanguine contraxistis. ℟. Amen.

Quod ipse vobis praestare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. ℟. Amen.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Pa+tris, et Fi+lii, et Spiritus + sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper. ℟. Amen.

In Festo Ss. Cordis D.N.J.C.

Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus, cujus Filius sese mundo praebuit mitem et humilem corde ; concedatque ut tantum imitantes exemplum mentes vestras suavi jugo fidei subjiciatis. ℟. Amen.

Quae fluxerunt e sacrato Corde sanguis et aqua mundent vos ab omni peccato, ut inter hujus vitae tempestates ad aeternae felicitatis portum securi tendere valeatis. ℟. Amen.

Et dum refrigescit caritas multorum, in vobis magis ac magis ardeat ignis quem Jesus venit mittere in terram, et quo urente corda vestra templum Spiritus sancti efficientur. ℟. Amen.

Quod ipse vobis praestare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. ℟. Amen.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Pa+tris, et Fi+lii, et Spiritus + sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper. ℟. Amen.

In Nativitate S. Joannis Baptistae

Benedicat vobis omnipotens Deus, beati Joannis Baptistae intercessione, cujus hodie solemnia celebratis ; concedatque ut cujus solemnia colitis, patrocinia sentiatis. ℟. Amen.

Illius obtentu, ab omnibus adversis tueamini, et bonis omnibus perfruamini, qui adventum Redemptoris mundi necdum natus cognovit, matris sterilitatem nascendo abstulit, patris linguam natus absolvit. ℟. Amen.

Quatenus ipsius Agni quem ille digito ostendit, cujus immolatione estis redempti, ita innocentiam valeatis imitari, ut in aeternae patriae felicitate possitis adjungi. ℟. Amen.

Quod ipse vobis praestare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. ℟. Amen.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Pa+tris, et Fi+lii, et Spiritus + sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper. ℟. Amen.

In Festo SS. Apost. Petri et Pauli

Benedicat vobis omnipotens Deus, qui vos beati Petri saluberrima confessione in Ecclesiasticae fidei fundavit soliditate. ℟. Amen.

Et quos beati Pauli sanctissima instruxit praedicatione, sua tueatur gratissima defensione. ℟. Amen.

Quatenus Petrus clave, Paulus sermone, uterque intercessione ad illam nos certent patriam introducere, ad quam illi, alter cruce, alter gladio, hodierna die pervenere. ℟. Amen.

Quod ipse vobis praestare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. ℟. Amen.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Pa+tris, et Fi+lii, et Spiritus + sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper. ℟. Amen.

In Festo SS. Irenae et Soc. Mart.

Ut supra in Festo SS. Pothini et Sociorum Martyrum.

In Assumptione B.M.V.

Deus, qui per beatae Mariae Virginis partum genus humanum dignatus est redimere, sua vos dignetur benedictione locupletare. ℟. Amen.

Ejusque semper et ubique patrocinia sentiatis, ex cujus intemerato utero Auctorem vitae suscipere meruistis. ℟. Amen.

Et qui ad ejus celebrandum festivitatem hodierna die devotis mentibus convenistis, spiritualium gaudiorum et aeternorum praemiorum vobiscum munera reportetis. ℟. Amen.

Quod ipse vobis praestare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. ℟. Amen.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Pa+tris, et Fi+lii, et Spiritus + sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper. ℟. Amen.

In Festo Omnium Sanctorum

Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus, benedictione perpetua, qui vobis omnium Sanctorum suorum tribuit celebrare solemnia. ℟. Amen.

Eorum in caelis mereamini habere consortium, quorum in terris devotis mentibus celebratis triumphum. ℟. Amen.

Quatenus cum iis omnibus possidere valeatis illius patriae gaudia, in qua filios suos supernis civibus conjunctos hodierna die sancta laetatur Ecclesia. ℟. Amen.

Quod ipse vobis praestare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. ℟. Amen.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Pa+tris, et Fi+lii, et Spiritus + sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper. ℟. Amen.

Pro Quacumque Die

Omnipotens Deus caelesti vos protectione circumdet, et suae benedictionis dono completet. ℟. Amen.

Concedatque vobis, ut qui sola spe gratiae caelestis innitimini, caelesti etiam protectione muniamini. ℟. Amen.

Quatenus et in praesenti saeculo mortalis vitae solatia capiatis, et sempiterna gaudia comprehendere valeatis. ℟. Amen.

Quod ipse vobis praestare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. ℟. Amen.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Pa+tris, et Fi+lii, et Spiritus + sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper. ℟. Amen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(1) 'Missale Romanum in quo antiqui Ritus Lugdunenses servantur Apostolicae sedis auctoritate recognitum et probatum.' Lugduni: Typis Emmanuel Vitte, 3 Place Bellecour. MDCCCCIV.

(2) 'Paroissien Complet ou Heures à l'usage du Diocèse de Lyon selon le Rite Romano-Lyonnais.' Lyon: Emmanuel Vitte. 1923.

(3) 'Prières et Office Propre au Diocèse de Lyon.' Emmanuel Vitte. 1925.

(4) 'La Messe Pontificale Lyonnaise.' Lyon: Imprim. J. B. Roudil. 1920.

(5) 'Cérémonial Romain-Lyonnais.' Lyon: Emmanuel Vitte. 1897.

(6) 'Ordo ad usum Sanctae Lugdunensis Ecclesiae. Ordo Divini Officii recitandi sacrique peragendi pro Anno 1930.' Lugduni: Ex typis Emmanuelis Vitte. Archiepiscopatus Lugdunensis et Cleri Typographi, 18 Via dicta Quarantaine, et foro dicto Bellecour, 3. 1930.

CHAPTER V
RITE OF BRAGA

CHAPTER V

RITE OF BRAGA

TUCKED away in the north of Portugal yet another exception to the ' Missale Romanum ' is found in the ' Missale Bracarense,' for, in the archiepiscopal see of Braga, the ' Quo primum ' privilege has been sought and obtained for the retention of a venerable rite, alleged to date back to the very beginnings of Christianity in the Spanish peninsula. So far from seeking to displace this distinctive liturgical rite, with its attendant ceremonies—a charge so frequently made against the Apostolic See—Rome, with her customary wise toleration, since a powerful section of the clergy had already forsaken their national liturgy, in 1919 declared the rite of Braga to be obligatory throughout the archdiocese for both Mass and office (' Sedis hujus Apostolicae ')—a decree specifically endorsed by Pope Pius XI in 1924 (' Inter multiplices gravesque curas '). Braga, known to the ancient Romans as ' Bracara Augusta ' (' Civitas Bracarensis '), lies in a flat and fertile tract of ground between the rivers Este and Cavado in Minho. The antiquity of the city is proved by the etymology of its name, for ' Braga ' is said to be derived from the costume worn by the natives, which, unlike the Roman tunic, only reached from the waist to the knee and was therefore ' braga ' (' braca '), a barbarous dress. St. Isidore, however, sees the origin of the name in *βραχύς*, ' short ' ; while others prefer *ῥάχος*, ' a thorn bush ' ; and Diodorus Siculus, quoting in his fifth book of the ' Historical Library ' concerning the Gauls—' quas bracas illi nominant '—puts forward a Celtic derivation.

At first the metropolis of Galicia and one of the chief cities in Lusitania, Braga was united by the Emperor Augustus to Hispania Tarraconensis in his new division of provinces, giving it the name of ' Augusta ' and making it one of the three judicial divisions of Galicia—a fact confirmed in recent years

by the discovery of a stone dedicated to ' Isis Augusta.' By the reign of Caracalla (211–217) Braga appears to have been the capital of the new military provinces of Astoria and Galicia (Hispania nova Citerior), and it must therefore have already become an episcopal see, since we know that the less important Astorga, suffragan to Braga until the twelfth century, was the possessor of a bishop in A.D. 254, when Basilides is mentioned by St. Cyprian (' Epist. LXVIII ') as holding that office. The Augustan organization was substantially altered by Constantine in 332, when Tarraconensis was divided into three provinces, Galicia reaching to the river Douro, with Braga as its capital.

Legend, however, has been very busy in discovering the first beginnings of Christianity, ascribing the honour of Apostle of the country to St. Peter de Rates, a bishop sent by St. James the Great, although the Bollandists consider his existence as traditional.

The lections, purporting to give some miraculous incidents of his apostolate, first appear in the breviary of 1511, but they are found also in that of Evora, as well as in the ' Caderno bracarense ' of 1853 (2nd edition) and 1907. In the breviary of Moura Telles (1724) the lessons were altered, but their fictitious character was retained, despite the findings of the ' Academia Real de Historia Portugueza,' which condemned the ' Chronicles,' on which the authenticity of the legend depended, as utterly false. The 1771 Chapter under Gaspar de Bragança expunged all reference to the supposed resurrection of the saint, at the instigation of the Oratorian Antonio Pereira de Figueiredo, although the miraculous account found a doughty champion in Ignacio de S. Caetano, Bishop of Penafiel and one time prior of the Carmelite house at Braga, who published an apologia in 1773, under the pseudonym ' Lusitano Philopatris,' in which he appealed to the authority of Guido, a non-existent Bishop of Tuy, who was supposed to have written the life of our saint two hundred years previously. In this revision the appointed lessons were taken from the Common of a Martyr in Eastertide. Yet, despite these grave doubts concerning the reality of St. Peter, he still remains the principal patron of the archdiocese, with April 26 observed as a solemnity of the first order with an octave, and October 17,

the feast of his Translation, as a solemnity of the second order. A tradition, however, found alike in the Churches of Rome and Spain, exists to the effect that the Prince of the Apostles, or one of his immediate successors, sent Torquatus and his companions to Spain to introduce the order of Mass and Divine Offices, similar to those used by SS. Peter and Paul.

Innocent I, writing to Decentius, Bishop of Eugubium, in 416, records this and draws the very natural inference, 'Oportet eos hoc sequi quod Ecclesia Romana custodit'; and the Emilian Codex, reputed to date from the seventh century, although the actual copy extant is of the tenth, perpetuates the story—'De Missa apostolica ducta, Julianus et Felix' (successors of St. Ildephonsus in the see of Toledo). In his attempts to abolish the Mozarabic rite, St. Gregory VII (1073–1085) found here just the evidence necessary, for in his joint letter ('Epist. LXIV') to Alfonso VI of Leon, Sancho V of Navarre, and the Spanish episcopate, Hildebrand lays stress on the fact that the first rite in the Peninsula was the Roman, for the seven bishops sent by Peter and Paul 'Ordinem et Officium in divinibus cultibus agendis ostenderunt.'

In the early fifth century the Church of Braga emerges into the clear light of history through the machinations of Priscillianism, a heresy which spread throughout Spain and Aquitaine in the fourth century, inculcating a species of Gnostic and Manichean dualism. The foundation doctrine was the existence of two kingdoms (darkness and light), with angels and human souls severed from the substance of the Deity, since the latter, intended to conquer the kingdom of darkness, fell and were imprisoned in material bodies, thereby setting up a conflict in man, which was symbolized on the side of light by the twelve Patriarchs, and the heavenly Spirits (who corresponded to certain human powers), and on the side of darkness by the signs of the Zodiac, the symbols of matter and the lower kingdom.

The salvation of man therefore consisted in liberation from the domination of matter and, since the twelve heavenly Spirits failed to achieve this, the Saviour came into the world clothed in a body which seemed like that of other men, in order to obtain for us release from the influence of the material

by His doctrine and *apparent* death. Thus the formation of man was attributed to devils, who were at the same time masters of thunder, lightning and storms. On the doctrine of the Holy Trinity Priscillian agreed with Sabellius and, like Paul of Samosata and Plotinus, denied all previous existence in Our Lord; while his disbelief in the reality of Christ's human nature was but a replica of the tenets of Manes. Like the Albigenses of the thirteenth century, this heresy was definitely anti-social in character, denying marriage, while encouraging an erotic and corrupt species of asceticism, which forbade the use of certain animals for food. The esoteric, so beloved by heterodox cults and sinister secret societies, was fostered, on the assumption that mankind in general was totally unable to understand the higher paths, so that a lie told for a holy end was always justifiable (*cf.* St. Augustine, 'De Mendacio'); while that court of appeal which throughout the ages has attracted heretics of every clime—Holy Scripture—was here pressed into the service to prove that true Christianity was Priscillianism. Apocryphal writings, also, were looked upon as inspired, and Sundays and Christmas Day were kept as fasts. In external mien these sectaries were modest and quiet, but they were accused of participating in the infamous mysteries of the Manicheans, and St. Augustine calls their founder 'an impious wretch, condemned for heresy and many horrible crimes.' Priscillian himself, after whom the sect has been named, was perverted by Helpidius, a disciple of Marcus of Memphis, a Manichean, quickly attaining the leadership, by reason of his very great ability, and styled by Sulpicius Severus 'a man of noble birth, of great riches, bold, restless, eloquent, learned through much reading, very ready at debate and discussion' ('Hist. Sac.,' II. 46). According to Prosper of Aquitaine, a schism had been formed by A.D. 379, for in the following year (380) at Saragossa the four ringleaders, Helpidius and Priscillian, with the bishops Instantius and Salvianus, were excommunicated at the instigation of Hyginus, Bishop of Cordoba, but by the authority of Idacius, Bishop of Merida, the Catholic protagonist and metropolitan of the province—for the Council of Antioch (Can. 9) had decreed that the metropolitan should have civil precedence throughout

his jurisdiction. Ithacius, Bishop of Ossonoba (Faro), was charged with the carrying out of the decrees, but the heretics only waxed the bolder—Hyginus apostatized and Priscillian, a mere layman, was raised to the see of Avila. Then, Church censures failing to put an end to the schism, the Emperor Gratian deprived the heretics of the churches in which they ministered and ordered the exile of the ringleaders. The latter appealed to Rome, but they were refused audience by Pope Damasus (366–384), as well as by St. Ambrose at Milan. The imperial court, however, was not so steadfast, and it was won over by intrigues and bribes, so that all the decrees of the Emperor were rescinded, although Gratian was murdered in Paris before any action could be taken.

The usurper Maximus ordered the Prefect of Gaul and the Vicar of Spain to re-try the case, and at the Synod of Bordeaux (384) Instantius was deposed. Once again Priscillian appealed to Caesar (385), but he was again condemned and, despite the promises made to St. Martin (Tours), when he was at Trier, that there would be no persecution, he, together with some of his followers, was beheaded—thus setting a precedent which has worked such infinite harm to the prestige of the Church. Realizing the impropriety of repression by bloodshed, the Pope, St. Martin and St. Ambrose were all against a continuance of the policy, and the Emperor was forced to rescind an order to his military tribunes, who were already en route for Spain to extirpate the heretics; while the overzealous Ithacius of Ossonoba and Idacius of Merida were deposed from office. The persecution was checked in the Peninsula, but already the blood of the 'martyrs' was the seed of the schism, for, the body of Priscillian being brought to Spain, he was acclaimed a martyr, and by 387 the whole of Galicia was aflame with heresy.

When the first National Council of Toledo met three years later (A.D. 400) only one Catholic bishop remained in the province—Ortigius of Aquae Celenae (Iria)—and he had been forced into exile. The president, Patruinus, Metropolitan of Merida, formulated a Creed (eighteen articles with eighteen anathemas attached) against Priscillianism and called in the aid of the secular arm, deposing ecclesiastics who still persisted in

their errors, although Paternus, Bishop of Braga, Dictinius and Symphonius seem to have renounced their heresy and returned into communion with the Church. In 409, however, the invasion of the Suevi removed the civil authority of Rome and the errors spread afresh, together with a new evil, Origenism, which taught that the principle or substance of angels and other spirit creatures (even devils) was one, that souls have had a former existence, and that the pains of hell were only temporary, often identifying it with the conscience of the sinner, and consequently teaching the salvation of devils and the final conversion of all the condemned (Universalism).

Early in this (fourth) century two priests from Braga, named Avitus, had gone on pilgrimages, the one to Jerusalem and the other to Rome, but their pious undertakings had fallen short of their expectations, since they had both returned imbued with heterodoxy, albeit hostile to Priscillianism, Origenism and the school of Marius Victorinus (contemporary of St. Augustine and professor of rhetoric at Rome). The exact tenets of the latter are open to some dispute, but in any case the subject is of small consequence, as the followers of the Victorine Avitus soon joined the Origenist party. Heresy therefore ravaged Braga during the fifth century, so that in 414 a devout Catholic, Orosius by name, seeing the spiritual chaos of his country, went across the sea to consult St. Augustine. From Africa the pilgrim, after writing ' Consultatio sive Commonitorium de errore Priscillianistarum et Origenistarum,' proceeded to Palestine, armed with an introduction to St. Jerome, with whom he wished to confer as to the origin of the human soul, a subject highly contested in the Spain of his time. While in the Holy Land Orosius assisted at a Diocesan Synod in Jerusalem which had been summoned to combat Pelagianism, and, as a result, the learned theologian from Braga sent a statement on the heresy to Pope Innocent I (402–417) for his decision. Meeting Avitus, Orosius was commissioned by his fellow-townsman (the early eighteenth-century controversy as to the birthplace of Paulus Orosius—Tarragona or Braga—seemed to show more evidence for the latter) to take back some of the relics of St. Stephen (some

dust of the flesh and a little portion of the small bones), which had lately been discovered by the priest Lucian, with an open letter to Balconius, Bishop of Braga, his clergy and his people, and a Latin translation of Lucian's Encyclical Letter. Finding on arrival in Minorca (416) that the condition of his country was deplorable, by reason of the Suevic and Gothic inroads, the relics were left near Magone (Mahon), while Orosius himself returned to Africa, where, under the aegis of St. Augustine, he wrote a history of the world from its creation.

The Council alleged to have been held at Braga in 411 seems to have been an invention of Fr. Bernardo Brito, but, under the influence of Pope St. Leo the Great (440–461), synods against the Priscillian heresy were held at Astorga, Toledo and Galicia in 446 and 447. At the accession of Rechiarius, first Christian king of the Suevi, it might well have been supposed that Braga would now recover, not only from the shock of the invasions, but also from the many errors disseminated in the district; but with Remismund (466) yet another heresy convulsed the little flock, for, under the influence of a bishop named Ajax, the king embraced Arianism, involving a national apostasy of nearly a century (*c.* 550).

Braga became the capital of the Suevic kingdom, but it seems tolerably certain that its bishop was only advanced to metropolitical rank in the course of the century (fifth). Some authorities deny this, while others, without sufficient evidence, claim two such sees for Galicia previous to the sixth century. The truth seems to point to the elevation of Braga after the destruction of Astorga by the Visigoths (433) and during the pontificate of St. Leo I when, after the death of Agrestius, Bishop of Lugo, the title passed to the senior bishop, Balconius of Braga, whose successors retained the supremacy until the invasion of Islam in 711. During this period, despite a century of official Arianism at the court, the distinctive liturgy appears to have been formed—Roman in foundation, with Mozarabic, Gallican and local additions—subsequent, however, to the rite of Toledo, which seems to have originated at a time when intercourse between the Churches of Rome and Africa was very frequent. With a

Bishop of Braga himself a heretic (Paternus), the liturgy can hardly have failed to become corrupt, so we find Profuturus, like so many other bishops of the fourth and fifth centuries, appealing to the Apostolic See for guidance in liturgical matters. Pope Vigilius (538–555) replied (March 1, 538) by sending the Roman Baptismal service, the Canon of the Mass and the proper of Easter to serve as a specimen for the formation of other Masses—' Quapropter et ipsius canonicae precis textum direximus subteradjectum, quem, Deo propitio, ex apostolica traditione suscepimus. Et ut charitas tua cognoscat quibus in locis aliqua festivitatibus apta connectes, paschalis diei preces similiter adjecimus ' (' Vigilii Papae Epist. ad Ep. Profuturum Bracharensem,' *PL*, t. LXXX. col. 18). The same Pope also spoke of the placing of relics as a rite complementary to the consecration of a church—' If the relics in a church have been taken away it will be necessary to replace them, and the church will receive consecration by a solemn Mass.'

From these papal liturgical notes the rite of Braga took its rise, but, before dealing with it, one must return to the general history of the see. Closely bound up with the fortunes of the Suevic kingdom, the Church necessarily grew in power and importance when the sovereign abandoned Arianism at the instigation of St. Martin of Dumio (*c.* 550), at that time bishop of a town some miles outside the metropolis. Assisting at the famous Council of 561 (563) in his capacity of suffragan, he was later advanced to the archbishopric, dying about the year 580, when the fortunes of the see seemed at their zenith, although only five years before the destruction of the kingdom by the Visigoths.

Of the life of St. Martin we learn from St. Gregory of Tours that he was born in Pannonia, visited Palestine and became the foremost scholar of his time (' Hist. Franc.,' v. 37); while St. Isidore of Seville, writing ' On famous men,' says : ' he was Abbot of the monastery of Dumio, near Braga, came to Galicia from the East, converted the Suevic inhabitants from the errors of Arianism, taught them Catholic doctrine and discipline, strengthened their ecclesiastical organisation, and founded monasteries. He also left a number of letters in which he recommended a reform of manners, a life of faith

and prayer, and giving of alms, the constant practice of all virtues and the love of God.'

At the present time the ' Ritus Almae Bracarensis Ecclesiae ' honours Braga's most famous bishop with two feasts—March 20 and October 22.

We have already seen how heresy, divisions in the episcopate, lessons taken from the apocryphal Scriptures, in addition to the unsettled political state of the country, necessitated the formation of a liturgy and that for this purpose appeal was made to the ' Mother and Mistress of all the Churches,' so now, when the king had become a Catholic, a Council was held to promulgate this mixed rite and to make it obligatory for the whole province. Authorities differ as to the exact date of the gathering, some claiming 561, while others, like Mansi, assert 563. With Lucretius the Metropolitan, as president, assisted by seven other bishops, twenty-two decrees were enacted, giving the death-blow to Priscillianism and establishing liturgical uniformity. The rule of faith drawn up at Toledo in A.D. 400 was confirmed ; bishops in their visitations could exact only one-third of the revenues of each church for repairs, etc., and two crowns (' duos solidos ') ' pro honore Cathedrae ' (first mention of ' Cathedraticum ') ; bishops and priests were to say ' Dominus vobiscum,' as in the Book of Ruth and according to Apostolic tradition (according to Alcuin bishops said ' Pax vobis ' up to this time), eliciting the reply, ' Et cum spiritu tuo,' as was the custom of the East and without any of the alterations introduced by the Priscillianists. Canon 4, the palladium of the liturgical liberties of the Church of Braga, decreed that Mass should be said according to the ' Ordo ' sent from Rome, and in Canon 5 that the form for Baptism, used in the metropolitical see, should not be altered. Canon 4 : ' Item placuit *in eodem ordine* missae celebrentur *ab omnibus* quem Profuturus quondam hujus metropolitanae ecclesiae episcopus ab ipsa apostolicae sedis auctoritate scriptum suscepit.' Canon 5 : ' Item placuit ut nullus eum baptisandi ordinem praetermittat quem et antea tenuit metropolitana Bracarensis ecclesia et pro amputanda aliquorum dubietate praedictus Profuturus episcopus scriptum sibi et directum a sede beatissimi apostoli Petri suscepit.'

The same Council also determined that the bishops of the province should rank after the metropolitan according to the date of their consecration. Bishops were forbidden to ordain candidates from other dioceses without Letters Dimissorial; deacons must wear stoles *outside* their tunicles to distinguish them from subdeacons; the sacred vessels must only be carried by those in Holy Orders; readers were prohibited from chanting in secular dress and also from letting their hair (or beard) grow; nothing was to be sung in church unless found in the canonical Scriptures; laymen were not to receive Holy Communion inside the sacrarium or chancel; all priests who abstained from meat must eat their vegetables cooked *with* meat, under pain of excommunication, so that they might avoid any suspicion of Priscillianism (*cf.* Ancyra, 314); suicides and catechumens were to be buried quietly, with no interment *inside* a church; while priests must be appointed for the blessing of the chrism.

By 572, the summoning of the second Council of Braga, the metropolitan see had changed hands, so that in the gathering (twelve bishops), held to increase the number of bishoprics in Galicia, when ten Canons were promulgated and the first four General Councils officially acknowledged, St. Martin of Dumio, now Primate of Braga, acted as chairman and president. The first Canon directed that bishops in their visitations should take note of the manner in which priests celebrated the Holy Sacrifice and administered Baptism and the other Sacraments, thanking God if they found everything satisfactory and instructing the priests that were wanting in knowledge. The metropolitan (Can. 9) must announce the date of Easter, telling the people after Christmas, so that they might be prepared for the beginning of Lent, when litanies were to be recited for three days, with the Lenten fast proclaimed on the last day after Mass. The following Canon (10) threatened suspension for any priest who broke his fast before he celebrated, 'as many did from Priscillianist tendencies.' Again, regulations were made with regard to hair and, following the Council of Agde (506) which authorized archdeacons to employ force in cutting the locks of recalcitrant clergy, this Council ordained that the hair must be short and the ears exposed.

In the same year (572), at the Council of Lugo, eighty-four Canons were read, supplied by St. Martin, under whom the Suevic Church attained its zenith, although its sovereign independence was short-lived, as in the reign of the Visigothic Leovigild (585) the country came under the authority of this people, who four years later, in the third Council of Toledo (May 8, 589), began their campaign on behalf of liturgical uniformity—that is the hegemony of their national rite, the Mozarabic—which in 633 (December 9) resulted in the total abolition of all rivals : ' Nihil ultra diversum aut dissonum in ecclesiasticis Sacramentis agamus : ne quaelibet nostra diversitas apud ignotos, seu carnales, schismaticis errorem videatur ostendere, et multis existat in scandalum varietas Ecclesiarum. Unus igitur ordo orandi atque psallendi nobis per omnem Hispaniam et Galliam conservetur, unus modus in Missarum solemnitatibus, unus in Vespertinis Matutinisque officiis : nec diversa sit ultra in nobis ecclesiastica consuetudo, qui in una fide continemur et Regno : hoc enim et antiqui canones decreverunt ut unaquaeque provincia et psallendi et ministrandi parem consuetudinem contineat ' (fourth Council of Toledo, 633, Can. 2).

This Canon was confirmed in 675 by the third in the eleventh Council of Toledo (' ut in una provincia diversitas officiorum non teneatur '—that is, in a different way from the cathedral church), so that the rite of Braga was sedulously extirpated, finally disappearing altogether, although the presence of the above proves that the old customs and usages, so deeply ingrained in the people, did not cease all at once and, since no question of faith was involved, no order was given for the wholesale destruction of books, as in the case of Reccared and the Arians. With the abolition of the Suevic liturgy, national both in origin and character, it seems strange that no word of protest should have been raised by the natural guardians of the rite, the metropolitans of Braga, for the bishop was present in the fateful Council of 633 and, in that held in the same city (Toledo) in 656, under King Reccasuinthus and St. Eugenius, Potamius voluntarily accused himself of crime, for which he was deposed and St. Fructuosus (April 16) elected in his stead. Again, at

the Council (Toledo) of 681 (King Ervigius and St. Julian) Braga was represented, and in the same year as the canon of uniformity was confirmed (675) the third Council of Braga met—King Wamba and Leodegesius—enacting eight decrees, some with reference to the conduct of divine worship, but in none of them giving the slightest hint of episcopal discontent at the enforcement of the Mozarabic rite. Thus Canon 1 determined that no one should dare to offer milk and grapes in sacrifice, but bread and wine mixed with a drop of water in the chalice, and bread soaked in wine must not be used ; Canon 5 directed that bishops, when carrying the relics of the martyrs in procession, must walk to the church and not be carried in a chair or litter borne by white-robed deacons ; while a further Canon forbade any priest saying Mass, or even receiving Holy Communion, without an 'orarium' or stole over both shoulders and crossed upon the breast.

Every temporal empire and kingdom has its day and then disappears, so that after about 130 years the rule of the Visigoths came to an end and the greater part of the Spanish peninsula submitted to the yoke of Islam. With the kingdom destroyed at Guadalete (712), Braga was captured two years later, only regaining its full independence in 1071. During those years of Moorish captivity the series of bishops was so interrupted that any attempt at describing the condition of the Church at the time is well-nigh impossible, although it seems tolerably certain that from Odoarius (740–786) to Reccared (875–922) the diocese of Braga was administered by the bishops of Lugo, with titulars still retaining the old name ; while from Hero (924–940) to Vestruarius (1060–1086) there is no record of any bishop for Braga, save that of Lugo. Consistent with their general policy in Spain, the Moslems allowed their Christian subjects the exercise of their religion, so that when Don Pedro became the first prelate of the restored hierarchy (1071) it was the Mozarabic rite that was used.

The re-establishment of the Church of Braga, begun by Fernando Magno (1037–1065), was finally effected by his sons Garcia and Sancho, for the former, ruling over Galicia, determined in the Cortes at Compostella to restore the episcopate, whereas Sancho, having deposed his brother,

nominated Pedro. The very year of this election (1071) saw the initial step in the virtual extirpation of the old Spanish rite—the introduction of the Roman Mass at the Monastery of St. John de la Peña (Aragon) on March 22—a process which culminated in a Council held in Leon (1090 or 1091) under Cardinal Reinerio (later Paschal II), when the old Gothic characters gave way to Latin: 'Multa de officiis ecclesiae statuerunt, et etiam de caetero omnes scriptores omissa litera Toletana, quam Gulfilas Episcopus adinvenit, Gallicis literis uterentur.'

Pedro ruled the Church of Martin and Fructuosus from 1071 to 1093, so that during his episcopate the Mozarabic rite gave way to the Roman, not the Suevo-Roman destroyed in 633, but that same use introduced so zealously into all the countries influenced by the Cluniac reform. Diego Pelaez of Santiago (1071–1088), writing in his 'Historia Compostellana,' declared: 'in hoc tempore, apud Hispanos Lex toletana obliterata est et Lex romana recepta'; but paucity of books and the innate conservatism of the rural clergy enabled the Spanish rite to linger on for many years, side by side with the Roman, so that Paschal II (1099–1118), in his Bull 'Eos qui secundum,' told St. Gerald, the second Bishop of Braga, that priests ordained according to the Mozarabic rite could continue in their work. Pedro had been deposed from office by the Archbishop of Toledo as Apostolic Legate, three years before the election of St. Gerald, for receiving the pallium from an Antipope (Clement III), the vacant see being governed by the archdeacon, Rodrigo Vermudiz. The succession of the Cluniac Gerald (April 1096) therefore necessitated reform and reconstruction in both clergy and services, although, as we shall see, there are no solid grounds for the supposition that the distinctive rite of Braga owed its inception to his pontificate. St. Gerald, a Frenchman and a former singer of Toledo, appointed his compatriot and fellow religious, Bernard, to be his archdeacon, who later became the biographer of his bishop, being himself appointed Bishop of Coimbra in 1128, where he effected a similar revival, receiving the sobriquet of 'Black Bishop,' from his refusal to lay aside the habit of his Order. It has been already noted that the Roman rite was introduced by Bishop

Pedro, but it was left to St. Gerald to obtain a more perfect execution of the liturgical services, with possibly the addition of some Cluniac rites and customs, for, whatever may be the cause of this, it is certain that there was a degree of similarity between the ancient use of Braga and that of the Portuguese Benedictines (Tibaes). Thus, the author of the Ceremonial (Benedictine) of 1820, ordered to write this by the Chapter-General of his Congregation, which met at Tibaes (near Braga) in 1812, says that he had to examine the books of the holy Church of Braga, because of their great similarity and even sometimes of their identity ; while the Benedictine Ceremonial of 1647 had many points of contact with Braga, although the author of the later (1820) book neither arrives at nor seeks to explain any possible causes. Comparing these two ceremonials with the method of the Braga liturgy of 1837 (Braga Ceremonial and ' Rituale exequiarum,' composed and published by Fr. Antonio Thomaz dos Reis, approved by the Chapter, August 7, 1841) there almost seems identity between the Benedictine and the Braga rites for Holy Week, with the difference that, whereas the book of 1820 agreed with the Braga missal of 1558 in prescribing the blessing of the new fire for Holy Saturday only, the earlier Benedictine Ceremonial (1647) ordered the ceremony to be performed on *all* the days of the ' Triduum Sacrum ' (Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday). This, according to Dom Edmund Martène (' De antiquis Monachorum ritibus '), was the early practice of his Order, and possibly found a place also at Braga, for in the missal of Balthazar Limpo (1558) the ceremonial of Holy Week had been modified. The ' Funeral Procession ' on Good Friday and Easter, not mentioned either in the rubrics of the Benedictine missal published at Salamanca (1568) nor in the Braga book of 1512, was anciently made in only two monasteries, although it appeared in the missal of 1558, with very different ceremonies attaching to it. Campello de Macedo in ' Thesouro de Ceremonias ' (1657) describes the ' Procissão do Enterro ' with details identical with those found at Braga, asserting that it originated in Portugal at the house of the Secular Canons of St. John the Evangelist at Villar de Frades (Municipality of Barcellos), and was extended from there to the cathedral. This

is confirmed by Fr. Francisco de Santa Maria, chronicler of the Canons, in the ' Anno Historico,' in referring to Fr. Paulo de Portalegre Loyo, who died on August 5, 1510, where he states that the above canon brought the idea of the procession from Jerusalem, to be introduced into the churches of his Congregation and, finally, into that of the cathedral (*cf.* Taormina, Sicily). The great protagonist for the theory that St. Gerald formed the rite of Braga was Fr. Antonio Pereira de Figueiredo, a Lisbon Oratorian, who, at the request of Archbishop Gaspar de Bragança, and in opposition to the assertions of the ' False Chronicles,' wrote ' A Critical Dissertation on the Ancient and Modern Calendars of Braga, to serve for a Plan of Reform ' (1771), in which he alleged that his thesis was maintained by the internal evidence of the Calendar, where four classes of saints were found : (1) of the Universal Church, *i.e.* Roman ; (2) of Spain ; (3) of France ; and (4) of the Benedictine Order, especially of Cluniac observance.

St. Gerald was indeed a Cluniac from Moissac (Tolosa), who set his see in order and even introduced some monastic rites, but in the Calendars of other Spanish Churches we find French and Benedictine saints, and in that of Braga itself commemorations subsequent to the death of St. Gerald—St. Hugh, Abbot of Cluny, who died in 1109 and was canonized in 1120, and also that of St. Gerald himself (December 5 and December 19), who could not have inserted his own name. Cluniac influence was very great during this century throughout the whole Peninsula—with five houses in Galicia, in addition to those of Leon, Sahagun and St. John de la Peña ; the kings of Spain nominating members of the Order for important bishoprics (Dalmacio in Compostella, St. Gerald and Mauricio in Braga, and Bernardo in Coimbra), and Popes Gregory VII (1073–1085), Urban II (1087–1099), and Paschal II (1099–1118), all wearers of the habit. Mauricio Burdinho (1111–1114) afterwards became known in history by assuming the rôle of Antipope (Gregory VIII)—a doubtful honour bestowed by the Emperor Henry V, to whom he had been sent as a legate (1118).

Braga Cathedral, rebuilding in the episcopate of Pedro, aided by Vestrio, Bishop of Lugo, and Cresconio, Bishop of

Iria (Compostella), was continued during the reign of St. Gerald (April 1096–December 5, 1108), who had been consecrated in Sahagun by Bernard of Toledo in April 1096, becoming the first archbishop after the restoration of the see. The cathedral still unfinished, Alfonso Henriques granted Archbishop Paio Mendes the right of a private mint to hasten its completion, as Alfonso VI had done in the case of Santiago.

It has been already shown that Cluniac influences affected other Churches, but it might perhaps be apposite to note further resemblances between the rites of Braga and Cluny, without, however, exaggerating their importance.

The Gospel for the first Sunday in Advent, which in the Braga missal and breviary is taken from St. Mark, ' Principium Evangelii Jesu Christi Filii David,' was also used at Cluny. In Advent and Lent, when prophetical lessons are read, both the Benedictine Constitutions and the rubrics of the Braga breviary enjoin ' Haec dicit Dominus ; convertimini ad me et salvi eritis,' in place of ' Tu autem Domine miserere nostri.' On Holy Saturday the two rites (Braga and Cluny—*cf.* Lyon) have only four prophecies ; while the ancient Braga missal and that of Cluny prescribe the blessing of grapes before ' Per quem haec omnia ' on the feast of the Transfiguration (August 6). The 1558 book adds that the Mass should be offered with new wine, or, where this is impossible, a bunch of grapes must be pressed on the paten and the juice mixed with the chalice—a rubric unknown to earlier Braga missals, but found in some French churches in the fourteenth century. The Constitutions of Cluny, like the ancient use of Braga, order two Masses for the feast of St. John Baptist—' Matutina ' (' Justus ut palma ') and ' Major ' (' De ventre matris meae ') ; while the ' Commemoratio omnium Canonicorum et benefactorum Ecclesiae Bracarensis,' observed in the breviary of Canon Soeiro (fifteenth century) on December 8, was a solemnity instituted in the first instance by St. Hugh of Cluny. The three lections for Christmas, still found in the Braga missal, were also a feature in the old Benedictine rite and in many of the churches of France, as they are still read in that liturgy which, at its inception, owed so much to the use of Paris—the Dominican. The Palm Sunday ceremony at Braga, with

the bishop saying ' Attollite portas,' etc., three times, as he strikes the door with his crozier, together with the answer of ' Quis est Rex gloriae,' seems to have been brought from France to Spain in the eleventh century, although it is found in the former country so lately as in the Paris Processional of Cardinal Noailles (1651–1729).

Until the twelfth century the designation Spain included the whole Peninsula, but on the death of Alfonso VI in 1109 Henry of Burgundy styled himself ' Count of Portugal,' adding the significant words ' by the grace of God.' Dying under the walls of Astorga, the self-made count was buried in Braga Cathedral (1114), with his little son, Alfonso 1st Henriques (1114–1185), ruling in his stead. Arrived at man's estate, Henriques undertook a victorious crusade against the Moors, with the result that he was acclaimed king by his soldiers in 1139, although he awaited the ratification by the Cortes before adopting the title. The Cortes, meeting at Lamego (Regoa) in 1143, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Braga, assisted by his suffragans and many civil notabilities, solemnly endorsed the military proclamation, and Alfonso 1st Henriques, declaring himself independent of Castile and a vassal of the Holy See, was crowned first King of Portugal by the metropolitan, using the diadem given, according to tradition, by the Visigoths to the monastery of Lorvão. In a free and independent country the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Archbishop of Toledo over the Portuguese bishops could prove nothing but a national peril, so no sooner had the new kingdom been proclaimed than we find the Metropolitan of Braga asserting primatial jurisdiction, thus entering upon a discussion of centuries' duration. John Peculiar, who reigned for forty years, went to Rome in April 1144 to consult with Lucius II (1144–1145) on political matters, so it is probable that the thorny question of the primacy was then broached, for Braga, not content with claiming spiritual freedom, demanded the primacy over all the Spains.

In 1153 (May and December) Eugenius III (1145–1153), on complaints received from Alfonso VII, King of Castile and Leon, wrote a letter to Archbishop Peculiar, in which he said that his predecessor (Lucius II) had determined to recognize

Toledo, unless some contrary document could be produced or charter of privilege shown. A provisional solution seems to have been arrived at by the Bull 'Cum venerabilis frater,' issued in 1218 by Honorius III (1216–1227) during the episcopate of Estevãs Soares de Silva; but at the Council of Trent the dispute broke out afresh. At the same time, another important event greatly affected the Church of Braga, for the canons of the cathedral, who, since the days of St. Gerald, had lived in a community, were now, at the instigation of the new king, transformed into a rich autonomous body, holding episcopal powers *sede vacante* and electing the archbishops. As religious living in common, the Divine Office had been formed upon the lines of that of Cluny, but, with the very drastic change in the constitutions, the reduced breviary, approved for the Franciscan Order in 1241 ('Pio vestro Collegio') and for all the churches of Rome during the pontificate of Nicholas III (1277–1281), was adopted.

In the discussions of the sixteenth century the preservation of the rite of Braga was bound up with the question of the primacy, so what can be more likely than that as soon as the independence of Portugal had been proclaimed (1143) the metropolitan (John Peculiar) of the newly formed kingdom introduced a distinctive national rite, harking back to the halcyon days of 561, when the Romano-Suevic liturgy became obligatory for the whole nation? At any rate there is documentary evidence for the existence of the Braga rite by the end of the thirteenth century, for in the will of Maior Migueis (December 2, 1301) the chaplain is directed to say Masses for her and her husband, 'juxta Consuetudinem Ecclesiae Bracarensis.' The inventory of goods belonging to the chapel of Archbishop Lourenço Vicente (elected 1391), made in 1397, includes liturgical books 'according to the custom of the Church of Braga.' What, then, was the basis of this restored rite? As we shall see below, it was in all probability the old Suevic missal, supplemented by Roman and Mozarabic codices.

From 1232 the Metropolitan of Braga has borne the title of 'Primate of Portugal,' retaining that of all Galicia until 1716, but even now the present holder of the see, Manuel Vieira de Mattos (1914), styles himself 'Archbishop and Lord of Braga,

Primate of the Spains.' Pope John XXI (1277), created a Cardinal by Gregory X (1268–1276) in 1276, had previously ruled here as metropolitan (1274)—Pedro Juliano. In the mediaeval Councils held at Braga—1278, 1280, 1301, 1328, 1436, 1488, 1537—little was enacted of much consequence, but the erection of two additional archbishoprics, Lisbon in 1394 (Patriarchate in 1716) and Evora in 1540, greatly diminished the importance of the Lusitanian metropolitan. Evora, seeking to emulate the primatial see, adopted a distinctive rite with a diocesan missal and breviary, ordering (1565) these special customs of the Church to be observed ; but they have long since shared the fate of the mushroom liturgies of Gallican France.

The Diocesan Synod, held under Jorge da Costa II in 1488, first proposed the printing of the Braga liturgical books, with the result that the breviary appeared in 1494, the ritual in 1496, and the missal in 1498. Diogo de Souza, surnamed the second founder of Braga, at the Assembly of 1505 made new Constitutions, which produced two editions of a breviary (1511 and 1528) and a missal (1512).

The Diocesan Synod of the royal archbishop, the Infante Henriques (King of Portugal, 1578–1580), held soon after his taking possession of the see, ordered the compulsory registration of baptisms and deaths, and granted leave for priests ' extra Chorum ' (also *in choirs* where the majority was favourable) to say the Roman breviary, alleging that this concession was not an act of hostility to the national rite, but ' to conform with the Church of Rome, the universal head of all Christendom.' The following year (1538) a second edition of the ' Manuale Sacramentorum secundum Consuetudinem Bracarensis Curiae ' was issued, in addition to a new missal—containing rules for the saying of the Gloria and Creed and Masses for St. Apollonia and ' de Victoria Christi,' a commemoration found in two manuscript breviaries of the fifteenth century and in the present liturgical books, ' pro gratiarum actione ob victoriam Christianorum de Sarracenis relatam ' (Salado), observed on September 30 as a greater double—so that it seems tolerably certain that the Infante had no ulterior motive in granting the above privilege. The

breviary of Manuel de Souza appeared in 1549 when the archbishop was already dead, but his successor, the Carmelite Balthazar Limpo, rearranged the general rubrics and ' Ordo ad celebrandam Missam,' publishing (Lyon) a further Braga missal in 1558. The four printed missals (1498, 1512, 1538, 1558) agree very well in all their parts, but in the last the rubrics are given with greater precision and clarity, and innovations appear which, without disturbing the economy of the rite, would seem to show a tendency to approximate the Braga to the Roman missal, at least as far as the actual wording is concerned. The increased Marian accentuation in the 1558 book very possibly owed something to the place of printing (Lyon), but in any case it would be especially welcome to a Carmelite metropolitan, and the revised Mozarabic rite of Ximenes had already (1500) begun and ended its liturgy with salutations to Our Lady. The Council of Trent in its third period (1562–1563) was enlivened by the very animated discussions as to the rival primatial claims of Toledo and Braga, with Pedro Guerreiro, Archbishop of Granada, as the Spanish champion, and the Dominican Bartolomeu dos Martyres (1514–1590) the protagonist for Portugal. The latter wrote to his Chapter at Braga on the progress of the dispute, but the contention grew so sharp that Pius IV (1559–1565) sent the Decree ' Sicut ea ' to his legates (December 31, 1561) and the Brief ' Reddite nobis ' to the warring prelates, to the effect that patriarchs were first in importance, then archbishops and, finally, bishops, according to the date of their promotion. Closely bound up with the question of the primacy was the rite of Braga, ' a perennial monument to the antiquity and primacy of the Church,' concerning which Archbishop Bartolomeu had said ' Nullatenus permissum esse ab stato Bracarensis Ecclesiae precandi ritu deviare ' (quoted in the breviary of 1634), and a corrected edition of the manual of 1538 was brought out in 1562—' Manuale secundum Ordinem almae Bracarensis Ecclesiae '—with the observation ' nos ex veteri libro novum confecimus.'

A Diocesan Synod was held in 1564, with a Provincial Council two years later, summoned by the metropolitan to enforce the Tridentine precepts. The Council, in session

from September 8, 1566, to March 1567, and attended by the Bishops of Coimbra, Viseu, Miranda and Oporto, issued instructions for the regulation of manners and better order of Divine Service, commanding each diocese to follow its own ceremonial—Braga the rite of Braga, for by this time the suffragan sees appear to have become Romanized.

In 1582 the 'Arcebispo Santo' (1559–1582), as the Portuguese call him—declared Venerable by Gregory XVI (1831–1846) in 1845—resigned his office and retired to the Dominican house at Vianna, of which he was the founder, dying on July 16, 1590. Before his resignation, however, St. Pius V (1565–1572) had promulgated the famous 'Quo primum' Bull (1570), exempting all rites that could show at least two hundred years of continuous existence. Braga was safe therefore, and with it the same privilege was claimed for the liturgy used by the Portuguese Congregation of the Benedictines, alone out of all the Black Monks to adhere to their distinctive usages. Become decadent by the reign of John III (1521–1557), yet animated by the reform begun in the College of S. Bento de Coimbra, and early introduced into the monastery of Refojos de Basto, the Lord Abbot Commendatory of S. Tirso de Riba d'Ave, Antonio da Silva, obtained (1558), through the influence of the Queen Regent, Caterina, two monks from Montserrat (Pedro Chaves and Placido de Villalobos) to reinfuse the monastic spirit into the Benedictine houses of Portugal. On April 30, 1566, St. Pius V, at the request of Sebastian, reunited all the Benedictine monasteries of Portugal into one Congregation—St. Benedict—with the Mother House and residence of the Abbot-General at Tibaes (St. Martinho). On the eve of the 'Liberal' persecution (1834) this distinctive liturgy was used in the following houses: Tibaes, S. Bento da Saude (Lisbon), S. Bento da Vitória (Oporto), Pombeiro, Randufe, Paço de Sousa, Pendorada, Ganfei, Carvoeiro, Arnoia, Miranda, S. Bento de Coimbra, S. Tirso, Refojos, Neiva, Bustelo, Palme, Cucujães, Cabanas, etc., as well as in the province of Brazil at S. Sebastião da Baía, S. Bento de Pernambuco, S. Maria de Rio de Janeiro, Paraiba and Olinda. In the night of November 10–11, 1895, the last monk of the old Congregation

died (Dom Frei Francisco d'Ave Maria Queiroz), but the monastery of Cucujães had been refounded, affiliated to the Congregation of Beuron, with no attempt at reviving the distinctive rite, and the present house at Falperra (Braga), while maintaining the tradition of the Order in the country and providing a focus for the liturgical movement in Portugal, has continued the Roman use.

In Brazil, also, hostility to religion had destroyed the Benedictine life, so that the rite of Tibaes became everywhere extinct, although a study of it contributes to a more exact conception of the origin, history, and significance of the rite of Braga, while the nearness of Tibaes to the metropolitan see (*c.* 3 miles) and the large number of monasteries in the archdiocese engendered a similarity and even an identity of rites, propounding the question, ' What was the source of the rite—Braga ? Tibaes ? or a common Mother ? '

To return to the general history of the archbishopric : in 1589 the Augustinian primate, Agostinho de Jesus (1589–1609) —Pedro de Castro—collected all the documents available concerning the antiquity of the Church of Braga, in order to place the subject of the primacy upon a solid and independent basis, while during the same episcopate (1608) Fr. Cosme de Magalhães, S.J., wrote : ' Primatus Hispaniae, de quo litigatum est [Estevão Soares de Silva for Braga and Rodrigo Ximenes for Toledo] tempore Concilii Lateranensis sub Innocentio III et postea sub Honorio III.' The same archbishop consecrated the cathedral on July 28, 1592, and summoned a Synod two years later, in which a new edition of the breviary was mooted (*cf.* 1606) and Constitutions drawn up (approved in 1637 after revision, but only published in 1697) that continued the policy of the dual rites (*cf.* Infante Henriques). The scales were still heavily weighted in favour of the national rite, which was official in the archbishopric, but choirs, other than the Chapter of the cathedral, could follow Rome, and although all parish Masses were directed to be said according to the use of Braga, Roman services were not prohibited.

On October 18, 1600, the ' Statutes of the Chapter of that Holy and Primatial See of Braga ' were promulgated as the first official document after the Pian reform (1568–1570), to

show that Braga had taken advantage of the two-century privilege. The Augustinian Alejo de Meneses was translated here from Goa, after having reconciled the Malabar Nestorians to the Church and ' revised ' their liturgy (Synod of Diamper, 1599). He died in Madrid (1617) at the early age of fifty-eight, as President of the Council of Castile, since Spain and Portugal again formed one kingdom (1580–1640), and he is buried on the south side of the chancel of the former church of his Order in Braga—' Igreja do Populo.' Still the primacy and the distinctive rite were linked together, for in 1632 Rodrigo da Cunha (1627–1635) wrote the ' Tractatus de Primatu Bracharensis Ecclesiae in universa Hispania,' and in 1634 published a new edition of the Braga breviary. Coming from Oporto as pro-Roman, da Cunha became a convert to the rite of his archdiocese, and, with all the fervour usually attributed to a change of views, set about to promote the interests of his new liturgy with more zeal than knowledge, approving the ' False Chronicles ' and inserting into the Calendar the names of ten saints, alleged to have ruled as archbishops : SS. Felix Torquatus (February 26, now 27), Julian, Narcisus, Leoncius, Secundimus, Basileus, Ovidius (June 3)—as third Bishop of Braga in 1634, but relics of a saint of the name existed in the fourteenth century—Flavian, Victor (not St. Victor in Roman Martyrology on April 12 as ' Martyr of Braga ') and Autbert.

In the preface to the new breviary, da Cunha, speaking of the suggested substitution of the Braga for the Roman, says : ' in contrarium acriter itum est. Et ideo nullatenus se passuros (Capitulares) quod Bracarensi Breviario longe antiquiori supersederetur.' In another place the same writer continues : ' denique inter praefatas rationes illa plus ponderis et momenti habere visa est, qua referebant per illustrissimum D. Fr. Bartholomeum a Martyribus, qui Sacrosancto Concilio Tridentino interfuit, et subscripsit, . . . Postremo addebant jam per illustrissimum Archipraesulem D. Fr. Augustinum de Jesu satis et curae et laboris impensum esse, ut nova haec Breviarii instauratio in lucem prodiret, nisi egregios ejus conatus mors interciperet.' Still, however, the rivalry of the rites continued, and in 1674 Archbishop Verissimo de Lencastre, by printing

' Officia propria Sanctorum Bracarensis dioecesis ab iis qui in ea Breviario Romano utuntur recitari consueta,' etc., officially authorized the two rites. The intended reforms of João de Souza were not put into operation, as the prelate was translated to Lisbon, but in any case they were unpopular with the Braga clergy, since they had the effect of producing a hybrid rite, satisfactory to neither party, with many local saints removed from the Calendar in favour of those of foreign extraction. His successor, Rodrigo de Moura Telles, a former Rector of the University of Coimbra and Bishop of Guarda, having consulted Rome (1704) as to which rite was to be observed, set about revising the liturgical books of his see, producing in 1713 a new edition of the offices of the Braga saints for those using the Roman rite, but with the proviso that only lack of books would justify a departure from the old use.

In the breviary published in 1724, not only did Telles retain the fables culled from the ' False Chronicles ' in 1634, but he deliberately inserted others; and whereas da Cunha had ten local archbishops of doubtful authenticity in his breviary, there were now fifteen: SS. Benigno, Felix, Apollonio, Silvestre, and Salomão, with other reputed saints who had no cultus in Braga and, in some cases, no existence at all! After a long vacancy in the see, caused by the interruption of relations between the Portuguese Government and Rome, José de Bragança (1741–1756) became archbishop in 1741, but a new breviary, brought out under his influence, having been printed at Lisbon just before the earthquake of 1755, was completely destroyed in the disaster. St. Francis Borgia, however, who had himself preached in Braga Cathedral and whose name had been added to the Calendar in this ill-fated edition, was retained in the liturgical books as the principal patron of Portugal (October 10). The archiepiscopate of Gaspar de Bragança (1758–1789) saw renewed attempts at Romanizing and the Chapter sanctioned a Roman school of singing in the cathedral (the antiphonaries of the period are still in use), and the introduction of many new feasts, including all the recent festivals of Our Lady and some taken from the Calendar of the Canons Regular of the Holy Cross at Coimbra, where the Archbishop had been educated—collected together

in a Codex, printed at Lisbon in 1774, but purporting to be 'juxta ritum almae bracarensis Ecclesiae' (2nd edition at Oporto in 1853, by order of the Cardinal Archbishop Pedro Paulo). Nevertheless, there was a limit to compliance, and when it appeared that it was revolution rather than reform, the Chapter of Braga opposed with respect but firmness, at the same time requesting that the fictitious saints, inserted at the last reform, should be expunged and the feasts of *bona-fide* archbishops, as well as their octaves, should be raised to the rank of doubles. The following fifteen points were presented to the Chapter for its consideration, numbers (2), (3) and (4) appearing also in the manuscript missal of Canon Francisco Pacheco Pereira (*ob.* 1763), who declared that his reform was founded on the liturgy of 1558, 'the first and only missal.'

(1) Whether the priest after the first 'Dominus vobiscum' should incline to the cross or straight to the book?

(2) If in Lent the proper Preface of the Roman rite should be said?

(3) If the celebrant is to kneel only on one knee before the words 'Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi'?

(4) If the chalice and the ablutions are to be received *more Romano*?

(5) Is the dominical Gospel to be read at the end of the Sunday Mass of a saint?

(6) Must the deacon kneel at the Holy Name when it occurs in the Gospel?

(7) Do the sacred ministers, when accompanying the celebrant, proceed with hands raised?

(8) In Vespers of solemnities must the Psalms be ferial or proper?

(9) The insertion of 'Dominus' before 'Jesus' when it occurs in the Gospel;

(10) In the Canon should the words 'et me indigno famulo tuo *N.*,' found in ancient Masses, be added?

(11) Words referring to Our Lady which could not be approved for any person (*sic*) to be omitted from the 'Gloria in Excelsis';

(12) In Masses 'de Tertia,' the archbishop, his canon, or a simple priest to make the chalice sitting down, in

accordance with the rubric and general practice of the whole archbishopric ;

(13) The Litany of Loretto to take the place of ' Te Matrem ' at the end of Lauds of Sancta Maria in Sabbato ;

(14) The chalice and chalice edge not to be cleansed by the celebrant using his fingers ; and

(15) Whether the Creed should be inserted on all feasts of Doctors, as in the Roman rite ?

The Chapter, thinking that the above changes would tend to the destruction of the rite rather than its greater perfection, obtained a Commission to look into the matter, replying, also, first, that these alterations should not be undertaken without consulting the Holy See ; secondly, that their votes should be withheld, after considering each question separately ; and thirdly, that the missal (1558) tacitly approved by St. Pius V, used by Bartolomeu dos Martyres all his life, and retained even by da Cunha and Telles, would be altered for a book which would be neither Bragensian nor Roman.

Although curbed by a wholesome fear of the Apostolic See and apparently acquiescing in the new impression of breviaries and missals ordered by the Chapter in 1784, the Archbishop, only a year after (1781) the discussion on the removal of the Marian farcings in the Gloria, when it had been definitely stated that Mass was to be celebrated according to the use of Braga, pontificated at a solemn requiem, sung, in defiance of the Statutes of the primatial church and the Constitutions of the archbishopric, according to the Roman rite. By the appointment of a new Dean this had been made possible, but it seems almost incredible that such a violation of local privilege should have evoked no word of protest from the Chapter.

Caetano Brandão, who ruled the see from 1790 to 1805 and has left behind a reputation for sanctity, wrote in 1798 that he was working for a revision of the liturgical books, as those in present use abounded in legends and falsities, but his good intentions never fructified, only publishing (Lisbon, 1798) a new edition of the ' Caderno ' of Moura Telles—' Officia propria Festorum Diocesis bracharensis Hispaniarum Primatialis ex antiquissima consuetudine,' etc.

A succession of calamities now overtook the country—the

French revolutionary invasion and the revolt of 1834, which under ' Liberal ' influences took the form of bitter anticlericalism and expulsion of the Religious Orders—so that little thought could be spared for liturgical problems. With the accession of João Chrysostomo de Amorim Pessôa as metropolitan, a bitter assault was launched against the rite of Braga (1880): (*a*) A practical school of the Roman rite was formed in the Seminary where new clergy would be educated, and (*b*) modifications in the local breviary were suggested, as in the last century, without consulting the Apostolic See. Judging from pamphlets and newspaper articles, party feeling must have run very high, but in the pontificate of Manuel Baptista da Cunha the course of the tide veered Braga-wards, with the result that a reform of the service books was mooted in 1904. The Sacred Congregation of Rites approved the new Braga Calendar in 1906, with some new Offices for the archdiocese in 1907 and the general norm or bases that should be adopted for the revised breviary and missal in 1908; while, by the wishes of the Chapter (1909), it was determined that the new edition of the Braga breviary should have the ancient hymns, eliminated by Moura Telles, restored. Once again, however, man only proposes, for on October 5, 1910, the Portuguese kingdom came to an end with a freemason and an atheist —Theophilus Braga—' reigning ' as the first President of the Republic. By April 20, 1911, Church and State had been forcibly divided by the Law of Separation, so that the condition of the country necessarily precluded any liturgical progress, and Archbishop da Cunha died in 1913. The solemn entry into Braga of the new Archbishop—Manuel Vieira de Mattos—in 1915 and the greatly improved relations with the State made it possible for the Diocesan Synod of 1918 (July 25) to renew its desire for a revised Mass and Office, according to the ancient rite of Braga. This wish now at long last has attained fulfilment, with the breviary completed in 1922 (' Pars Hiemalis,' 1920; ' Verna,' 1921; ' Aestiva ' and ' Autumnalis ' in 1922) and the missal in 1924.

The former received papal approbation in the Bull ' Sedis hujus Apostolicae ' in 1919 (May 12) and by a Decree of the Congregation of Rites in 1920. Benedict XV (1914–1922) in

his pronouncement formally declared the rite of Braga to be obligatory for all the clergy of the archdiocese—that ' especial Rite which the Church of Braga has enjoyed from remote antiquity is one of its chief titles to glory.' Before the revision of the liturgical books, their paucity—the last breviary was that of Moura Telles in 1724—and their subject-matter—' quae, a rerum veritate vel a probata Ecclesiae Bracarensis traditione abhorrebant '—had made any general practice of the rite well-nigh impossible.

All through the centuries Rome, the alleged enemy of distinctive uses, had protected the rite of Braga against the Romanizing zeal of her own children, now at last to speak officially and thus to end all further dispute.

Pius XI, dotting the ' i's ' and crossing the ' t's ' of his predecessor's policy, issued the Encyclical ' Inter multiplices gravesque curas ' in 1924, which finds a position in the preface of the new missal. Here the rite of Braga is spoken of as a ' Portuguese glory ' (' Lusitaniae nitidum velut speculum '), with the command that it shall be used by the whole archdiocese—' ut sacerdotes Archdioecesis Bracarensis, sacrosanctum celebraturi Missae Sacrificium, omnes et singuli hoc uno utantur Missali.' Already, however, the clergy had obeyed the behests of authority, for a Pastoral dated November 5, 1923, had decreed that as from the following January 1 (1924) only the Braga breviary was to be recited and ' the ceremonies in the celebration of high Mass must be rigorously according to the liturgy of Braga.' For greater convenience a guide to the ceremonial was issued in 1923—' Cerimonial da Missa resada e solenze, secundo o Rito Bracarense '—and, to foster the liturgical spirit among the Portuguese Catholics, a National Congress of the Roman-Braga use was held from June 27 to July 1, 1928, under the direction of Fr. Antonio Coelho, a Benedictine of Falperra.

Until the inroads of Priscillianism and Arianism had made havoc of the Church of Galicia it seems unlikely that there was any fixed liturgy in the country, but, with the request of Profuturus for the Roman service books, a rite was formulated, Roman in essence, but with Suevic and Gallican peculiarities. A simile for the adventures of this Braga liturgy

(from the sixth century) has been found in the river Guadiana —rises, flows, vanishes, and, finally, reappears. This rite, it is contended, is the mother of the present use of Braga, for an orthodox revulsion against these heresies, and evidence of extreme antiquity, are found in the following points :

(1) The peculiar form of Blessing—' In unitate Sancti Spiritus, benedicat vos Pater et Filius '—which makes any denial of the Holy Trinity or of a real distinction of Persons impossible, whereas the formula ' Deus Pater et Filius Spiritus Sanctus,' by the suppression of ' et,' is capable of an altogether heretical construction.

The Mozarabic liturgy and the pre-Tridentine Roman missal of 1533 contain a similar Blessing ; while Dom Cabrol seems to think that by the fourth century the bishop gave his benediction to the people at the end of Mass.

(2) The deacon kneels at the Holy Name in the Gospel, since the Arians denied the true Deity of Christ.

(3) After Consecration the celebrant makes *double* genuflections, in place of the bending of the right knee, as in other rites, and the Host is lifted up for worship, no fewer than three times—Consecration, ' Oremus ' before the Lord's Prayer, and ' Domine non sum dignus.' It is true that the last prayer only made its appearance in the missal of 1558, but such a rite may very well have been practised during its equivalent, ' Domine Jesu Christe, non sum dignus,' although in default of rubrics in the earlier Masses the facts must necessarily remain obscure. In any case, a profession of faith is made against the Priscillians, who denied the true Body of Christ, asserting that it was apparent rather than real.

(4) The Athanasian Creed, although the present breviary (1920) directs that it shall be said on Trinity Sunday and the Sundays after Epiphany and Pentecost (unless a double or within an octave), appears in the fifteenth century to have been the last psalm at Prime, inserted without rubric or note.

The ' Memoria,' presented by the Chapter in the episcopate of Gaspar de Bragança (1758–1789), in reply to the considerations it had received on the reform of the liturgical books, stated that the Last Gospel was read aloud at the end of Mass (first in the 1558 missal) for the same reason as the

Athanasian Creed was recited at Prime—to proclaim the Divinity of Christ.

(5) In the preparation of the oblata before Mass some liturgiologists see a relic of the sixth-century Gallican use, when, at the credence, the bread and wine were prepared, with prayers analogous to those found at Braga.

(6) The missals of 1498, 1512 and 1538 have rites and formulas for the reconciliation of penitents, which prove the great antiquity of the rite of Braga.

Thus, the ceremonial (' Triduum Sacrum '), found in the 1512 book, seems to have been partially taken from a Roman rite of the fourth or fifth century, which disappeared in the Mother Church by the eighth century, since it is already missing in the ' Ordines Romani ' of the ninth. A rubric of the same year (1512) gives the reply of Innocent I to Decentius in 416 and the seven answers to the questions ' De paenitentibus,' in which the Pope declares the custom of Rome—only to reconcile on Maundy Thursday, unless ' in articulo mortis.' Some of these penitential rites appear in the Gelasian Sacramentary (seventh to eighth century)—reappearing in the pontifical of Clement VIII (1591–1605, edit. 1595), although absent in that of Innocent VIII (1484–1492, edit. 1511)—supporting the thesis that the Church of Braga was organically constituted in the sixth century. Further evidences of antiquity, derived from the same missal (1512), are shown in the Blessing of the new fire on *each* day of the ' Triduum Sacrum,' the Washing of the altar with wine and water on Maundy Thursday, and the direction that on Holy Saturday—' in Vigilia Paschae '—Mass should be said at night —' in nocte dicatur.'

(7) An ancient Braga missal orders the celebrant, when combing his hair, to recite an appropriate prayer and then to vest for Mass, an apparent reference to the liturgical comb, which seems to have been in use from the fifth to the fourteenth century, when the deacon combed the prelate's hair before vesting him. The pontifical of William of Mende (Guillaume Durand, 1285–1296) states that the bishop, while he is having his sandals put on at the throne, is assisted by a deacon who, when he has covered his shoulders with an amice, ' combs

him respectfully and lightly'; while the present Roman pontifical still requires a 'pecten eburneus' for the ceremony of the Consecration of a bishop, since the prelate after his anointing has his hair cleansed and smoothed down with a comb ('deinde cum pectine mundantur et complanantur capilli'). The treasury of Sens Cathedral contains a liturgical comb said to have belonged to St. Loup, an archbishop of the city who died in 623, but the silver-gilt inscription, 'pecten S. Lupi,' dates only from the thirteenth century.

In the apologia for the Bragança reform of the missal, undertaken by Canon Francisco Pacheco Pereira (*ob.* 1763), it is categorically stated that 'the rite of Braga is none other than the Mozarabic rite,' so it will be apposite at this juncture to inquire into the truth of the assertion, especially as we find, particularly in the books of 1498, 1512 and 1538, similar and even identical formulas. On examination, however, it will be found that the greatest resemblance lies in the Marian beginning and end of the Mass, a mediaeval rather than a Gallican feature, and that the Braga rite is fundamentally Roman.

A rubric in the missal of 1558 (not found in 1512 and 1538) directs the celebrant to commend himself to the Blessed Virgin before vesting—'Postea de intimo corde commendet se gloriosae Virgini Mariae,' etc.—in terms similar to those found in the Spanish liturgy; while the preliminary prayers of the two rites have only small variations—*e.g.* the prayer 'Deus qui de indignis,' said by the Mozarab in the sacristy and the Benedictine of Tibaes ('Ceremonial benedictino' of 1820) at the altar, is wanting in the use of Braga. The 'Ave' at the beginning, the farcings in the Gloria and the 'Salve' at the end appear to have been additions to the missal of 1558, but the prayer 'Per virtutem Sanctae Crucis,' found in 1512, has become an alternative to 'Oramus te Domine' by 1558. Some of the formulas in the preparation of the oblata were identical in the two rites (*e.g.* blessing of water); 1512 and 1538 have the prayer 'Impinguasti in oleo'; the first prayer in 1558 is 'In tuo conspectu' (*cf.* Mozarabic rite); while for the blessing of the incense at the Offertory, 'Ab illo benedicaris' of 1512 has an alternative in 1558—'Per

intercessionem.' The debt that the rite of Braga owes to the Cluniac reform has been already pointed out, but in considering origins it is also necessary to speak further of the Portuguese Benedictines, who, until the Revolution of 1834, were permitted to retain a distinctive rite, similar, in many particulars, to that used by the metropolitan see.

This study is greatly furthered by the ' Ceremonial Monastico reformado da Congregação de S. Bento de Portugal,' published in Lisbon in 1820, by order of the Chapter-General which met at Tibaes in 1786, to consider the ' notorious confusion and want of method ' in the Ceremonial then in force (1647). A modification was decreed, ' of a nature that did not appertain to very ancient and characteristic rites, reforming those ceremonies which, by their inutility, difficulty of execution or unsuitability, could not be carried out,' and the anonymous author tried to differentiate between the ceremonies illegally introduced, those prescribed by the General Chapters and those contained in the ' Ceremonial ' of 1647. This latter work did not differ very appreciably from that which had been received from the Montserratine Fathers and from a Portuguese adaptation, culled from the ' Ceremonial ' of the Congregation of Valladolid, whose observance bound the religious of this province, according to the Constitutions of 1590—twenty years after the ' Quo primum ' Bull. St. Benedict of Valladolid, leads us back to Sahagun, Sahagun to Cluny, and Cluny to the Gallo-Roman rite of the Council of Aachen (817), suggesting to some liturgiologists that the preparation and procession of the oblata before or during the Mass of the catechumens is the connecting link between Braga and Tibaes. The first service books of the Portuguese Congregation were certainly those of Valladolid, but the compilers of the ' Ceremonial ' of 1647 blended the ancient rites with those of the monastic breviary of Paul V (1605–1621) and the Roman missal (*vide* notes at end of chapter).

Before describing the rite of Braga more or less in detail, a word might perhaps be said on the very pronounced *Marian influence* in the liturgy, for, although devotion to Our Blessed Lady is a *sine qua non* with every Catholic, the faithful of this

archdiocese have a very special opportunity for fulfilling the wishes of Christ in this respect. Tradition teaches that Braga Cathedral was the first sanctuary in the Spanish peninsula to be dedicated to the Mother of God, but, whether this bears the scrutiny of history or not, cathedral, town and nation are all pledged to do her honour. 'Pietas Mariana' was the first evolution after the restoration of the rite of Braga, receiving a great impetus from the Diocesan Synod of 1431 (Fernando da Guerra), when the Office of Our Lady 'in Sabbato,' known as the 'Cantica Canticorum' (not the 'Parvum Officium' of Urban II, 1095), was drawn up with lessons from St. Gregory and the rubric 'Incipit epithalamium Gregorii Papae Urbis Romae libri in Cantica Canticorum.' Some of the rubrics in the breviary of 1494 (Jorge da Costa) were taken from the findings of the 1431 Council. In 1470 Archbishop Luiz Pires decreed in a Synod, whose status is doubtful (provincial or diocesan?), that in all churches of the province this office (nine lessons) should be recited on free Saturdays, and that All Saints was to be observed on November 1, with an octave.

The Synod of 1505 elevated the office of 'Cantica Canticorum' to the rank of a semi-double, giving it the preference over a feast of the same rank and sanctioning its anticipation on either of the two preceding days, a privilege which the present breviary (1919) still retains. Our Lady of the Snow (August 5) was already observed in the cathedral of Braga in the thirteenth century, and the Mass in the missal 'Placuit divinae providentiae' is peculiar to the archdiocese, with special reference to the miraculous occurrence throughout the proper, whereas Rome, the scene of the event, only uses the Votive 'Salve sancta Parens' (*cf.* 'Gaudeamus omnes' in Dominican rite). Our Lady of Sorrows was kept in the fifteenth century, although this feast was only promulgated in 1413 by the Provincial Council of Cologne, in reparation for Hussite irreverence. In addition to the ordinary Votives of Our Lady the present missal (1924) gives two Masses for the Dolours, which may be said on Saturdays—'Missa de Planctu Virginis Mariae' and 'Missa de Pietate Dominae nostrae.'

The Calendar of a manuscript breviary of the fifteenth century (Canon Soeiro) marks December 18 as ' Annuntiatio Beatae Mariae Virginis secundum Hyspanos,' a reference to the year 656, when the tenth Council of Toledo, in order to avoid Lent, fixed the Annunciation for that date, although St. Ildephonsus in the same century (667) ordered the keeping of the Roman day (March 25), in addition to the Mozarabic (December 18). The words ' secundum Hyspanos ' were inserted to accentuate the independence of the Portuguese Church and nation. The present ' Ordo ' (1929) keeps December 18 as the ' Expectatio Partus Beatae Mariae Virginis.'

To Our Lady under the title of the Immaculate Conception (December 8) belongs the honour of principal patroness of Portugal, since this doctrine has been dear to the hearts of the people since the fourteenth century, when the feast was observed by Raimondo, Bishop of Coimbra, at the instance of Queen St. Isabel (Elizabeth, July 4). The Office, composed in the fifteenth century, with lessons from St. Anselm, passed into the breviaries of Jorge da Costa (1494) and Moura Telles (1724); while the Capella dos Coimbras (1525), Convento da Conceicão (1628) and Capella do Conego Francisco Costa in the cathedral (1606) all show the early hold which this dogma obtained in the devotional life of the people of Braga. In 1637 Archbishop Sebastião de Matos de Noronha, presiding in full Synod, swore to guard and defend the doctrine; while in 1646 the Cortes of John IV declared the Immaculate Virgin to be the Protectress of the realm, whom Clement X (1669–1676) confirmed in this position in 1671. The Doctors of Coimbra (1646) and the Royal Academy of History (1733) both publicly championed the Immaculate Conception, and when in 1717 John V wrote to all the bishops urging them to keep December 8 as a greater solemnity, the Archbishop of Braga (Rodrigo de Moura Telles) replied to the effect that that feast had been observed as such in his Church from remote times.

' O tota pulchra es,' sung in the choir of the cathedral after Compline, originated from a decision of the Chapter, made on June 17, 1833, during a vacancy in the see, on account of

an outbreak of pestilence—a practice prescribed by Letters Apostolic in 1863, abolishing any other chant in this place.

At the conclusion of Lauds of 'Sancta Maria in Sabbato,' the primatial church (until the last revision) said 'Te Matrem Dei laudamus,' a paraphrase of the 'Te Deum,' that seems to have been brought to Portugal by the Franciscans as an abbreviation of St. Bonaventure's (1221–1274) hymn, being anciently sung by the Order on the morning of December 8, and by the friars at Oporto in the afternoon of the same day, 'coram Sanctissimo' and before the procession. In the suggested reforms of 1779 the Archbishop proposed the substitution of the Litany of Our Lady, but the Chapter vehemently defended the old custom, at the same time insisting on the retention of the Marian farcings in the 'Gloria in Excelsis' which were threatened with abolition, claiming that since Lyon had them in her missal, and also Braga, for more than two hundred years, there was no just reason for leaving off this pious and most ancient custom. Thus, clauses in the Gloria for Masses of Our Lady (before 1924) ran: 'Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram, ad Mariae gloriam'; 'Quoniam tu solus Sanctus, Mariam sanctificans, tu solus Dominus, Mariam gubernans, tu solus altissimus, Mariam coronans, Jesu Christe' ('Gloria de Domina'). The rubric in the Roman missal of 1570, 'Sic dicitur [Gloria] *etiam* in Missis Beatae Mariae,' recalls the fact that these mediaeval additions to the ancient text were found before the Pian revision in the liturgy of Rome (*cf.* missal of 1533, printed in Venice), although these words have been suppressed in the new edition of the missal, reformed by Pius X and promulgated by Benedict XV (1920). The Mass both begins and ends with salutations to Our Lady, the Confiteor has '*Beatissimam* Virginem Mariam,' and the Preface for feasts of Mary has slight differences from the Roman—'Et te . . . beatae et gloriosae semperque Virgini Mariae, *exultantibus animis* laudare . . . et virginitatis gloria permanente, *huic mundo* lumen aeternum effudit. . . .'

The Diocesan Synod of 1488 (Jorge da Costa II) made a new classification of feasts with four categories—solemnities, doubles, semi-doubles and simples—while the rubrics were

divided into 'Regulae generales' and 'Regulae speciales.' Commemorations of the Blessed Virgin have been already referred to, but before dismissing the Calendar mention should be made of St. George, secondary patron of the country (April 23), the Institution of the Blessed Sacrament, observed on March 24, and the Holy Angel Guardian of Portugal on July 9. This last feast first appears in the breviary of 1494, but with the following rubric: 'Angeli Custodii Officium pientissimus Portugalliae rex Emanuel instituit celebrandum *tertia dominica* mensis *julii* addita processione solemni, non absimili illi que in festo Corporis Christi fieri consuevit: quod ad preces dicti Regis Leo Papa decimus confirmavit.' The 1924 missal provides the following Collect: 'Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui Angelicam custodiam hominum, regnis, provinciis et civitatibus contulisti: concede propitius; ut nostri Regni ac civitatis praesul et custos, Angelus tuus sanctus, ipsum totum regnum, ac cives ab instantibus periculis corporis et animae, et ab omnibus adversitatibus protegat et defendat. Per Dominum.' The proper Mass of St. Martha (July 29), as the 'hospita Christi,' perhaps comes from Marseilles, the traditional landing-place of the Bethany family: 'Omnipotens, clementissime Deus, cujus Filius in aedibus beatae Marthae hospitari dignatus est: da, quaesumus; ut ejus meritis, quae illum placide suscepit, in coelorum aede misericorditer suscipiamur. Per eumdem Dominum.' Relying on the authenticity of the 'False Chronicles,' Guimaraes claims to be the birthplace of St. Damasus, keeping his festival (December 11) as the titular of the town; while Vianna, on the same slender authority, has St. Theophilus and his Companions (February 6) for patrons.

From at least the fourth century it has been customary in the Church to announce the date of Easter at Christmastide, normally on January 6, but in some places on December 25. Thus, a sermon, attributed to St. Augustine, speaks of the latter date, as do the churches of the ecclesiastical province of Braga (Braga, Vizeu, Coimbra, Egitania (Guarda), Lamego, Magneto (Oporto), Lugo, Iria, Auria (Orense), Astorga, Britonia (Mondonedo), Tuy), when the Council of 572 (second of Braga, Can. 9) under St. Martin decreed: 'Placuit ut postquam

omnia in concilio sacerdotum fuerint ordinata, illud omnismodis observetur, ut superventurum ipsius anni Pascha, quoto calendarum die vel quota luna debet suscipi, a metropolitano episcopo nuntietur : quod ceteri episcopi vel reliquus clerus breviculo subnotantes unusquisque in sua ecclesia, *adveniente Natalis Domini die, adstanti populo post lectionem evangelicam nuntiet*, ut introitum quadragesimae nullus ignoret.'

As on Palm Sunday, the rite of Braga has a Preface at the blessing of the candles (February 2) ; while differences also exist in the liturgies of Ash Wednesday and Holy Saturday, for in the former, versicles and responses are recited kneeling, the faithful sprinkled with holy water (*cf.* rite of Tibaes) and a processional litany chanted round the church ; and in the latter, only four prophecies are said, in place of the customary twelve (*cf.* Lyon).

On Easter Sunday morning a procession of the Blessed Sacrament takes place in honour of the Resurrection.

The blessing of grapes on the feast of the Transfiguration (August 6) has been already alluded to in considering the similarities between the rites of Braga and Cluny (*cf.* Lyon), but in the latest edition of the missal (1924) the ceremony is ordered, not at ' per quem haec omnia ' in the Canon, but before the beginning of Mass.

At the Epistle horn of the altar the priest is directed to say :

℣. ' Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.'

℟. ' Qui fecit coelum et terram.'

℣. ' Sit nomen Domini benedictum.'

℟. ' Ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum.'

' Bene+dic, Domine, hos fructus novos uvae, quos tu, Domine, rore coeli et inundantia pluviarum, tranquillitate atque serenitate aëris ad maturitatem perducere dignatus es : et dedisti eos ad usus nostros cum gratiarum actione percipere, in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi : Qui tecum.'

When possible new wine should be used in the Mass, but when this is impracticable the rubric orders one of the newly blessed grapes to be crushed on a spoon, in order that the juice may be mingled with the wine in the chalice—' In Missa Transfigurationis conficitur Sanguis Christi de novo vino, si inveniri

potest ; alias unus tantum acinus, ex racemis uvae antea benedictis, prematur super cochlear, et exinde misceatur cum vino in Calice posito.' The blessed bunches of grapes are distributed to the people (*cf.* Byzantine rite). This rite, also, is especially rich in Votives (*cf.* Mozarabic rite), for over and above those which are common to the Roman missal we find St. Raphael, Angel Guardian, one Apostle, All Apostles, Evangelists, Holy Name, and Dolours of Our Lady (two). The Mass ' pro sponso et sponsa ' provides for a nuptial blessing, in the form of a dialogue and preface (together with versicles, responses and a collect) after the words ' et ab omni perturbatione securi ' in the ' Libera nos.' In addition to the requiems, ' In die obitus seu depositionis Defuncti ' and ' In Anniversario Defunctorum,' special Masses are provided in the missal for each weekday, under the general heading of ' In Missis quotidianis Defunctorum.'

At Braga, as in Cistercian churches (Mount St. Bernard), some parts of Spain (Toledo) and Western Sicily (Cefalu), the second stage of the Lenten discipline still persists—the concealing of the altar by a veil during the penitential season. In the early days of primitive fervour, when the ' sheep ' were dramatically divided from the ' goats,' all penitents and those under Church censures were excluded from the liturgy until they had been publicly reconciled on Maundy Thursday. As the centuries wore on and such differentiation was looked upon as invidious, with the recognition of the fact that sin infests the whole human race, *all* the faithful were sprinkled with ashes, while the truth that sin shuts out from the presence of God was brought home to the people by the hanging of a long violet veil, suspended before the high altar at the entrance of the sanctuary. Again, after the lapse of centuries, this ruling was further modified, save in the exceptions already noted, by abandoning the veil, merely covering crosses, pictures, images and sometimes reredoses during Passiontide, although this reduced rite is still practised on the proper day (first Vespers of first Sunday) in some churches.

In the rite of Braga (*cf.* Tibaes), where the Church is still in the second phase of development, the ash ceremony is separated from the hanging of the veil, since Lent once began

with the first Sunday (*cf.* ' Secreta ' of first Sunday : ' Sacrificium quadragesimalis *initii* solemniter immolamus, te, Domine, deprecantes '), although, in some districts, the latter was put back to Ash Wednesday (*e.g.* Westphalia, Hanover).

The missal of 1924 contains the following rubric after the Mass ' Sabbato post Cineres ' : ' Notandum quod, a primis Vesperis istius primae Dominicae Quadragesimae usque ad Sabbatum sanctum, imagines et retabula cooperiuntur, et Cruces cum processionaliter portantur. Ponatur praeterea inter ingressum et Altare Capellae majoris velum seu cortina [*cf.* ' Cortina tendatur ' in Cistercian rubric] ad omnes Horas, in Dominicis diebus et Feriis. In Solemnibus vero I Ordinis, Octavem Communem habentibus, et in Festo Annuntiationis Virginis Mariae, a primis Vesperis usque in totam sequentem diem, discooperiantur imagines et retabula, si de eis celebratur ante Dominicam in ramis Palmarum. In aliis autem Festis, de quibus in Quadragesima celebratur, deponitur tantum cortina seu velum. De Dominica vero in ramis Palmarum, Feria quinta, et Sabbato Majoris Hebdomadae suis locis praescribitur regula.'

By a special privilege (May 11, 1878) Churches of the Society of Jesus have obtained leave (' tolerari posse ') for statues of St. Joseph, when they are not over an altar, to remain uncovered during Passion-tide, if the days are in March (month of St. Joseph).

Before the Palm Sunday Mass a rubric in the Braga missal directs : ' et discooperiantur ipsius (altare) Imagines, usque ad exitum Processionis, et, in reditu illius, Altare et Imagines iterum cooperiantur sicut antea.' For Maundy Thursday we learn from the same source : ' Deinde, discooperto Altaris retabulo ' ; and on Holy Saturday : ' Imagines vero et retabulo cooperta maneant usquedum Celebrans intonet in Missa " Gloria in excelsis Deo." '

The ' Ordo ' for 1929 also prescribes the Lenten veil and the covering of the reredoses, images and processional crosses before the first Sunday, but at Passion Sunday there is a further note, to the effect that all the crosses are covered before Vespers with a violet veil, and in the cathedral, at the

first stanza of the hymn, the Banners of the Passion (' Vexilla Passionis ') are extended.

The colour sequence is identical with the Roman rite, as are the vestments, but on feasts of solemn rank and those which have great external splendour or a large concourse of people, the thurifer, crucifer and taperers wear amices, girded albs, and dalmatics (*cf.* Seville). An ancient custom of the Church of Braga prescribed that four or six assistants in copes should help at Masses of especial solemnity (the canons of Sens assist in copes at pontifical Masses), but, since neither the present missal (1924) nor that of 1558 contains any reference to them, it may pertinently be asked whether these omissions imply the prohibition of an immemorial usage. On examining the missal of 1512 we find a rubric after the blessing of the candles on February 2 : ' Interim parent se ministri ad missam et officiatores duo *induant cappis* ' ; and in the same book after the Palm procession : ' Qua (processione) finita *in Cappis* incipiant officium (missae) ' ; but the missals of 1558 and 1924, although not absolutely clear on the point, would at any rate seem to justify the practice. In the last-named liturgy the rubric for Palm Sunday runs : ' Et erunt sex cantores cum Cappis sericis, et sceptra tenentes, si officium sit in Metropolitana Ecclesia. In aliis vero, quatuor tantum cantores cum Cappis et sceptris ' ; but there is no mention of these cantors staying to assist at the Mass. In the seventeenth century the Sacred Congregation of Rites was asked whether these coped priests, saying the Confiteor with the celebrant and his ministers, were in order, but the reply was somewhat enigmatical : ' The Rubrics of the Missal and the Ceremonial for Solemn Masses should be observed ' (July 24, 1683).

Two centuries later, the same authority, in answer to the query, ' As it is the almost immemorial custom of the Churches of the Holy Sepulchre and St. James on more solemn feasts, besides the sacred ministers, to have six priests in copes assisting the officiant at Mass and Vespers, and as it would be difficult to abolish this custom, although not founded on any Apostolic Indult, because of the wonderment [' admiratio '] and even scandal of the people, could the Rectors of

the said Churches have confirmation of this use ? ' replied that such a practice could only be permitted at solemn Vespers (January 10, 1852). The same ruling—' In Masses no, in Vespers they may continue '—was specifically given to this archdiocese on February 17, 1853 ; but in the authoritative collection of decrees published in 1898—which alone has any present value—this decision has been omitted, so that it would seem that assistants in copes might now reappear at Mass.

As in the Ambrosian rite, only the celebrant should wear a biretta at high Mass, according to the missal of 1558—' Ad officium Diaconi spectat *aperto capite* de sacrario exire ' ; ' Ad Subdiaconum spectat ante Diaconum de sacrario exire *aperto capite* . . .'—and the ' Methodo da Liturgia Bracharense,' by Antonio Tomás dos Reis (1837) ; but a rubric (' De Ritu in Missa solemni servando ') in the 1924 liturgy expressly states : ' Deinde Celebrans et Ministri sacri *caput cooperiunt*, et omnes de sacrario exeunt.'

The Liturgical Apostolate, although it has received a great impetus in the archdiocese during the last few years, was to the fore even in the days of the Counter-Reformation, as the missal of 1558 prescribes how the faithful should hear Mass : ' attentive to what the celebrant says aloud, without deviating from his intention by the recitation of other prayers.'

The present book differs but little from its predecessor, and by Papal Bull has now become the sole liturgy for priests of the metropolitan see, but with the proviso that when such priests say Mass in a church of a different *Latin* rite, if there is no Braga missal, they may safely use the missal of that church, retaining, however, the laws of their own rite and all other things as directed (Sec. v. tit. 9, n. 6).

After the lavabo in the sacristy and before vesting for Mass the priest, in conformity with the great Marian tradition of his see, is directed to commend himself to the Mother of God : ' Postea de intimo corde commendet se gloriosae Virgini Mariae, ut ipsa eum offerat acceptabilem ministrum Deo Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, atque ei in hoc Sacrificio mediatrix adsit et adjutrix.'

The prayers said while putting on the vestments differ in their wording from those of the pure Roman rite, and at a solemn Mass, before entering the church, the celebrant, assisted by the deacon (spoon) and subdeacon (boat), puts incense into the thurible with the customary prayer. On those days, however, when the thurifer is not immediately required—requiems and when the celebrant starts in a cope—there is no imposition of incense here. Then, all having bowed to the sacristy cross, the priest blesses himself and says ' In nomine,' etc., while the procession enters the church. At pontifical functions two smoking censers head the cortège, but, save on Maundy Thursday, only one is used during the Mass. On great solemnities, Sundays, and days when some blessing precedes the Mass, the chalice and missal are placed on the credence before the service, but at other times the subdeacon carries the former and the deacon the latter. The normal position for the hands of the sacred ministers, when not engaged, is hidden under their respective vestments.

The missal is laid by the deacon on either a lectern or cushion, while the subdeacon takes the vessels to the altar, unfolding the corporal—with the exception of its front part, —handing the burse to the ceremoniarius and leaving the chalice and paten towards the Epistle horn. The Mass begins, as in the Mozarabic rite, with the ' Ave Maria,' the priest saying (kneeling) the first half and the people (' minister et circumstantes ') responding with the second. Then, rising to his feet, the celebrant continues, ' In nomine Patris,' etc., and ' Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratiae.' The psalm ' Judica me,' as in the Roman use, has the antiphon ' Introibo,' with its response, ' Ad Deum qui laetificat.' After ' Adjutorium nostrum ' and its reply (' Qui fecit '), the Confiteor takes the unusual form of : ' Confiteor Deo omnipotenti, et beatae Mariae Virgini, et sanctis Apostolis Petro et Paulo, et omnibus Sanctis, et vobis, fratres : quia peccavi nimis cogitatione, locutione, opere et omissione : mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa. Ideo deprecor beatissimam Virginem Mariam, et omnes Sanctos et Sanctas Dei, et vos, fratres, orare pro me.' The ' Misereatur,' final versicles and two secret prayers (' Aufer a nobis,' ' Oramus te, Domine ') contain no differences,

but ' Omnium ' (' peccatorum ') has been inserted in the ' Indulgentiam,' and ' cunctas ' (' iniquitates nostras ') added to the ' Aufer a nobis.' The censing is performed ' singulis ductibus,' save in the case of the people—but we are told that this omission is compensated for by reverence and gravity—with the thurible slowly raised to the height of the face. The subdeacon, as in the sacristy, assists at the blessing of the incense, and during the censing the ministers walk in line behind the celebrant (' unus post alterum '), but without touching the vestment.

On great feasts the Introit is trebled—before and after the psalm and after the Gloria (*cf.* Carthusian and Carmelite rites) ; but, as we have seen, the mediaeval practice of farcing the ' Gloria in Excelsis ' in Masses of Our Lady has been made to cease. The original Introit consisted of a whole psalm with an antiphon after each verse or couple of verses, but Rome from the ninth or tenth century reduced the singing of the antiphon to before the psalm and after the doxology, so that one wonders whether this triune repetition is the relic of the earlier practice. By a special privilege of the Apostolic See all priests in Portugal, both secular and regular, recite a prayer for the country as a Collect, Secret and Post-Communion at *every* Mass except a requiem. The same is recited each time, although there are four alternatives—ordinary occasions, when the prayer ' A cunctis ' or the prayer ' Ecclesiae ' has been said, and in the ' Missa pro pace.' Under the present government (' sub actuali regimine ') the first alternative runs : ' Et famulos tuos, Papam nostrum *N.*, et Antistitem nostrum *N.*, *Populumque Lusitanum* cum exercitu suo, terra marique ab omni adversitate custodi : pacem et salutem nostris concede temporibus, et ab Ecclesia tua cunctam repelle nequitiam : paganorum et hereticorum superbiam dexterae tuae virtute prosterne ' ; but before the Revolution (1910) the Royal Family had been prayed for with the words ' *Regem nostrum* N., *Reginam et Principem cum Prole regia, populo sibi commisso.*'

On the conclusion of the last Collect both celebrant and deacon sit in the sedilia, rising when the subdeacon seeks blessing after the Epistle. The prophetical lesson has been

retained on the Vigil of Christmas, the three Masses of the feast, and the Epiphany with its Octave day, being sung at high Mass by the ceremoniarius. In a Missa Cantata without ministers the Epistle is chanted by a surpliced lector, and at a pontifical Mass the subdeacon stands between the two taperers, who hold their hands under their dalmatics. At his seat the priest says the Gradual, with the book supported by the sacred ministers, and here, also, the oblata are prepared (at low Mass before the liturgy begins), save on semi-doubles, simples, ferias and at non-solemn requiems, when the celebrant remains at the altar, although he is instructed on those occasions not to say the lessons himself, but to listen to their recitation. According to the rubric in the missal of 1558, the making of the chalice can take place indifferently, at the will of the priest, before the Gospel, after the Gospel or at the beginning of Mass, but it seems probable that the second alternative was a Roman importation new that year, since the sequence of prayers in the missals of 1512 and 1538 seems to give no indication of this custom, and the Roman prayer ' Deus qui humanae substantiae ' first appeared in 1558.

The Gradual finished, the celebrant sits with his head covered, the deacon standing on his right, while the subdeacon, having left the book on the credence and moved the missal, takes off the chalice veil and leaves it on the altar. Then, placing the paten and Host (covered with the pall) on the corporal, the chalice is brought to the sedilia to be cleansed by the deacon. At the mixing of the chalice the sacred ministers *kneel* by the side of the priest facing each other, the master of ceremonies in a like posture between them. The deacon, holding the chalice, offers one end of the purificator to the subdeacon and, having taken the wine cruet from the latter, pours in sufficient wine for the Mass. Then the celebrant blesses the few drops of water offered on a spoon by the subdeacon and the water is mingled with the wine. The prayer said at the mixing of the chalice resembles many of the mediaeval forms : ' Dominus ipse te benedicat, cujus Spiritus in mundi primordio ferebatur super aquas. In nomine Patris, et Filii, + et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. (Et, dum subdiaconus infundit aquam super vinum, dicit :) Ex latere

Domini nostri Jesu Christi, sanguis et aqua exiisse perhibetur : et ideo nos pariter commiscemus, ut misericors Deus utrumque ad medelam animarum nostrarum sanctificare dignetur. Per eumdem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.'

The deacon then takes the chalice back to the altar and, placing it on the Epistle side of the corporal, he covers it with the paten, pall and chalice veil, returning (after the ' Munda cor meum ') to the sedilia for his Gospel commission and the imposition of incense, the blessing of which is a variant to that found in the Roman missal : ' Dominus sit in corde tuo, et in labiis tuis : ut digne et competenter *annuntiare valeas sanctum* Evangelium suum : (et benedicit eum, dicens :) In nomine Patris, et Filii, + et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.' At a pontifical high Mass the ' Pregustatio ' ceremony is performed at the making of the chalice before the throne. As in the Dominican rite, on great feasts a cross (sometimes without a figure) is carried in addition to the tapers, while the subdeacon, during the singing of the Gospel, stands *behind* the deacon. At the Holy Name the celebrant bows to the book and the deacon kneels. Returned to the altar, the priest, after the Offertorium (a *double* genuflection is enjoined at the ' Incarnatus '), unfolds the front part of the corporal as he says ' In tuo conspectu, quaesumus, Domine, haec munera tibi sint placita ; ut nos tibi semper placere valeamus. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.' (*Cf.* Mozarabic rite.) This done, he receives the paten with the Host from the deacon and offers it with the prayer : ' Acceptabilis sit Majestati tuae, omnipotens Deus, oblatio haec, quam tibi offerimus pro reatibus et facinoribus nostris, et pro stabilitate sanctae Ecclesiae Catholicae, necnon et pro animabus omnium fidelium Defunctorum. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.' Kissing the hand of the celebrant and taking back the paten (the Host on the corporal) with both hands, the deacon in this rite does not immediately give it to the subdeacon, but places it partially under the corporal, as at a low Mass. There seems very little doubt that Host and Chalice were originally offered together with a single prayer (' Acceptabilis sit '), as we find to-day at Lyon, although Braga has now added the second oblation with the Roman ' Offerimus tibi.'

The other prayers (' In spiritu humilitatis ' and ' Veni, sanctificator ') and the incensing, save for the peculiarities of the latter which we have already noted and the censing of the deacon by the *subdeacon*, call for no special remark, but the 1558 book shows ' Ab illo benedicaris ' as an alternative to ' Per intercessionem,' while that of 1512 gives only the former. The latest missal (1924) still retains the following rubric and prayer : ' Ad Offertorium populi, Celebrans offerenti dicit : Centuplum accipias, et vitam aeternam possideas in regno Dei. Amen ' ; while the rubrics in the beginning of the book state that if any offerings are to be made the celebrant goes to the ' lowest step of the altar or other customary place,' where he gives the end of his stole or maniple for the donors to kiss, saying to each ' Centuplum accipias.' This done, he is directed to give his blessing to the people and return to the altar.

When there is a sermon the use of Braga places it after the censing and before the lavabo, but the truth of ' Quomodo vero praedicabunt nisi mittantur ? ' (' Ad Rom.,' x. 15) is very symbolically shown, since the sacred ministers retire to the sedilia and the preacher, having said the ' Munda cor meum ' before the altar, comes for the celebrant's blessing (' Jube Domine benedicere '), which is given in a prayer similar to that which the deacon receives before the Gospel : ' Dominus sit in corde tuo et in labiis tuis, ut digne et competenter annuntiare valeas sanctum *Verbum* suum : In nomine Patris, et Filii, + et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.' After the censing of the altar at a pontifical high Mass, the bishop goes to his throne during the remainder of the censing, and on his return, before the lavabo, kisses a relic and presents the same to his assistants.

The prayer ' Suscipe, sancta Trinitas,' only varies from Rome in a single word : ' quorum memoriam *facimus* (agimus) in terris ' ; but the ' Orate fratres ' has an additional ' pro me.' Both deacon and subdeacon kneel at ' Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro ' in the dialogue, going up to the side of the celebrant (deacon to left, subdeacon to right) during the Preface and moving at the ' Benedictus,' the former to the right and the latter ' in plano.' As in the Calced Carmelite

rite the subdeacon now receives the humeral veil, brought to him by the thurifer or ceremoniarius, and in this he wraps the paten, which is carried in the chalice veil from the altar by the deacon. The Prefaces are similar to the Roman, but in that of Our Lady Braga has ' Beatae et *gloriosae* semperque Virginis Mariae, *exultantibus animis*,' in place of ' beatae Mariae semper Virginis.'

Before the Canon a warning rubric is given to the effect that nothing, under any circumstances, must be added, changed, or left out: ' Caveat Sacerdos, ne quid in Sacro Canone aut addat, aut mutet, aut detrahat, aut praetereat; sed omnia, et sola, quae in eo ordinata sunt ita legat attente, ut, quoad fieri potest, cor et animus prompti efficiantur ad verba et Mysteria tam sancta.' The new missal still retains the prayer for the ' Most Christian ' King, ' et Rege nostro *N.*,' despite the change of government, as well as a memento for the celebrant himself, ' et me indigno famulo tuo *N.*' The bell is not rung either at the Sanctus or at the ' Hanc igitur.' When the deacon has given the paten to the subdeacon he stands behind the priest until ' Quam oblationem,' when he goes to the predella for the Consecration, returning after the elevation of the chalice until ' Per quem haec omnia.' We have already noted that this rite enjoins a *double* genuflection while the Blessed Sacrament is on the altar, and the pall remains on the chalice when it is elevated (*cf.* Mozarabic rite). The second elevation takes place at the ' Oremus ' before ' Praeceptis salutaribus moniti,' when the celebrant, holding the chalice in his left hand, elevates the Host with his right, the bell being rung to arouse the devotion of the faithful. At ' Et dimitte nobis debita nostra ' the deacon brings the paten in the chalice veil to the priest, and when in the ' Libera nos ' the celebrant signs himself with the paten, the sacred ministers, also, make the sign of the cross. Both Host and Chalice are slightly (' parum ') elevated at ' Per omnia saecula saeculorum ' before ' Pax Domini,' and two alternatives are given for the prayer at the commixture. The second is very similar to the Roman prayer, only omitting ' Haec ' and placing ' Fiat ' as the introductory word. The first bears resemblances to that found in some Monastic rites

(*e.g.* Dominican) : ' Haec sacrosancta commixtio Corporis et Sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, fiat mihi et omnibus sumentibus, salus mentis et corporis, et ad vitam aeternam capessendam praeparatio salutaris. Te praestante, Deus noster, qui aeternus vivis et regnas, Deus, per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.' Yet another choice is given in the first of the *four* Communion prayers, for the priest may (' quam voluerit Celebrans ') either say ' Domine Jesu Christe, qui dixisti Apostolis tuis,' only inserting ' custodire ' after ' pacificare,' or he may employ an older form, more definitely relating to the kiss of peace : ' Domine Jesu Christe, qui es vera pax et vera concordia : fac nos pacificari in hac sancta hora.' The pax brede is sometimes used in addition to the tactual kiss—when, for example, a Confraternity is assisting. The third prayer (' Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi ') is the same as the Roman second, with the exception of the doxological termination : ' Qui cum eodem Patre vivis et regnas in unitate ejusdem Spiritus Sancti Deus. Per omnia saecula saeculorum,' in place of ' Qui cum eodem Patre et Spiritu sancto vivis et regnas Deus in saecula saeculorum.' The other two prayers (second and fourth) have no comparisons in the Pian missal : ' Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, da mihi hoc Corpus et Sanguinem Filii tui, Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ita sumere : ut merear per illud remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum accipere, et tuo Sancto Spiritu repleri : quia tu es Deus benedictus, et praeter te non est alter : cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum ' ; and ' Domine Jesu Christe, non sum dignus te suscipere : sed tantum, obsecro, propitius esto mihi indigno peccatori, et praesta, ut haec vera Corporis et Sanguinis tui perceptio, non sit mihi ad judicium neque ad condemnationem, sed sit omnium peccatorum meorum optata remissio, et animae et corporis mei pia gubernatio, et potens ad vitam aeternam introductio : te praestante, Deus noster : Qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas Deus. Per omnia saecula saeculorum.'

Before ' Panem coelestem ' the celebrant is bidden to take the paten with the Host into his hands ; while at ' Domine non sum dignus ' is the third showing of the Blessed Sacrament

for the adoration of the people, when the rubric orders the priest to turn his body slightly (towards the Gospel side, with his left elbow on the corner of the altar), so that those who are near by may be able to see and adore the sacred Host (' et paulisper corpus deflectens, ita ut circumstantes sacram Hostiam videre et adorare possint '). The deacon and subdeacon, on a lower step, turn towards the celebrant at this elevation. The prayers at the reception of Holy Communion and at the two ablutions are the same as in the Roman missal, with the exception of the second of the latter, where ' quem pura et sancta ' has been replaced by ' quem tam sancta et pura ' and a longer doxological ending has been inserted (' qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre, in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus. Per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen ').

When the sacred ministers receive Holy Communion at a pontifical high Mass the hand of the bishop is kissed, both before and after reception, with the left cheek on rising from their knees.

On Sundays and solemn feasts the subdeacon removes the sacred vessels to the credence, but on other days they remain on the altar, at the Gospel horn. In this rite ' Ite missa est ' has two ' Alleluias,' not only in Easter Week, but also throughout the Paschal season (Holy Saturday to the Vigil of Trinity) and in the Octave of Corpus Christi. From Christmas to the Circumcision (inclusive) and for the Epiphany variants may (' si placuerit ') be sung to the ' Ite ' : ' Verbum Patris hodie processit ex Virgine ; virtutes Angelicae cum canoro jubilo benedicunt Domino.' R7. ' Pacem nobis omnibus nuntiavit Angelus, refulsit pastoribus veri solis claritas, reddunt Deo gratias,' for the former, and ' Stella fulget hodie, quae ducit ad praesepe magos ab Oriente : qui invento Puero benedicunt Domino.' R7. ' Adorantes Puerum, offerentes thus et aurum, myrrhamque mortalium, reversi sunt ad patriam, reddunt Deo gratias,' for the latter. *Immediately* ' Ite missa est ' or its festal equivalent has been said the Blessing is given with ' In unitate Sancti Spiritus + benedicat vos Pater et Filius ' (*cf.* Mozarabic rite), but if the Mass requires ' Benedicamus Domino ' the Blessing, *without any form of words*, follows before this and after ' Dominus

vobiscum ' (' Quando dicitur Benedicamus Domino, datur *antea* Benedictio, omissis tamen verbis In unitate, etc.'). In the ' Missa pro sponso et sponsa,' however, there seems an apparent discrepancy, for here the rubric says : ' *Dicto* Benedicamus Domino . . ., Sacerdos antequam populo benedicat, ad nubentes conversus, dicat : . . . " Deus Abraham " . . . " Frater, accipe conjugem tuam " . . . Postea eos aspergat aqua benedicta, det benedictionem,' etc. The missal of 1558 avoided any such exception or contradiction, for the general rubric stated ' Si autem missa sit ferialis, aut alia in qua non praecesserit " Gloria in excelsis " celebrans post dictum " Dominus vobiscum " benedicat populum,' and the nuptial Mass, ' Missa finita ante benedictionem iterum celebrans vertat se ad nubentes et dicat. . . .'

The ' Placeat ' is the same as in the Roman rite, and since 1558 the Last Gospel has been recited at the end of Mass, but a commemoration of Our Lady follows (*cf.* Carmelite and Mozarabic rites), consisting of an antiphon, versicle and response and prayer : (1) ' Per Annum ' ; (2) ' A Dominica I Adventus usque ad Vigiliam Nativitatis Domini ' ; (3) ' A Nativitate Domini usque ad Vigiliam Purificationis beatae Mariae Virginis ' ; (4) ' A Sabbato sancto usque ad Vigiliam Ascensionis.'

In describing the liturgical norm—high Mass—the rites and ceremonies have necessarily included the later derivative, low Mass, but in the adaptation required the following points may be noted :

(1) Before the preparatory prayers the priest unfolds the corporal, saying ' In conspectu,' etc., at the same time making the chalice and leaving the vessels covered with the veil to the right of the corporal. At a pontifical Mass with Ordinations the oblata are prepared by two canons in choir dress, as the archbishop stands ' in plano ' before the altar.

(2) The missal is held during the Gradual as well as the Epistle.

(3) After the ablutions the vessels are placed on the Epistle side of the altar stone.

In concluding this study of the rite of the Metropolitical See of Braga mention must be made of valuable assistance

given to the author by two Portuguese liturgiologists, Fr. Miranda, Rector of the Igreja do Populo (Braga) and Master of Ceremonies at the primatial church, and Fr. Antonio Coelho, a Benedictine of Falperra, under whose guidance the liturgical apostolate is flourishing in the archdiocese, through his direction of the monthly journal *Opus Dei*.

Notes on the Rite of Tibaes

Before vesting for Mass the priest is directed to say ' Dirige Domine Deus meus in conspectu tuo viam meam.'

℣. ' Domine exaudi orationem meam.'

℟. ' Et clamor meus ad te veniat.'

' Oremus. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, dirige gressus meos in beneplacito tuo, ut in nomine dilecti Filii tui merear bonis operibus abundare. Per eumdem Christum,' etc.

On going to the altar, the antiphon ' Introibo ' and the psalm ' Judica me ' are recited (whole antiphon on doubles and no antiphon in Passion-tide and at requiems).

At high Mass the deacon carries the Gospel book, and the subdeacon, on Sundays, takes the processional cross for the Asperges, and on doubles and days of obligation a small cross in a veil, the colour of the feast (placed on the altar, with the veil hanging over the edge of the frontal). ' In plano ' the following prayer is said : ' Deus qui de indignis dignos, de peccatoribus justos, de immundis mundos facis ; munda cor meum et corpus meum ab omni sorde et contagione peccati ; et fac me dignum ac strenuum sanctis Altaribus tuis ministrum : et in hoc Altari ad quod indignus accedo acceptabiles tibi hostias offeram pro peccatis et negligentiis ac innumeris, quotidianisque meis excessibus, et pro salute omnium viventium et fidelium defunctorum, eorumque qui se meis orationibus commendaverunt : ut meum tibi sit acceptabile votum, per eum qui se tibi Deo Patri obtulit sacrificium qui est omnium opifex, et solus sine macula Pontifex Jesus Christus Filius tuus, Dominus noster, qui tecum vivit . . .,' with ' Per signum Crucis,' etc., ' In nomine Patris . . .,' ' Indulgentiam ' and three versicles and responses (' Adjutorium nostrum,' ' Sit nomen Domini benedictum,' ' Domine exaudi ').

Kissing the altar (outside the altar stone) at ' Per Christum Dominum nostrum ' of the ' Aufer a nobis,' the celebrant also salutes the small cross (presented by the subdeacon) as he says ' Adoramus te Christe et benedicimus tibi, quia per sanctam Crucem tuam redemisti mundum.'

℣. ' Omnis terra adoret te et psallat tibi.'

℟. ' Psalmum dicat nomini tuo Domine ' (*cf.* Mozarabic rite).

' Oremus. Adesto, Domine Deus noster, ut quos sanctae Crucis laetari facis amore, ejus quoque perpetuis defende subsidiis. Per Christum . . . Amen.'

In Paschal-tide the above prayers are changed to : ' Crucem sanctam subiit, qui infernum confregit, accinctus est potentia, surrexit die tertia. Alleluia.'

℣. ' Dicite in nationibus. Alleluia.'

℟. ' Quia Dominus regnavit a ligno. Alleluia.'

' Oremus. Solita, quaesumus Domine quos salvasti, pace, custodi : ut qui tua redempti sunt passione laetentur etiam tua resurrectione. Qui vivis . . . Amen.'

At low Mass the Offertory comes here, the priest saying nothing at the unfolding of the corporal, with ' Haec aqua sit benedicta in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen ' at the blessing of the water, and ' Ex latere Domini nostri Jesu Christi exivit sanguis et aqua in remissionem peccatorum nostrorum ' as the water is poured in.

The altar is not censed on days below the rank of semi-doubles, but all the sacred ministers say the Introit together and the Collects are recited with joined hands (*cf.* Carthusian, ' cancellat manus '). The preparation of the oblata takes place after the Epistle in sung Masses, not of the highest rank (*cf.* Braga), at the altar, but on greater feasts the deacon merely extends the corporal, having washed his hands. The Gradual, like the Introit, is said by all three officiants. The priest secretly adds ' Qui natus es de Virgine, succurre nobis nunc et in omni tempore. Amen,' to ' Gloria tibi Domine ' before the Gospel, with the additional peculiarities of the *master of ceremonies* putting the incense into the thurible, the *deacon* presenting the book for the ' osculum,' and the absence of the censing of the celebrant. In the Creed the genuflection lasts

until ' et sepultus est ' inclusively, as in the Premonstratensian rite.

The ' Offertorium,' in which the deacon and subdeacon join, is said by the priest, with his left hand placed on the open missal and his right on the altar.

On doubles and feasts of precept the subdeacon (without the humeral veil) now brings up the chalice, and the deacon kneeling (unless he be a priest) offers the paten with the Host and a cruet of wine to the celebrant, who prays ' Oblatio tua accepta sit Deo.' The water is also presented by the deacon on his knees, and the ' lavabo ' towel by the subdeacon (unless a priest). A requiem Mass has no incense at the Offertory. After ' Suscipiat Dominus ' and before the ' Secreta,' which latter prayer is said by the priest, extending his right hand over the Sacrifice and his left placed on the missal, three versicles and responses (' Adjutorium nostrum ' ; ' Sit nomen Domini ' ; ' Domine exaudi orationem meam,' together with their respective answers) are said, without any prefacing ' Oremus.' In solemn Masses the ministers on both sides of the celebrant make a double genuflection, the subdeacon receiving the humeral veil (or chalice veil) and paten at ' Per quem ' or ' Et ideo,' so that only the deacon is at the priest's side during the Sanctus.

Conformably with the rites of Braga and Toledo, the chalice is elevated, still covered with the pall, and the *deacon* censes the Blessed Sacrament (both ministers at a requiem), retiring to the credence to wash his hands at its conclusion. ' Unde et memores ' is said with joined hands, not ' disjunctis manibus.' At ' Nobis quoque peccatoribus ' the deacon kisses the altar and the right shoulder of the celebrant ; while the subdeacon, before giving up the paten, salutes the right shoulder of the deacon, if he is in priest's orders. A slight genuflection is made after ' Omnis honor et gloria,' but before taking the Host at ' Per ipsum ' there is only a profound inclination. During the ' Libera nos ' the priest, before blessing himself, touches the Host and Chalice (foot and bowl) with the paten. In making the three crosses with the particle at ' Pax Domini,' the other two portions of the Host are held in the left hand ; while for the ' Agnus ' all three parts are placed over the chalice, and after the ' Commixtio,' at ' Domine

Jesu Christi qui dixisti ' the two remaining pieces are held in the same position, one on the other.

For the ' pax ' the celebrant kisses the bowl of the chalice, the edge of the Host and the instrument presented to him by an acolyte, adding in a low voice, in answer to ' Et cum spiritu tuo,' ' Et cum Sancta Ecclesia Catholica.' The Host is held over the chalice for the Communion prayers ' Panem coelestem ' and ' Domine non sum dignus,' the priest bowing profoundly before receiving either kind.

For the ablutions, the rite of Tibaes prescribes first wine and then water only, the fingers being cleansed with water on the paten. In solemn Masses the deacon and subdeacon kneel one at each end of the footpace during the Communion of the celebrant ; while at the ablutions the deacon folds the corporal and the subdeacon cleanses the chalice and hands it to the thurifer.

Bowing profoundly in the middle of the altar, the celebrant, having cleansed the sacred vessels, says as a thanksgiving : ' Gratias tibi ago, omnipotens Pater, qui me satiare dignatus es Corpore et Sanguine Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi ; et ideo peto ut haec sancta Communio non sit mihi ad judicium ; nec ad condemnationem sed proficiat mihi ad salutem et remedium animae meae. Per eumdem . . . Amen.' Then, having read the ' Communio,' the priest turns to the people at the *Epistle* horn for ' Dominus vobiscum ' (*cf.* Carthusian rite). The Blessing is ordered after the ' Placeat ' (in solemn Masses the ministers stand and bow, *cf.* Calced Carmelite rite), but there also appears to have been a formula of blessing after the distribution of Holy Communion. There is no Last Gospel, but before the altar an antiphon and prayer to Our Lady are said, together with (Paschal-tide and Sundays) the versicle ' Os Justi ' and the Collect ' Intercessio nos ' of St. Benedict.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(1) ' Missale Bracarense jussu et auctoritate Summi Pontificis Pii XI recognitum et reformatum et Illustrissimi ac Reverendissimi Domini Emmanuelis Vieira de Mattos, Archipresulis Bracarensis et Hispaniarum Primatis sollicitudine impressum.' Romae : Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis. MDCCCCXXIV.

(2) ' Curso de Liturgia Romana.' Vol. I : ' Liturgia Fundamental.' Pe. Antonio Coelho. 103 Rua Nova de Sousa, 107, Braga. 1926.
(3) *Opus Dei.* Revista Liturgica Mensal. 1º Anno, 1926–1927. Rua Nova de Sousa, 107—2º, Braga.
(4) ' Estudos Historico-Liturgicos : Os Ritos particulares das Igrejas de Braga e Toledo.' Mgr. J. Augusto Ferreira. Coimbra Editora, L^da^, Coimbra. 1924.
(5) ' Ordo Divini Officii recitandi Sacrique peragendi, juxta Calendarium Ritus Almae Bracarensis Ecclesiae.' Anno Domini 1929. Bracarae : Ex Tip. Oficinae S. Joseph. 1928.

CHAPTER VI
AMBROSIAN RITE

CHAPTER VI

AMBROSIAN RITE

Not only did the famous ' Quo primum ' Bull (1570) save the essentially Roman rites of Lyon and Braga, but it also preserved two precious Gallican relics, in the Ambrosian use of North Italy and the Mozarabic rite found in two towns of Spain.

The latter, although less Romanized, has in the course of centuries come to be little more than a picturesque liturgical survival, but in the case of the former the rite still retains a very real hold on the affections of the Milanese people and may be accounted a living use, with its origins diversely considered and vehemently contested. Nominally this distinctive rite is used throughout the province of Milan (as it existed before the changes made in 1515 and 1819), but in practice it may be said to be confined, and even there not entirely, to the archdiocese (672 parishes), the sees of Bergamo (40 parishes) and Novara (19 parishes) and the Apostolic Administration of the Swiss canton of Ticino (55 parishes). Formerly its use was very extensive, stretching west to the river Var and appearing in places as far apart as Prague, Ratisbon, Augsburg and Capua. Certain districts of Ticino, however, appear to have been most hostile to the Ambrosian rite, for when Cardinal Gaisruck tried to force it upon them the inhabitants declared that they would be either Roman or Lutheran! In 1132–34 two Augustinian canons of Ratisbon (Paul and Gebehard) wrote to Anselm, Archbishop of Milan, and Martin, treasurer of St. Ambrose, to obtain copies of the liturgy, for introduction into their church, and Charles IV (' Emperor of the priests ') had the rite used in St. Ambrose at Prague in the fourteenth century ; while traces of it, mixed with Roman usages, appeared at Augsburg and Capua so late as 1584. In 634 St. Birinus, armed with papal

authority, landed in England to convert the West Saxons to Christianity, setting up his episcopal see at Dorchester, near Oxford, but, although he had been consecrated bishop by the metropolitan of Milan, no ingenious Anglican has yet put forward the theory that, having regard to origins, the Ambrosian rite is obligatory for subjects of the Bishop of Oxford. The tradition that St. Barnabas was the founder of the Church of Milan grew up in the sixteenth century, through the desire to have an Apostle as the first bishop of the see, thereby causing the name of the Son of Consolation to appear in the 'Nobis quoque' list of saints about the time of St. Charles Borromeo, although the legend has absolutely no historical foundation.

The see of Milan, together with that of Ravenna, was probably founded at the beginning of the third century, and for at least a hundred years the only bishoprics in North Italy appear to have been Milan, Ravenna (Classis), Aquileia, Brescia and Verona. Until the end of the fourth century, when Aquileia, and later Ravenna, obtained metropolitans of their own, the only metropolitical see in this district was that of St. Ambrose, despite the fact that in a synod held in 337 the Bishop of Aquileia occupied the second place after the Pope. In the fourth century the court of the Emperor resided at Milan and therefore, even without the fame of the great Western Doctor, immense prestige accrued to the see of the imperial city and many assemblies of bishops, both Western and Eastern, met within its walls. Here the famous Edict of Toleration was published under Constantine and Licinius in A.D. 313, a document which, humanly speaking, changed the Christian religion from a proscribed and forbidden sect into an imperial and international faith. During this same epoch Milan became a court of appeal, not only for 'Italy,' as this northern part of the present kingdom was formerly called, but also for Gaul and Spain, as this served the double purpose of being nearer than Rome and at the same time of flattering the Erastian susceptibilities of the Emperors. The appeals, however, were made without prejudice to the rights of the Apostolic See, for it was never considered possible that the decisions of Milan could vary from those given at Rome, and

in point of fact they never did, while many disputed cases were still taken straight to the Pope. Thus, Galician bishops appealed to Damasus and Ambrose, Siricius and Ambrose, and Anastasius and Simplicianus ; while a Council at Carthage, held to settle the Donatist question, also referred the matter to both Rome and Milan. A Council of Turin (A.D. 400), under the presidency of the successor of St. Ambrose, decided various difficulties propounded by the bishops of Gaul, and the decrees then given were incorporated into an authoritative collection of Gallic ecclesiastical laws. St. Leo the Great (440–461) obtained from the Emperor Valentinian III (424–455) a recognition of the papal right to compel all bishops of his provinces to appeal before the Roman tribunal, but the capital had already been moved to Ravenna by Honorius (395–423) in 404, and Pope Zosimus (417–418) had created the see of Amelia—formerly in the jurisdiction of Milan—to be a suffragan of Ravenna. In 355 a Cappadocian with pronounced Arian tendencies named Auxentius had become Bishop of Milan, and, during his episcopate, the links with the patriarchate of Antioch, or at any rate with the rite derived from that see, became more marked, so that, according to the theory propounded with so much plausibility by Mgr. Duchesne, it was under this influence that the Gallican liturgy, of which the Ambrosian rite was the firstfruits, took its rise. Auxentius was succeeded in 374 by the Catholic champion, St. Ambrose (375–397), who speedily crushed the Arian heresy of his predecessor, but who nevertheless retained his clerical staff, so that there is nothing inherently impossible in his retaining—and embellishing—a rite which was not in itself other than perfectly orthodox. Gaul's ecclesiastical connection with Milan was greatly enhanced about this time by the finding of the bodies of the martyrs, Gervasius, Protasius and Nazarius, who speedily met with a great cultus in France, many churches being placed under their patronage, while it was during this same epoch that the townsfolk in many places were receiving the faith, thereby necessitating new or enlarged churches. In the Gallican rite which was evolved formularies appear to have been taken verbatim from the Eastern liturgy.

A very powerful group of liturgiologists, however, deny such a connection for the Ambrosian service books and maintain that the Milanese rite is *au fond* Roman, as used before the Gregorian changes. Few now believe that St. Ambrose was the author of the use that bears his title, as there is always a tendency for a prominent individual to give his name to a liturgy and consequently to be considered its author, although probably certain aspects of it are due to him, while his successors St. Simplicianus and Lazarus (438–449) seem to have amplified the rite still more. In the beginning of the fifth century the ecclesiastical supremacy of the see of Milan suffered a very severe check by Pope Zosimus (417–418) appointing an Apostolic Vicar at Arles—in the person of its bishop, Patroclus—for the Gallican provinces. This was at a time when, owing to the advance of the barbarians, Trier being abandoned, the praefect, praetor and higher officials of the Transalpine provinces had transferred the seat of government there; while for three years, under the 'usurper' Constantine, Arles actually became the capital of the Empire. Such a series of events had the inevitable effect of making direct communication with Rome easier and more frequent, so that advice and assistance from Milan were no longer necessary. During the Lombard conquests (570–649) the bishopric of Milan was moved to Genoa when, according to the theories of some liturgiologists, the Ambrosian rite received the Roman Canon in place of its variable Gallican Anaphoras. In 784 the occupant of the throne of Ambrose (St. Petrus) assumed the title of Archbishop.

From the eighth century, at least, the name of Ambrose has been bound up with the Milanese liturgy, and Walafrid Strabo, writing in the ninth century, says: 'Ambrose, bishop of Milan, also arranged the order both of the Mass and of the other services, for his own church and for the rest of Liguria: the which up to the present day is still kept by the church of Milan.'

This retention of a distinctive liturgy has distinguished the church of Milan all through the ages and, in spite of many attempts to abolish it, as well as numerous Roman infiltrations, the old rite is still preserved intact, and the present occupant

of the Chair of Peter was before his election accustomed to use the ' Missale Ambrosianum ' for his Mass.

Even Charlemagne, the bitter foe of the Gallican liturgy in his Frankish dominions, was unable to destroy the Milanese rite, although the story connected with his attempts is probably legendary. As narrated in the ancient Ambrosian breviary, the uncrowned Emperor was aided in his efforts by Pope Adrian I (772–795), who, however, at the instance of Archbishop Eugenius, submitted the controversy to a miraculous test (*cf.* Mozarabic rite), placing the respective missals, shut and sealed, on the altar, with the determination that the one which should open without human agency should decide the rite of the province. Both the Roman and the Ambrosian books, so the legend runs, thereupon opened miraculously, necessitating the compromise of the national rite in the cathedral and the Roman elsewhere. That Charles tried to effect liturgical uniformity throughout his Empire is certain, for with his ' sacristy mind ' he was ' never more pleased with himself than when he was presiding in his own chapel,' and ' to a mind like his the liturgical anarchy prevailing in his kingdom was intolerable.' In the eleventh century Nicholas II (1058–1061), who in 1060 had made an onslaught on the Spanish survival, instigated St. Peter Damian to substitute the Roman rite, but not very much success attended his efforts, and Alexander II (1061–1073), himself a Milanese, reversed his predecessor's policy. A like failure met St. Gregory VII (1073–1085), and when in 1440 the Papal Legate, Cardinal Branda di Castiglione, said a Roman Mass a riot ensued.

In 1495 Alexander VI (1492–1503) formally approved the Ambrosian rite, which was again conceded by Gregory XIII (1572–1585) to St. Charles Borromeo (1563–1584) after the Tridentine reforms. St. Charles, however, and his successor revised the books to a uniform standard, as is necessary in a living rite, at the same time extending its use throughout the archdiocese—Monza excepted. St. Charles died, after he had published a book on the Chant (1574), ceremonial instructions for saying Mass (1579), the Greater Litanies (1579), and the Ambrosian breviary (1582), but the work still continued under

Gaspare Visconti, his successor, so that the ' Sacramentale ' was completed by 1589, with, five years later, the revision of the missal (1594). Since that time the alterations have been slight improvements in the wording of the rubrics and in the arrangement of the books, while in the metropolitan church to-day Mass according to the Roman use can only be said in the crypt over the body of St. Charles. Until the end of the sixteenth century the cathedral possessed only one altar, retaining this primitive arrangement longer than any other Western church.

The most ancient Ambrosian liturgy extant is the Sacramentary of Biasca (Ticino), a book dating from the tenth century and originally compiled for use in a country parish, but the so-called Bobbio Missal or ' Sacramentarium Gallicanum ' of the sixth or following century, Gallican in its pro-anaphoral part with a Roman Canon, is analogous to the use of Milan. The earliest fragment of the Canon comes to us from a non-Roman source in the treatise ' De Sacramentis,' for its author in speaking of his own Church says ' cujus (*sc.* ecclesiae Romanae) typum in omnibus sequimur et formam.' Mgr. Duchesne suggests that Ravenna, where the Ambrosian and Roman rites combined, was the Church referred to, and that the date was approximately A.D. 400, but other writers, seeing that the ' De Sacramentis ' is modelled upon the ' De Mysteriis ' of St. Ambrose, maintain that the author was St. Ambrose himself, while yet a third proposition puts forward the name of St. Maximus of Turin (*c.* 451–461).

Few theories have been left unpropounded, and it has even been asserted that both Rome and Milan took their Canons from Aquileia in the fourth century, which in its turn had derived it from Alexandria. The full Ambrosian rite and ceremonial have come down to us from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and ' Beroldus, sive ecclesiae Ambrosianae Mediolanensis Kalendarium et ordines, saec. XII,' has done for Milan what the various ' Ordines Romani ' have effected at Rome. The latest edition of the missal was published in 1924.

Mention has already been made of the two conflicting theories concerning the origin of the Ambrosian rite, but before discussing in detail the present liturgy, it will be

necessary to give the opinions that are put forward in defence of the respective views.

Mgr. Duchesne stands out as the protagonist on the Gallican side, and Mr. Edmund Bishop and two leading Milanese liturgiologists on the Roman.

We have seen that towards the end of the fourth century both Gaul and Spain looked to the ecclesiastical hegemony of Milan, and that this was encouraged by the residence of the Emperor ; while the period was one in which rites were being formed throughout Christendom, so that there was nothing inherently impossible in an Eastern bishop of Milan adopting at any rate some features of an Oriental liturgy. The rite of Antioch was not an Arian compilation and therefore the personal heresy of the importer (Auxentius) in no way affected the liturgical text. As against the assertion that the rite of ' Italy ' was pre-Gregorian or original Roman we have the words of Pope Innocent I, writing to Decentius, Bishop of Eugubium (Umbria), in 416, where he certainly does not recognize the liturgy used by that bishop as Roman, for he points out the inconsistency of those who do not in all things follow the usages of the Roman Church, and he treats the use of Gubbio as a foreign importation : ' aliunde acceptum exemplum alterius ecclesiae quam Romanae consuetudinem.' We find also that Africa, so jealous of her individuality, hastened to adopt the Gregorian reform, while Ambrose, a Roman by birth and feeling, refused to introduce it into his Church.

Given the Auxentian origin for the Ambrosian rite, we may suppose that it was from Milan that the variations found in Gaul and Spain originated. From internal evidence the Gallican champions show that, as in the Mozarabic rite, Advent has six Sundays instead of four ; the Lenten Sundays (second to fifth) are named after the Gospel (*cf.* Byzantine rite) rather than the Introit ; while the following features show distinct Byzantine and Gallican characteristics : the diaconal litany on Lenten Sundays after the ' Ingressa ' ; the triple Kyrie after the Gospel, a relic of the old prayers of the faithful ; and the remnant of a procession of the oblata before the Offertory (' Antiphona post Evangelium '—*cf.* Gallican ' Sonus,'

Mozarabic 'Laudes,' Antiochene *Σιγησάτω* and Byzantine *Χερουβικὸς Ὕμνος*, that accompanied the entrance of the oblations, but which has now been crossed at Milan by a Roman Offertory). The Creed also, as in Antioch and Byzantium, comes after the Offertory, a Gallican 'Post Sanctus' is recited on Holy Saturday, and the prayer 'Mandans quoque,' following the words of Consecration (*cf.* 1 Cor. xi. 26), is found in no fewer than four other rites (Mozarabic, Antiochene, Byzantine and Coptic). Finally, there is a triple Kyrie at the dismissal, showing the position of the old diaconal litany with which the liturgy concluded (*cf.* Antioch and Byzantium). Of course, the most avowed enthusiasts for this thesis fully admit that the present rite has been Romanized, losing in consequence of its distinctive Eastern (Gallican) features.

On the other hand, the Roman protagonists, and especially the Milanese, start with the very strongest objection to an 'alien,' and even 'Arian,' origin for the Ambrosian rite, desiring above all things to show that their liturgy emanated from the 'Mother and Head of All the Churches.' They declare that no fifth- or sixth-century Pope militated against it—neither Innocent I (402–417) to Decentius, nor Celestine (422–432) to the Gallican bishops, nor yet Vigilius (538–555) to Profuturus, Bishop of Braga (538); while Pelagius (555–560), writing to the Bishop of Arles about the year 558 against the fanciful fraction of the Bread which was in use there, never suggested that an Eastern liturgy was performed as near the Eternal City as Lombardy.

If the Ambrosian rite was not Latin, the silence of St. Gregory the Great (590–604), Zachary (741–752) in his determined epistle to St. Boniface (751), and St. Gregory VII (1073–1085), when an alien rite was next door, would be quite inexplicable.

If the origin was Syrian, how comes it that the great characteristic of Rome, the people's oblation, should be retained by Milan, even when lost by the Mother Church?

Or, again, it is pointed out that the 'Sancta Sanctis' is absent, and the only detail which conforms to the East and not to any Roman type, of which we possess a trace, is the repetition of the Kyrie after the Gloria, Gospel and Post-

Communion. This can be explained by a reference to the second Council of Vaison (529), where the word ' frequentius ' shows that the Kyries were reiterated during the liturgy in Rome and North Italy before that date, so that it was Rome herself who abandoned the custom.

Further, the variability in the Mass and the influences of the Calendar, as against the invariableness (lessons excepted) of the Eastern types, point to a Roman origin ; while the phrase in the Canon ' who on the day before he suffered,' rather than ' who in the same night in which he was betrayed,' leads to a similar conclusion, although it is clear from the prayer called ' Post Pridie ' that the Mozarabic liturgy had originally the selfsame clause. The Roman champions then maintain that the Ambrosian rite is the old Roman, retained intact at Milan through the great Doctor's name, when fifth- and sixth-century Popes, of whom the chief was St. Gregory the Great (590–604), pruned and altered the liturgy of the Eternal City.

Although the same colours occur in the Ambrosian rite as in the Roman, a partially different colour sequence pertains.

White is used from Vespers of Christmas until the Octave of the Epiphany (feasts of Martyrs excepted), the blessing of the Paschal Candle on Holy Saturday to Low Sunday (exclusive), the Vigil of the Ascension to the second Vespers of the solemnity, on feasts of Our Lady and the Holy Angels (votive Masses use the colour according to the office of the day), Nativity of St. John Baptist, All Saints, sixth Sunday in Advent (Annunciation Mass), Dedication Feast and the Saints' Days as in the Roman rite.

Red appears for Pentecost, the Sundays and ferias after Pentecost until the Saturday Vespers before the Dedication (exclusive), Corpus Christi and its Octave (unless it should fall in the Octave of St. John Baptist or a first-class feast should be kept whose colour is different), Circumcision, from the Saturday ' in Traditione Symboli ' until the blessing of the Paschal Candle (exclusive)—except at the Maundy Thursday ceremony in the metropolitan church, when white is worn—the Sacred Heart, Holy Cross, Beheading of St. John Baptist, Saints' Days as in Rome (with the addition of the Holy

Innocents on a weekday), giving of Holy Communion out of Mass, solemn Benediction and processions of the Blessed Sacrament. In Holy Week the ancient custom is for the deacons to wear red albs, a practice attested to by Beroldus (1130)—'Minor diaconus alba rubea indutus legit primam lectionem de Job . . .'; 'Et tertius diaconus ascendit pulpitam alba rubea indutus' ('Ordo et Cerem. Ecc. Ambros. Mediol.,' ed. Magistretti, Milan, 1894, p. 101)—and followed by some mediaeval churches in this country (*e.g.* 'Red albs for Passion Week, 27'—Inventory of Peterborough Abbey in 1539).

Green is employed on Sundays and ferias from the Octave of the Epiphany until Septuagesima (exclusive), Low Sunday until the Vigil of Pentecost (exclusive), omitting the actual feast of the Ascension and the three Litany days (Rogations), Sundays and ferias after the Dedication Sunday until Advent (exclusive), St. Antony and all holy Abbots and Confessors who were not priests.

Violet is for Sundays and ferias in Advent up to the Vigil of Christmas (exclusive), but omitting the sixth Sunday in Advent, for Septuagesima and Sundays and ferias until Lent, Sundays in Lent (unless St. Joseph or the Annunciation should occur) excluding Palm Sunday, the three litany days in churches where a station is made, vigils, save those of Christmas, Epiphany, Ascension and Pentecost, solemn Masses for forgiveness of sins, feasts of holy Matrons, the blessings and processions of Candles and Palms, and many other processions.

The colour prescribed in the Ambrosian ceremonial books for the veiling of crosses and images, which before the fifteenth century took place on the Saturday preceding the first Sunday in Lent, is termed 'morello,' and is specifically stated to be a different colour from the Roman violet.

Black is used, not only for requiems, but also for Lenten ferias up to the Saturday 'in Traditione Symboli' (exclusive), and on the three Litany days (Rogations) before Pentecost.

The vestments worn in the Ambrosian rite are similar to those of the Roman, but the amice is put on *after* the girded alb, as also the Lyonnaise rubrics require, and on the Sundays in Lent the deacon removes his folded chasuble before he

sings the ' Preces ' or diaconal litany. At a high Mass it is the celebrant alone who covers his head with a biretta, and the deacon's stole is worn *outside* the dalmatic (*cf.* Can. 9, first Council of Braga, 561).

Six lights are ordered for first- and second-class feasts, four on Sundays, octaves and other solemn feasts of saints, while on ferias there must be at least two of convenient size. Real flowers should adorn the altars, and by a decree of the Milanese synod artificial flowers are expressly forbidden. The rite has a sevenfold classification of days : ' Solemnitates Domini,' Sundays—which are only superseded by feasts of the highest rank—' Solemnia B.M.V. et Sanctorum,' ' Solemnia Majora,' ' Alia Solemnia,' ' Non-Solemnia Privilegiata ' and ' Non-Solemnia Simplicia.'

For the Liturgical Year, the ' Temporale ' begins with Advent Sunday, but the ' Sanctorale ' with November 11, the feast of St. Martin. The Church of Milan, as in that of Toledo, has six Sundays in Advent, the last commemorating the Annunciation (' de Incarnatione D.N.J.C.'), although the cathedral and collegiate churches have two Masses, one (' Winter church ') for Advent and the other for Our Lady. Formerly this was the only Annunciation feast, but now, despite the rigours of Lent, March 25 is also observed. In the Mozarabic rite December 18 is set apart for this first Joyful Mystery, a day on which Rome (in some places) keeps the Expectation of Mary.

In the sixth week of Advent, unless Christmas falls on one of the first three days after the sixth Sunday, the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday are styled ferias ' de Exceptato,' and a special Mass is provided in the missal, with the ' Cantus ' (after Epistle) and Sanctus as the only chants, and preceded by the Litany of the Saints. The name ' de Exceptato ' probably comes from the fact that these three days are ' exceptions ' to the general rule. On the Vigils of Christmas and Epiphany four lections with psalmelli, versicles and prayers are sung in collegiate churches before the Mass. Christmas Eve also is, according to the ' Caerimoniale,' the day on which houses are blessed in Milan. The Calendar speaks of various vigils during the year, but only those of Christmas, Epiphany

and Pentecost are observed by a special liturgy. Fasting on these days was observed from an early time, since Theophilus of Alexandria (*ob.* 412) mentions Christmas Eve, St. John Chrysostom (*ob.* 407) Epiphany and the Leonine Sacramentary Pentecost.

Christmas Day now has three Masses, but the Bobbio manuscript, as well as the Gallican and Mozarabic rites, have only the one, and the first known mention of the three at Milan was in 1374. The third Mass has retained the prophetical lesson (Isa. ix.), while the Gospel is that of the Roman midnight Mass, and the Ambrosian 'in Nocte sancta' has the 'In principio,' beginning at 'Erat lux vera.' The Passion of St. Stephen from the Acts of the Apostles is the lesson for his feast, and in the Gospel, which speaks of the 'fish that first cometh up' at St. Peter's fishing, there is a type of the Protomartyr. St. Augustine, preaching on this day, says: 'While we find with difficulty the Acts of other martyrs which we can read in their solemnities, the Passion of this one is in the Canonical Book' ('Sarmo cccxiii'). The Mass for the Circumcision retains many references to the excesses committed in pagan times on this day (St. Augustine; second Council of Tours, 566; *cf.* Council of Auxerre, 578; St. Isidore; fourth Council of Toledo, 633). Thus, in the 'Oratio super populum' partaking with devils is compared with the heavenly banquet ('Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui tuae mensae participes a diabolo jubes abstinere convivio, da, quaesumus, plebi tuae: ut gustu mortiferae profanatis abjecto, puris mentibus ad epulas aeterne salutis accedat'), and in the 'Offertorium' (Deut. xxxii.) the sacrifices of the heathen are alluded to as merely transitory ('Ubi sunt nunc dii eorum, in quibus confidebatis in eis? quorum adipem sacrificiorum edebatis, et bibebatis vinum libationum eorum? Surgant nunc, et adjuvent vos, et fiant vobis protectores'). After the Epiphany Gospel the deacon is bidden to announce the date of Easter for the current year, the chant being given in the missal, together with the reply, 'Deo gratias': 'Noverit caritas vestra, fratres carissimi, quod, annuente Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi misericordia, die *N.* mensis *N.* Pascha Domini cum gaudio celebrabimus.' This formula is

almost the same as that quoted by Beroldus at the beginning of the twelfth century. Durandus says that in Italy on this day the priest or another announces the date of Easter after the Offertory. Such publication is ordered by the fourth Council of Orleans (541, Can. 1) and the Council of Auxerre (578, Can. 2); while the second Council of Braga (572, Can. 9) gives Christmas Day. In Roman Christendom this announcement is now made in metropolitan churches on January 6. The first day in the Octave of the Epiphany is the carrying of Christ into Egypt—' In festo Christophoriae.' Although violet vestments are worn on Septuagesima and the two following Sundays, both the ' Gloria in Excelsis ' and the ' Alleluia ' have been retained.

Lent begins with the first Sunday, and there is no Ash Wednesday or ceremony with ashes, while the fast starts on the Monday, which until the time of St. Charles was the day for the disappearance of the Gloria and ' Alleluia,' the following Sunday (second) beginning the ' Preces.' As with the Byzantines there is no fast on the Lenten Saturdays. These ' Preces,' sung by the deacon on the first five Sundays (I, III, and V and II and IV are the same), resemble the diaconal litanies of the Byzantine rite. The Lenten Sundays, named after the Gospel, are called ' Dominica in capite Quadragesimae,' ' De Samaritana,' ' De Abraham,' ' De Caeco,' ' De Lazaro,' and ' in Ramis Palmarum ' or ' Dominica Olivarum.' The missal provides a Mass for every weekday in Lent except Friday, an aliturgical day when Mass may not be said, although of recent years special permission has been granted for St. Joseph and the Annunciation. The Lenten weekday Masses retain the prophetical lesson, but, except on Saturdays, the Epistle has been lost. From February 14 until April 2 the Calendar only provides for the following feasts : St. Peter's Chair at Antioch (February 22)—unless this falls in Lent, when it is celebrated on February 4—St. Joseph (March 19), and the Annunciation (March 25); so that the Lenten ferias are practically undisturbed. The old rite of Spain showed a similar reluctance to interfere with the course of the great fast, but the present Mozarabic ' Directorium ' provides a saint for every day of the week. At Milan Passion-tide does

not begin until Holy Week. The Saturday before Palm Sunday still retains its title of ' in Traditione Symboli,' as in the primitive Church the Gallican rites gave the Creed to the catechumens on the following day (*cf.* Mozarabic rite). Reminiscent of the era of adult pagan converts is the Lenten series of services (' Missae Catechumenorum '), held in the cathedral on all the weekdays of Lent, except Saturdays, ' ad tertiam,' which, together with a series ' ad nonam ' (now dropped), formed a course of instructions for the ' Competentes ' preparing for baptism at Easter. To the ' Missae Catechumenorum,' probably as a later addition, a ' Missa Fidelium ' was joined ' at the ninth hour.' These Ambrosian relics may be compared to a Mozarabic series, as well as to those in the Byzantine Lenten services which are now combined with Sext and Vespers. On the Saturdays the actual ' Scrutinies ' were held at Milan in primitive times.

The ceremonies of Holy Week (' Hebdomada Authentica ') are very different from those of the Roman rite, and on Good Friday there is no Mass of the Presanctified, although Creeping to the Cross takes place after Sext and None. The only Passion said at Mass is the ' Passion according to Matthew,' recited half on Maundy Thursday and half on Good Friday, while the other Passions are said seriatim at the Divine Office on Good Friday. On Holy Saturday, throughout the Easter octave (Low Sunday excepted), and at Pentecost a second Mass, originally for the baptized in the Winter church, is provided for, which is still said in collegiate churches (no ' Gloria in Excelsis '). These survivals of ancient Milanese usage date from the time when on the Vigils of Easter and Pentecost the converted pagans were publicly baptized, and they bear witness to the existence of two cathedrals—the Winter church (St. Thecla, destroyed in 1543) and the Summer church. These references in the Ambrosian missal may be compared with those in the Roman which give the local ' stations.'

No Gloria is sung on Holy Saturday, but both organ and bells are heard when the celebrant chants before the Mass (three times), ' Christus Dominus resurrexit.' The lesser litanies (Rogation days) are sung in this rite on the Monday,

Tuesday and Wednesday before Pentecost, a week after the Roman use, and, until the middle of the nineteenth century, a Rogation procession was held in Milan with a station, consisting of a dry Mass, at twelve different city churches. The authorship of the litanies points in a great measure to St. Lazarus (445), and they are redolent with local history, especially for the years 445 to 568. The troubles and invasions alluded to are almost certainly the incursions of the Lombards, rather than of the Huns in the ninth century, for the sudden appearance of the latter precluded any likelihood of additions to the prayers ; while the Milanese bishops of the ninth and tenth centuries, being at the same time civil rulers of the city, were not sufficiently concerned with the liturgy either to alter it or to make additions.

In the Mass for the Vigil of Pentecost, after the blessing of the font, there is no prophetical lesson, and the only chants, besides the Sanctus, are the ' Alleluia ' and verse ; while Vespers, which had been sung as far as the respond inclusively before the lessons and the procession to the font, is continued and finished at the end of Mass. The feast of Corpus Christi has been kept since 1335, and All Souls' Day, adopted in the twelfth century and originally observed on the Monday after the third Sunday in October, is now commemorated on the Roman date (November 2). The Ambrosian rite has only fifteen Sundays after Pentecost, but, if the Decollation of St. John Baptist (August 29) falls before the fifteen have passed, the superfluous Sundays are omitted and five Sundays after the Decollation follow, unless the Sunday Letter is A, B or C, when the fifth Sunday is left out. Then come three Sundays in October, the third being the Dedication of the metropolitan church, and, finally, three Sundays after the Dedication. The variable parts of the Mass for twenty-four of these Sundays are repeated two or more times, but, although the same material is used over and over again, each individual Mass is never repeated exactly. Such poverty is quite typical of Gallican rites, and it is even more marked in the liturgies of Gaul and Spain for the Sundays after Pentecost.

The chant that bears the name of St. Ambrose has, like

the rite itself, a degree of validity for its nomenclature, but with the exception of the melodies and about sixteen hymns no music can be ascribed to him with any certainty, although he introduced the Antiochene manner of psalm-singing (' Psalmus Responsorius ' and ' Antiphon ') into the West (387).

The office of Subdeacon remained a minor order in Milan long after Rome had materially advanced its importance, and before the time of St. Charles Borromeo subdeacons were hardly considered to be in Holy Orders, no canons officiating as such ; while even now they perform various offices at Mass which are closely akin to those undertaken by acolytes in the Roman rite.

The form for blessing holy water before the dominical Asperges is longer than the Roman, as in addition to the same exorcisms and prayers, after the commixture of the salt and water, the Ambrosian priest continues : ' Benedico te, sal, et aqua pariter, in nomine Patris, + ' etc., and ' Confirmo te, sal, et aqua pariter, in nomine Patris, + ' etc. Then a verse from Psalm xxviii. (' Vox Domini super aquas ') with the Gloria, followed by ' Kyrie Eleison,' ' Pater,' ' Credo,' many versicles and responses, two non-Roman prayers, the mutual salutation and ' Kyrie Eleison ' again. Finally, there are ' Benedicat, et exaudiat nos Deus. Amen ' ; ' Procedamus cum pace ' ; ' In nomine Christi ' ; ' Benedicamus Domino ' ; ' Deo gratias ' ; and, in conclusion, a blessing upon the hallowed elements : ' Pax, et benedictio Dei Patris + omnipotentis, et Filii +, et Spiritus + sancti descendat super hanc creaturam salis, et aquae, et super omnes ex ea accipientes. Amen.'

In the rite of the Asperges the whole of Psalm l. is sung, but in Paschal-tide two antiphons take the place of ' Asperges me ' and ' Miserere ' : ' Vidi aquam,' etc., and ' Intonuit de coelo Dominus, Altissimus dedit vocem suam : et apparuerunt fontes aquarum : Hallelujah, hallelujah.' After the prayer, salutation, ' Kyrie Eleison ' and ' Benedicat, et exaudiat nos Deus,' the deacon sings ' Procedamus cum pace,' with the response ' In nomine Christi,' and the priest, ' Benedicamus Domino,' with ' Deo gratias.' In collegiate churches Tierce now begins and the celebrant vests for Mass. Only a surplice

and stole are required for the Asperges in ordinary parish churches.

The officiant goes up to the altar, and making a cross on the ' mensa ' kisses it. Then, before aspersing the faithful, clerical and lay, he sprinkles both sides of the altar.

The present Ambrosian rite, even if its Gallican, or rather Eastern, origin is an established fact, now possesses all the marks that, according to Mr. Edmund Bishop, distinguish the Roman type—' simplicity, practicability, great sobriety, self-control, gravity and dignity.' For the maintenance of the purity of the rites and ceremonies of the ancient Church of Milan a local Congregation of Rites exists, presided over by the archbishop or his vicar-general.

At high Mass, except in the metropolitan church, the order of entry is : first the thurifer with the censer and a boat boy with the ship, then two taperers, and finally the sacred ministers, the celebrant alone wearing a biretta. In the cathedral, however, in lieu of the above-mentioned acolytes, the subdeacon precedes the deacon, carrying in his right hand a candlestick (' quod cantarium vocant ') with a lighted taper, and in his left a smoking censer. On arrival in choir the censer is given to the thurifer and the candle is set on the right-hand corner of the altar (Gospel horn).

The preparatory prayers, though differing in certain respects, are essentially Roman. The psalm ' Judica me,' inserted into the Mass about the thirteenth century as a private devotion, appeared in many editions of the missal, but in the fourth Provincial Council, held by St. Charles Borromeo in 1576, the saying of the psalm was made obligatory—' Missae initio psalmus Judica me Deus . . . dici ne unquam omittatur '—and the combined work of St. Charles and Gaspare Visconti (1594) contained the rubric ' deinde sacerdos incipit et prosequitur cum ministro alternatim psalmum Judica me, Deus.' Again, in the missal of 1609, issued under Cardinal Frederico Borromeo, the psalm was ordered to be said, but in 1618 the liturgy, published under the same archbishop, omitted the ' Judica me ' and it has never reappeared in any subsequent edition. The prayers are ' In nomine,' etc., and the versicle ' Introibo ad altare

Dei ' with its response, after which the priest says ' Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus,' and the ministers answer ' Quoniam in saeculum misericordia ejus.' The Confiteor is identical with the Roman but for the insertion of the name of St. Ambrose ; while the ' Misereatur ' is prefaced by ' Deo gratias ' and adds ' omnibus ' to ' peccatis tuis ' (' omnium peccatorum nostrorum ' in the ' Indulgentiam '). Two versicles and responses and a prayer follow the ' Indulgentiam ' :

℣. ' Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.'
℟. ' Qui fecit coelum et terram.'
℣. ' Sit nomen Domini benedictum.'
℟. ' Ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum.'

' Rogo te, altissime Deus Sabaoth, Pater sancte, ut pro peccatis meis possim intercedere, et astantibus veniam peccatorum promereri, ac pacificas singulorum hostias immolare.'

' Oramus te, Domine ' is said *more Romano*. Whenever the altar is kissed the priest first signs the altar with his right hand and then salutes the spot where the cross has been made. In putting on the incense the subdeacon, not the thurifer, helps with the censer, and when the altar is incensed it is that minister alone who assists with the chasuble. When not otherwise engaged the deacon and subdeacon stand at either end of the altar, facing each other, a position which the Ambrosian rubrics describe as ' ad sua loca.' The ' Ingressa ' or Ambrosian Introit (Gallican, ' Antiphona ad praelegendum ' ; Mozarabic, ' Officium ') consists of an antiphon only, without any psalm verse. About half of the ' Ingressae,' found in the ' Temporale,' are taken from the Psalms, while nearly the same number come from other parts of Scripture, although that for the sixth Sunday in Advent is based on the Bible (' Videsne Elizabeth cum Dei genitrice Maria disputantem : Quid ad me venisti mater Domini mei ? Si enim scirem, in tuum venirem occursum. Tu enim Regnatorem portas, et ego prophetam : tu legem dantem, et ego legem accipientem : tu Verbum, et ego vocem proclamantis adventum Salvatoris ') and on Quinquagesima the ' Ingressa ' appears to have had a Greek origin (' Jucunda est praesens vita, et transit : terribile est, Christe, judicium tuum, et permanet. Quapropter

incertum amorem relinquamus, et de infinito timore cogitemus, clamantes: Christe, miserere nobis'). An exception is found at requiem Masses, when the Roman model (*cf.* 'Agnus') is followed: 'Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine: et lux perpetua luceat eis.' Psalmellus (Ps. lxiv.): 'Te decet hymnus, Deus, in Sion: et tibi reddetur votum in Jerusalem. Exaudi orationem meam, Domine: ad te omnis caro veniet.' ℣. 'Requiem,' etc. This method of saying the 'Ingressa' at a black Mass was the custom as early as 1475.

'Dominus vobiscum' follows the 'Ingressa' before the Gloria (except in Mass said by a bishop), a greeting which occurs no fewer than ten times in the present liturgy, although the priest never turns to the people, as the ancient arrangement of basilican altar is presupposed, when the celebrant stood behind the altar facing west, as is still the custom in certain privileged churches, of which St. Ambrose at Milan, consecrated in 386 by the great saint himself, is an example. To the Apostolic 'Dominus vobiscum' the Gallican liturgy added 'semper.' In place of the 'Gloria in Excelsis' on the first five Sundays in Lent the deacon (priest) sings the 'Preces' or diaconal litany from the Gospel ambo (in the metropolitan church). This litany may be compared with those found in the Apostolic Constitutions (VIII) and with the *Συναπτή* of the present Byzantine rite. Milan has a series of petitions for all sorts and conditions of men, terminating in a threefold Kyrie and a Collect. Tertullian (*c.* 160–*c.* 220) in his 'Apology,' St. Cyril of Jerusalem (*c.* 315–386) in his 'Catechism,' and St. Columbanus (543–615) in the seventh chapter of his monastic Rule, all bear witness to the universality of these solemn intercessions.

Two litanies are used during Lent: the one, to which the response of 'Domine miserere' is made to every clause, is sung on the first, third and fifth Sundays; while the other comes on the second and fourth, with the refrain of 'Kyrie Eleison.' Originally these litanies were common to other rites in the West, but by the ninth century they had disappeared at Rome. An almost similar litany is found under the heading of 'Deprecatio Sancti Martini pro populo' in the Stowe missal, which although mainly Roman has Gallican details, and dates from the eighth and tenth centuries.

The Ambrosian series which is repeated three times is as follows :

℣. ' Divinae pacis, et indulgentiae munere supplicantes, ex toto corde, et ex tota mente precamur te.'

℣. ' Pro Ecclesia tua sancta catholica, quae hic, et per universum orbem diffusa est, precamur te.'

℣. ' Pro Papa nostro *N.*, et Pontifice nostro *N.*, et omni clero eorum, omnibusque sacerdotibus, ac ministris, precamur te.' (In the tenth century the clause omitted the words ' Pontifice nostro ' and ' Papa nostro ' referred to the Archbishop of Milan.)

℣. ' Pro famulis tuis, *N.* Imperatore, et *N.* Rege, Duce nostro, et omni exercitu eorum, precamur te.'

℣. ' Pro pace ecclesiarum, vocatione gentium, et quiete populorum, precamur te.'

℣. ' Pro civitate hac, et conversatione ejus, omnibusque habitantibus in ea, precamur te.' (Two manuscripts, for use in the churches of Biasca and Lodrino in the Tre-valli of Ticino, read ' pro plebe hac ' for ' pro civitate hac.')

℣. ' Pro aerum temperie, ac fructuum foecunditate terrarum, precamur te.'

℣. ' Pro virginibus, viduis, orphanis, captivis ac poenitentibus, precamur te.'

℣. ' Pro navigantibus, iter agentibus, in carceribus, in vinculis, in metallis, in exiliis constitutis, precamur te.'

℣. ' Pro his, qui diversis infirmitatibus detinentur, quique spiritibus vexantur immundis, precamur te.'

℣. ' Pro his, qui in sancta tua Ecclesia fructus misericordiae largiuntur, precamur te.'

℣. ' Exaudi nos, Deus, in omni oratione, atque deprecatione nostra, precamur te.'

℣. ' Dicamus omnes.'

The litany on the second and fourth Sundays reads :

℣. ' Dicamus omnes.'

℣. ' Domine, Deus omnipotens patrum nostrorum.'

℣. ' Respice de coelo, et de sede sancta tua.'

℣. ' Pro Ecclesia tua sancta catholica, quam conservare digneris.'

℣. ' Pro Papa nostro *N.*, et Pontifice nostro *N.*, et sacerdotio eorum.'

℣. ' Pro universis Episcopis, cuncto clero, et populo.'

℣. ' Pro famulis tuis, *N.* Imperatore, et *N.* Rege, Duce nostro, et omni exercitu eorum.'

℣. ' Pro civitate hac, omnibusque habitantibus in ea.'

℣. ' Pro aerum temperie, et foecunditate terrarum.'

℣. ' Libera nos, qui liberasti filios Israel.'

℣. ' In manu forti et brachio excelso.'

℣. ' Exurge, Domine, adjuva nos, et libera nos propter nomen tuum.'

After either of these litanies, or the ' Gloria in Excelsis,' ' Kyrie Eleison ' is sung three times (not, as in the Roman rite, after the Introit), but, as in the pre-Gregorian Roman liturgy, there is no ' Christe Eleison,' and the melody (Divine Office as well as in Mass) is very primitive and almost syllabic in form. The Council of Vaison (529) in its third Canon refers to the Kyrie as having been introduced into the Apostolic See and into Italy, *i.e.* Milan.

The Gloria was taken from Rome (*c.* seventh century) as in the Mozarabic rite, but before the lessons the original Gallican liturgy had the Trisagion, Kyrie and Benedictus, but it is possible that Milan never had the first of these chants, although, since the Benedictus appears in the Bobbio Sacramentary, the Canticle of Zacharias must seemingly have once been sung in the Ambrosian rite. Manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries have the rubric ' Incipit missa canonica ' immediately after the Kyries that follow the Gloria, showing that the preliminary chants were not originally part of the Mass. After these Kyries, as well as before the prophetical lesson, ' Dominus vobiscum ' and its reply are repeated.

The Collects, called ' Orationes super populum,' are not identical with the Roman, but they are of the same type and often agree with those found in the Gelasian Sacramentary, differing very extensively from the Gallican and Mozarabic models, redolent with their Scriptural quotations and allusions, many of which, to say the least of them, are far from obvious. At the conclusion of the ' Oratio super populum ' in the metropolitan church the ' Cantarium ' is taken from the altar by an

acolyte and placed on the credence. For the Divine Office the Church of Milan uses the old Italic version of the Scriptures, but the lessons at Mass are chiefly derived from the Vulgate, with the Ambrosian lectionary, a variant of the Mozarabic.

On many days in the year, more especially in 'Solemnitates Domini et Solemnia,' three lections are still read, in accordance with primitive custom, but so late as the twelfth century this was an invariable rule at every Mass. St. Justin Martyr (*ob.* 167), writing in his second Apology concerning the Christian gatherings, says: 'apostolorum prophetarumque litterae quoad fieri potest perleguntur'; and in the Apostolic Constitutions (Lib. VIII. cap. iv.): 'post lectionem Legis et Prophetarum, Epistolarum atque Evangelii'; while St. Gregory of Tours in his third book of the 'Life of St. Martin' writes: 'Factum est ut illa die dominica, prophetica lectione jam lecta, ante altarium stante qui lectionem beati Pauli proferret.' Normally the prophetic lesson is taken from the Old Testament, but the Acts of the Apostles are read on the Sundays in Eastertide, and on some saints' days the life of the saint is substituted, although non-Scriptural 'Gesta Sanctorum' no longer appear in the missal for the anniversaries of saints in their titular churches. In low Masses the present practice is to read only one lesson before the Gospel and that generally the Epistle, but in conventual and parochial Masses, even if said without note, the rule is that the prophetic lesson must not be omitted, thus ensuring that it is read at the principal Mass of the day in every church —'Et tunc licet ab omnibus legi possit cum Epistola, tamen in missis Conventualibus et in missis Parochialibus, etiam sine cantu, praetermittenda non est; ut decretum est in Synodis Dioecesanis' ('Rubricae Generales,' II). The reading of this lection is preceded by a benediction, 'Jube, Domine, benedicere,' and 'Prophetica (Apostolica) Lectio sit nobis (tibi) salutis eruditio.' When at high Mass it is read from an ambo or before the altar by a surpliced reader (sometimes in cope), the lector, bowing towards the celebrant, is blessed with the words 'Prophetica,' etc.

The general custom in Western basilicas was to have two ambones, but occasionally there were three, as Martène writes

about San Clemente at Rome : ' In Romana S. Clementis ecclesia, quae omnium urbis est antiquissima, tres habentur ambones duo in cancellis dextris, unus scilicet pro epistola versus altare, alter pro legendis prophetiis versus populum : tertius in sinistris, paulo altior et honoratior pro evangelio.'

After this lection comes the ' Psalmellus,' an anthem with one or two verses normally taken from the Psalms (St. Stephen from Acts ; Holy Innocents from Apocalypse ; second Sunday in October and third after Dedication from Habacuc). In the ' Mass in Commemoration of All the Faithful Departed ' the ' Psalmellus ' and verse are :

' Qui suscitasti Lazarum quatriduanum foetidum, tu dona eis requiem, et locum indulgentiae.

℣. ' Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine : et lux perpetua luceat eis. Tu dona eis requiem, et locum indulgentiae.'

After this chant in the ancient rite of Milan the deacon called for silence, as he still does before the Epistle in the Mozarabic liturgy—' Silentium facite ! ' The old Ambrosian practice was that when the deacon had arrived at the Gospel ambo, the archdeacon or one of the deacons, standing at the Epistle horn of the altar, chanted ' Parcite fabulis ' ; then an acolyte from the ambo, ' Silentium habete ' ; and, finally, another acolyte in the anterior choir, with his face turned to the people, exclaimed ' Habete silentium ! '

At pontifical high Mass, however, two of the clergy still call ' Silentium habete ' before the Gospel. This practice of calling for silence was mentioned by St. Ambrose (' Quantum laboratur in ecclesia, ut fiat silentium cum lectiones leguntur '), St. Augustine (' Salutavi populum, et facto tandem silentio, Scripturarum divinarum sunt lecta solemnia '), and St. John Chrysostom (' Quando lector dicit, Haec dicit Dominus, et stans diaconus, silentio indicto, omnibus os obstruit '). The Epistle is sung from the ambo or the Epistle corner of the altar below the steps, where, having chanted its title, the subdeacon asks the celebrant for his blessing (' Jube, Domine, benedicere '), who gives it with ' + Apostolica doctrina repleat nos gratia divina.' During the Epistle (lesson), the ministers sit down. An ' Hallelujah ' and verse are sung, the verse being usually taken from the Psalms, although on some days

other parts of Scripture are used. ' Solemnitates Domini ' have the first ' Hallelujah ' doubled. In Milan, as well as Rome, the ' Hallelujah ' only appears *before* the Gospel.

This method of singing is changed to the ' Cantus ' for Lent, vigils, ' Feriae de Exceptato ' and litany days, a chant resembling the Roman Tract.

The ' Psalmellus ' and verse between the first two lessons and the ' Hallelujah ' and verse between the second and third are the equivalent of the Gradual, and often agree with that found in the Roman missal.

As in the Oriental rites the Ambrosian liturgy has no Sequences, but on some ' Solemnitates Domini '—Christmas, Epiphany and Easter—an ' Antiphona ante Evangelium ' is sung, in addition to the foregoing chants, which the priest is directed to say at the Gospel horn. That for Christmas Day (third Mass only) is ' Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax. Hallelujah, hallelujah, hallelujah ' ; the Epiphany : ' In Bethlehem Judae Salvator natus est. Herodes turbatus est : totus mundus gaudet. Johannes testificans super flumen Jordanis : Qui post me venit, ante me factus est ' ; and Easter : ' Laudate Dominum de coelis : laudate eum in excelsis, Angeli ejus : quia hodie resurrexit Dominus, et redemit populum suum. Hallelujah, hallelujah.'

Durandus (*c.* 1237-1296), describing the ceremonies connected with the reading of the Gospel, says : ' Moreover, it is to be noted that in certain churches, on the principal feast days, the deacon, wishing to set out to read the Gospel, begins the anthem which is sung at nocturns over " Benedictus " ; and when he approaches the pulpit, it is sung and finished by the choir.' The above anthems, however, are *not* those given in the Ambrosian breviary for the several feasts, to be used with the Benedictus.

The old Gallican rite had the Song of the Three Children, called the ' Benedicite,' between the Epistle and the respond before the Gospel, as is still to be found on certain days in the Mozarabic rite, but the last remnant of this custom at Milan is seen on Good Friday and Holy Saturday. On the former occasion, after the Veneration of the Cross and between the two lessons from Daniel are verses from the same prophet (Dan. iii., verses 51–54, 57, 58, 59, 61, 84–88), together with

'Benedicamus Patrem, et Filium, et sanctum Spiritum: hymnum dicamus, et superexaltemus eum in secula.' On Easter Eve, after the Third Lesson, which succeeds the blessing of the Paschal Candle, again verses from the third chapter of Daniel (verses 52–54, 57, 77, 85) and 'Benedicamus Patrem,' etc. are sung.

Both before and after the Gospel the Trisagion or 'Aius' was sung in the Gallican use, although it has long since disappeared from the Church of Milan. In the cathedral at high Mass it is the subdeacon, not the acolytes, who carries the lighted taper ('cantarium') and censer for the Gospel. The 'Munda cor meum' and 'Dominus sit in corde meo' are exactly similar to the Roman forms, but at high Mass the deacon in the ambo is blessed by the celebrant *after* 'Dominus vobiscum' and the announcing of the Gospel, before the reading of which the book is censed three times. One peculiarity, dating probably from the days of St. Ambrose, is the phrase 'Dominus Jesus' at the beginning of the liturgical lesson, which was used by the great Doctor himself in citing the Gospels. If the Mass is sung in the presence of the archbishop the book is kissed by him, and the prelate is censed after the Evangel. At the conclusion of the Gospel the priest chants 'Dominus Vobiscum' and (except at requiems) a threefold Ambrosian Kyrie is sung, a relic of the primitive diaconal litany, which still stands on the Sundays in Lent after the 'Ingressa.' Honorius of Autun, writing in the twelfth century, says: 'Then the bishop preaches a sermon to the people. . . . After this the people sing Kyrie eleison, and the clergy "I believe in one God"'; while Durandus declares, 'in some places, after the singing of the Creed or while it is in singing, the people sing Kyrie eleison.' These quotations show traces of the litany in Churches other than that of Milan, for the position of the Creed prevents their being variations of the Ambrosian rite.

The chalice is now made after the 'Oratio super sindonem,' not earlier, as was the primitive Gallican custom, although by the missal published in 1560 this ceremony, at any rate in low Masses, appears to have taken place *before* the liturgy. In the book of 1669 the present position for the preparation of the oblata is ordered, with the provision, 'if the chalice has not

been previously prepared.' All through the Middle Ages there seems to have been throughout Europe an entire indifference as to the time of the making of the chalice, so long as it was before the Offertory.

The Ambrosian rite, in common with Gallican and Oriental usages, has a chant for the solemn inbringing of the oblations, which is said by the celebrant at the altar, called the ' Antiphona post Evangelium ' (*cf.* ' Sonus ' in Gaul ; ' Laudes ' in Spain ; *Σιγησάτω* in Antioch ; and *Χερουβικὸς Ὕμνος* in Byzantium). While this is being sung at high Mass the deacon, subdeacon and acolytes go to the credence, sacristy or other place appointed for the purpose. Here the deacon takes the burse to the altar and spreads the corporal, going to his place at the right-hand corner of the altar in time to chant ' Pacem habete.' The subdeacon carries the chalice with the paten, Host and pall, all covered with the ends of the ' continentia,' a veil hanging round his neck and worn when the holy vessels are carried. These vessels he sets on the altar towards the Epistle horn, while an acolyte brings the basin and cruets (water and wine), covered with some decent veil, which he also places on the altar. Then, when the elements have been prepared, a further chant is sung, originally called at Milan the ' Offerenda,' but now changed to ' Offertorium ' (*cf.* ' Laudes ' or ' Alleluia ' in Gaul, and ' Sacrificium ' in Spain). These chants, once sung in succession, are separated by the Romanized Offertory prayers, which arose from the private devotion of the celebrant. After the ' Antiphona post Evangelium ' the priest (or deacon) turning to the people says ' Pacem habete,' to which the apparently irrelevant answer of ' Ad te, Domine ' is made. This versicle and response mark the position of the giving of the ' pax ' in the primitive liturgy, and the command ' Erigite vos ad orationem ' (' Stand up for prayer ') has dropped out before the people's answer (*cf.* ' Ad te Domine ' and ' *Σοὶ Κύριε* ' of Byzantine rite). Now Milan has adopted the Roman position for the kiss of peace, but Spain as well as the East retain it ' ante confecta mysteria,' as was the custom in fifth-century ' Italy ' (*cf.* Epistle of Innocent to Decentius). The Council of Laodicea (Can. 19), held in 320, says ' Deinde (post lectum evangelium) sic pacem dari,

et, postquam episcopo pacem presbyteri dederint, tunc laicos etiam pacem dare, et sic sanctam oblationem perfici,' a symbolical carrying out of the command, ' first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift ' (St. Matt. v. 24). Until the adoption of the Roman Canon the Ambrosian rite had the reading of the diptychs after the Offertory, and before the giving of the ' pax ' the ancient Gallican use had a prayer, ' Collectio ante pacem.' Following the abortive kiss of peace, the priest says ' Dominus vobiscum ' and the ' Oratio super sindonem ' or first prayer in the liturgy of the faithful, which, as with the other Collects, has no ' Oremus.' This prayer was once at the unfolding of the corporal, which in early times could literally be described as ' spreading the table cloth ' ; while the question arises, Is this the missing prayer in the Roman rite, still marked in the missal before the Offertory with a solitary ' Oremus,' or is it a relic of the solemn prayers of the faithful ? Compared with this ' Oratio super sindonem ' are the Mozarabic ' Missa,' or address to the people inviting them to pray, and the ' Alia,' or prayer itself.

At high Mass in the metropolitan church the ' Vecchioni ' or representatives of the School of St. Ambrose, two of each sex, present their offerings on behalf of the people at this point of the service. The Guild, which was of long standing in the eleventh century and was mentioned in a Charter of Archbishop Anspert in the ninth, consists of ten old men and ten old women. The ceremony is not Gallican in origin but Roman, and very similar to the papal practice of the eighth and ninth centuries, although the people's oblation was lost in Rome from at least the eighth century. The men wear pointed hoods over their cottas and the women a long black piece of silk over their white veils, while all four of them have a large white linen cloth, called a ' fanon,' in which the Hosts and cruet are held, resembling a linen chasuble, but in reality a long scarf about four feet broad by nine and a half feet long, with the long sides sewn together on one edge, leaving just a small space through which to pass the head. The sacred ministers go down to the entrance of the presbytery or upper choir, preceded by two acolytes carrying silver vessels. Here, with deacon and subdeacon on either side holding open a

sindon, the celebrant receives the offerings. Each old man carries three Hosts in his right hand and a silver vessel full of white wine in his left. These the priest blesses, saying ' Benedicat te Dominus, et hoc tuum munus : in nomine Patris, + ' etc. Then, making the sign of the cross over the gift and offering the old man his maniple to kiss, he takes the Hosts and gives them to the subdeacon to be placed in the bowl. Meanwhile, the deacon takes the vessel of wine and pours it into the second bowl, and the offering of the other old man is received in the same way. The ministers go to the entrance of the senatorium or lower choir for the offerings of the women. The breads presented at this ceremony are not now used in the liturgy, although the wine is kept for this purpose. On returning to the altar, or after the ' Oratio super sindonem,' the priest offers up the Host on the paten, saying ' Suscipe, clementissime Pater, hunc Panem sanctum, ut fiat Unigeniti tui Corpus, in nomine Patris, + et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. Amen.' The Host being placed on the corporal, wine is poured into the chalice with the words ' De latere Christi exivit sanguis,' and the water is blessed with ' et aqua pariter, in nomine Patris, + et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. Amen.' In requiems, when there is no blessing, the form ends with ' pariter.' At the offering of the chalice the prayer is : ' Suscipe, clementissime Pater, hunc Calicem, vinum aqua mixtum, ut fiat Unigeniti tui Sanguis, in nomine,' etc. In the cathedral church the Chapter clergy on solemn occasions now file past and kiss the north corner of the altar.

At high Mass during the prayers which follow the deacon and subdeacon retire to ' their own places.'

The first prayer, said to God the Father, with hands joined and head inclined, is : ' Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, placabilis, et acceptabilis sit tibi haec oblatio, quam ego indignus pro me misero peccatore, et pro delictis meis innumerabilibus tuae pietati offero, ut veniam, et remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum mihi concedas : et iniquitates meas ne respexeris, sed sola tua misericordia mihi prosit indigno. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.' The second, with hands extended, is addressed to the Blessed Trinity and agrees in meaning with ' Omnipotens sempiterne Deus ' : ' Et suscipe,

sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem, quam tibi offerimus pro regimine, et custodia, atque unitate catholicae Fidei : et pro veneratione quoque beatae Dei Genetricis Mariae, omniumque simul Sanctorum tuorum : et pro salute et incolumitate famulorum, famularumque tuarum, et omnium, pro quibus clementiam tuam implorare polliciti sumus, et quorum quarumque eleemosynas suscepimus, et omnium fidelium Christianorum, tam vivorum quam defunctorum, ut te miserante, remissionem omnium peccatorum, et aeternae beatudinis praemia, in tuis laudibus fideliter perseverando, percipere mereantur, ad gloriam, et honorem nominis tui, Deus, misericordissime rerum conditor. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.' On Sundays, solemn feasts of Our Lord and their vigils, and when the Mass is of the saints (votives excepted), the following prayer is also said : ' Suscipe, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem, quam tibi offerimus in memoriam passionis, resurrectionis, et ascensionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi : et in honorem omnium Sanctorum tuorum, qui tibi placuerunt ab initio mundi, et eorum, quorum hodie festivitas celebratur, et quorum hic nomina, et reliquiae habentur : ut illis sit ad honorem, nobis autem ad salutem ; ut illi omnes pro nobis intercedere dignentur in coelis, quorum memoriam facimus in terris. Per eumdem Christum Dominum nostrum.'

Stretching his hands over the oblations the celebrant continues : ' Et suscipe, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem pro emundatione mea, ut mundes, et purges me ab universis peccatorum maculis : quatenus tibi digne ministrare merear, Deus et clementissime Domine.' Then, in blessing them he says ' Benedictio Dei omnipotentis, Pa+tris, et Fi+lii, et Spiritus + sancti copiosa de coelis descendat super hanc nostram oblationem : et accepta tibi sit haec oblatio, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, misericordissime rerum conditor.'

In an eleventh-century manuscript the only Offertory prayer is after the salutation following the Creed : ' Adesto Domine supplicationibus nostris et his muneribus praesentiam tuae majestatis intersere ut quod nostro servitio geritur te potius operante firmetur per omnia,' etc.

With the exception of ' Accendat in nobis,' etc., the prayers

for the blessing of the incense and censing of the altar are identical with the Roman, even to ' *Michael* standing on the right side,' but when the priest gives the thurible back to the deacon he says ' Ecce odor Sanctorum Dei, tamquam odor agri pleni, quem Deus benedixit.' At the incensing of the oblata a circular movement of the thurible, special to this rite, is used, while before the cross is censed the deacon covers the Host with the paten. After the celebrant has been censed the deacon makes a circuit of the altar, and, coming to the Gospel horn, traces a cross over the corner of the altar with the thurible. Then, kissing the spot, he hands the censer to the subdeacon, and returns to his own place. St. Ambrose appears to be one of the earliest writers who mention the practice of censing a Christian altar. No lavabo comes here, but the fingers of the celebrant are washed, without any prayer, just before ' Qui pridie ' in the Canon, although the primitive Ambrosian place was in the old Gallican position, at the vesting. After the ' Offertorium ' (one or two verses) and ' Dominus vobiscum ' the Creed follows, styled in the Ambrosian missal ' Symbolum Constantinopolitanum.' Both St. Cyril and St. Ambrose speak of the ' Symbol ' as to be engraved on the memory rather than written down. Its position here, between the ' pax ' (original place) and Sursum Corda, is directly due to Byzantine influence, for in Gaul the Creed came after the Gospel, as at Rome, and in Spain before the ' Pater noster ' at the end of the Canon. The Creed is said at Milan on all festivals of Our Lord, Sundays, feasts of saints, Saturday ' in Traditione Symboli,' and in solemn votives or those ' pro gravi et publica ecclesiae causa.' At high Mass, when ' Et homo factus est ' has been sung, the deacon rises and goes down into the choir before the altar, where he receives the censer from the thurifer. If the Creed is not said this censing of choir and people takes place directly after the deacon has encircled the altar. After the ' Symbol ' ' Dominus vobiscum ' is repeated and then the ' Oratio super oblata,' a collect which answers to the Roman Secret, generally referring to the oblations, but said in a clear voice.

The Preface is similar to the Roman, shorter and less

diffuse than the Gallican and Mozarabic types, but with a proper Preface for every Mass throughout the year. The plain-chant in the missal, however, is very different, and the single word ' quia ' has been inserted after ' vere,' while verbal differences appear in the final clauses. From the Sanctus to the Canon the sacred ministers leave the ends of the altar and join the celebrant.

The Ambrosian rite has normally the ordinary Roman Canon with certain minor alterations, but the very important additions for Maundy Thursday and Holy Saturday show that originally the Church of Milan possessed variable Consecratory prayers, as in all the Gallican books. The ' Communicantes ' clause does not contain the names of either Linus or Cletus, but Hippolytus, Vincent, Apollinaris, Vitalis, Nazarius, Celsus, Protasius, Gervasius, Victor, Nabor, Felix and Calimerius have been included, while earlier editions of the missal contain a far longer list of names, including that of St. Ambrose.

After ' Quam oblationem ' Milan adds the words ' quam pietati tuae offerimus,' and before the Consecration the celebrant goes to the Epistle corner of the altar, where he washes the tips of his fingers in silence. At high Mass the towel is held by the two sacred ministers and an acolyte pours the water. The phrase ' quam pro nostra omniumque salute ' follows ' Qui pridie,' as in the Roman missal on Maundy Thursday, and certain verbal but unimportant differences are found in the Consecratory clauses, although the actual words effecting the change are Roman. The deacon kneels on the right of the celebrant to raise the edge of the chasuble, while the subdeacon, on the left, censes the Blessed Sacrament. During the elevation of the chalice the Ambrosian celebrant says ' Mandans quoque, et dicens ad eos : Haec quotiescumque feceritis, in meam commemorationem facietis : mortem meam praedicabitis, resurrectionem meam annunciabitis, adventum meum sperabitis, donec iterum de coelis veniam ad vos.' This ending of the Consecration, though spoken of as the word of Christ Himself, is derived from 1 Cor. xi. 26, appearing, in part at least, in many liturgies—' Canon Dominicus Sancti Gilasi ' of the Stowe missal, the rites of Spain, St. James, St. Basil, Egypt (St.

Cyril and St. Basil), as well as in several West Syrian Anaphoras. The old Gallican books omitted the actual account of the Institution, or expressed only the first words of it, since the celebrant, knowing it by heart, had no need of the written text (*cf.* Nestorians).

In the ' Unde et memores ' the rubric orders the priest to stretch out his arms ' in modum crucis,' a primitive attitude, suggestive of the Catacombs and still retained by several of the Monastic Orders. The only ritual difference in this clause is the word ' gloriosissimae ' instead of ' gloriosae ascensionis,' and in the following section (' Supra quae ') ' tuo ' is inserted after ' vultu ' ; while the Canon reads ' justi pueri tui Abel,' not ' pueri tui justi Abel.' ' Supplices te ' has ' tremendae,' not ' divinae majestatis,' and ' Nobis quoque ' continues ' minimis, et peccatoribus famulis tuis de multitudine misericordiae tuae sperantibus.' Among the saints there is a second Johannes, Andreas is substituted for Mathias, Ignatius and Alexander are omitted, and Euphemia, Justina, Sabina, Thecla, Pelagia and Catharina have been added, with, at the same time, a slightly different order from the Roman list.

The Ambrosian doxology terminating the Canon is also distinctive : ' sancti + ficas, vivi + ficas, bene + dicis, et nobis famulis tuis largiter praestas, ad augmentum fidei, et remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum. [The priest uncovers the chalice and genuflects.] Et est tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti, [he makes the sign of the cross thrice over the chalice with the Host, from lip to lip, saying :] ex + ipso, et per + ipsum, et in + ipso omnis honor, virtus, laus, et gloria, [he holds the Host in his left hand over the chalice, and taking the paten in his right between the fore and middle fingers, he signs thrice over the Host and chalice together, saying :] imper + ium, perpe + tuitas, et po + testas in unitate Spiritus sancti. [Setting down the paten upon the foot of the chalice towards himself, he raises the Host slightly, saying with note :] Per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.' At high Mass the paten has not been held by the subdeacon, but it is given to the celebrant by the deacon when it is required. The fraction and commixture follow immediately, as in the old Roman liturgy before the reforms of St. Gregory. Breaking

the Host over the chalice, the priest says ' Corpus tuum frangitur, Christe, Calix benedicitur ' ; and in breaking the small fragment to put into the chalice : ' Sanguis tuus sit nobis semper ad vitam et ad salvandas animas, Deus noster.' The form used for the actual commixture is ' Commixtio + consecrati Corporis, et Sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, nobis edentibus, et sumentibus proficiat ad vitam, et gaudium sempiternum ' ; after which the celebrant is directed to say the ' Confractorium,' a variable anthem sung by the choir at the fraction. In the ancient Gallican use the name of this chant was not specified, and at Rome the Agnus Dei, which except in requiems is unknown to the Church of Milan, was the original anthem sung at the fraction.

The ' Sancta Sanctis,' which must have had a place in the old Ambrosian rite, has long since disappeared from the liturgy. On Maundy Thursday and Holy Saturday the missal provides for the insertion into the Canon of prayers representing the old Gallican Anaphoras, in printing separately for each of these days ' Canon Hujus Missae.'

Up to the ' Communicantes ' clause the Canon on Maundy Thursday is similar to that of other days, but although the list of saints no longer differs, a separate section, ' infra Canonem,' is inserted : ' Communicantes, et diem sacratissimum celebrantes, quo traditus est Dominus Jesus Christus. Tu nos, Domine, participes Filii tui, tu consortes regni tui, tu incolas paradisi, tu Angelorum comites esse jussisti : si tamen illaesa, et intemerata fide coelestis militiae sacramenta servamus. Haud quid desperare de tua misericordia possumus, qui tantum munus accepimus, ut talem tibi hostiam offerre mereremur, Corpus scilicet, et Sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Qui se pro mundi redemptione piae illi, ac venerandae tradidit Passioni : qui formam sacrificii salutis perennis instituens, hostiam se primus obtulit, et primus docuit offerri. Sed et memoriam venerantes,' etc. The ' Infra Actionem ' reads : ' Hanc igitur oblationem, quam tibi offerimus ob diem jejunii Coenae dominicae, in qua Dominus noster Jesus Christus Filius tuus in novo testamento sacrificandi ritum instituit, dum panem, ac vinum, quod Melchisedech in praefiguratione futuri mysterii sacerdos obtulerat, in sacramentum

sui Corporis, et Sanguinis transformavit celebranda : quaesumus, Domine, placatus intende : ut per multa curricula annorum salvi, et incolumes munera nostra tibi Domino mereamur offerre : diesque nostros in tua pace disponas,' etc.

In the ' Qui pridie ' definite reference is made to the actual day of the Institution by the words ' hoc est, hodierna die, discumbens in medio discipulorum suorum.' After the ' Nobis quoque ' is a survival of the old Gallican Anaphora in a ' Post Pridie ' prayer, which once followed ' Mandans quoque,' leaving out the five clauses which normally preceded ' Per quem haec omnia,' thus preserving the sequence of ideas. In the original liturgies of Gaul and Spain the ' Post Pridie ' varied in every Mass, often containing examples of epiclesis. That preserved in the Ambrosian missal on Maundy Thursday is a Logos epiclesis, a form of prayer occurring in the Sacramentary of Serapion (fourth century) just after the Consecration, and indicative of very great antiquity. This Milanese prayer now runs : ' Haec facimus, haec celebramus, tua, Domine, praecepta servantes : et ad communionem inviolabilem hoc ipsum, quod Corpus Domini sumimus, mortem dominicam nunciamus. Tuum vero est, omnipotens Pater, mittere nunc nobis unigenitum Filium tuum, quem non quaerentibus sponte missisti : qui cum sis ipse immensus, et inaestimabilis, Deum quoque ex te immensum, et inaestimabilem genuisti : ut cujus passionem redemptionem humani generis tribuisti, ejus nunc Corpus tribuas ad salutem. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem haec omnia,' etc.

On Holy Saturday only one variation, albeit of great importance, occurs in the Canon, a ' Post Sanctus ' prayer, similar to that found in the Mozarabic rite, without agreeing exactly with any other known example.

In the Bergamo missal (tenth or eleventh century) this ' Vere sanctus ' clause followed the Sanctus immediately, according to Gallican custom, but in the printed missals, even before the Borromean revision (sixteenth century), it came, as now, after ' haec + sancta sacrificia illibata,' and was in its turn followed, not by ' Qui pridie,' but by the intervening clauses of the Canon. This Gallican relic at

present reads : ' Vere sanctus, vere benedictus Dominus noster Jesus Christus Filius tuus : qui cum Deus esset majestatis, descendit de coelo, formam servi, qui primus perierat, suscepit, et sponte pati dignatus est, ut eum, quem ipse fecerat, de morte liberaret. Unde et hoc paschale sacrificium tibi offerimus pro his, quos ex aqua, et Spiritu sancto regenerare dignatus es, dans eis remissionem omnium peccatorum, ut invenires eos in Christo Jesu Domino nostro. Pro quibus tibi, Domine, supplices fundimus preces, ut nomina eorum, pariterque famuli tui Papae nostri *N.*, et Pontificis nostri *N.* scripta habeas in libro viventium. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.' The Commemoration for the living then follows as in the ordinary Canon of the Mass. Formerly the names of the Emperor and the King our Duke were included in this clause after the Archbishop of Milan.

After the ' Confractorium ' the celebrant says ' Oremus ' (in a low voice), ' Praeceptis salutaribus moniti ' and the ' Pater noster,' but on Maundy Thursday and Easter Day the missal provides a special introduction. On the former occasion it runs : ' Ipsius praeceptum est, Domine, quod agimus, cujus nunc te praesentia postulamus. Da sacrificio auctorem suum, ut impleatur fides rei in sublimitate mysterii : ut sicut veritatem coelestis sacrificii exsequimur, sic veritatem dominici Corporis, et Sanguinis hauriamus. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum, dicentes ' ; while that for Easter is : ' Divino magisterio edocti, et salutaribus monitis instituti, audemus dicere.' Although in Gaul, as in the East, the whole of the Lord's Prayer was said by the people, the Ambrosian custom is now similar to the Roman, that of repeating the last petition only. After the ' Pater noster ' the priest signs himself and continues the embolism in the same voice as the preceding prayer : ' Libera nos, quaesumus Domine, ab omnibus malis, praeteritis, praesentibus, et futuris : et intercedente pro nobis beata Maria, genetrice Dei, ac Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et sanctis Apostolis tuis Petro, et Paulo, atque Andrea, et beato Ambrosio Confessore tuo, atque Pontifice, una cum omnibus Sanctis tuis, da propitius pacem in diebus nostris : ut ope misericordiae tuae adjuti, et a peccato simus semper liberi, et ab omni perturbatione securi. Praesta

per eum, cum quo beatus vivis, et regnas Deus in unitate Spiritus sancti per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.' Throughout the Middle Ages the celebrant was allowed to add the names of other saints to those already in the embolism.

Then, again signing himself, a Romanized remnant of the old Gallican blessing before Communion appears in the words 'Pax, et communicatio Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit semper vobiscum,' with the response 'Et cum spiritu tuo'—a more likely explanation than the suggestion that these words originally applied to the commixture. This is followed, except in requiems, by 'Offerte vobis pacem' and 'Deo gratias,' but the 'pax,' since the time of St. Charles, has been given after the prayer 'Domine Jesu Christi, qui dixisti apostolis tuis,' which only differs from the Roman form in 'pacificare custodire et regere digneris propitius.'

The words at the giving of the 'pax' are now 'Pax tecum' and 'Et cum spiritu tuo,' but before the Borromean revision the priest was ordered to say secretly, 'Peace in heaven, Peace on earth, Peace on all people, Peace to the priests of the churches, the Peace of Christ and of the Church remain with us alway,' and then, turning to the deacon, 'Have the bond of peace and charity, and be ye fit for the most holy mysteries.' The present arrangement of the Mass, from the 'pax' onwards, first appeared in print in 1594.

The Agnus Dei, only said at requiems, is the same as in Rome, with the exception of the last clause: 'Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona eis requiem sempiternam, et locum indulgentiae cum Sanctis tuis in gloria.'

The second prayer before Holy Communion is not found in the Roman liturgy: 'Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, da mihi hoc Corpus Jesu Christi Filii tui Domini mei ita sumere, ut non sit mihi ad judicium, sed ad remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum. Qui tecum vivit et regnat,' etc.; but the third, 'Domine Jesu Christi, fili Dei vivi,' is the second in the Roman, with 'obedire' for 'inhaerere mandatis.' At the Communion Milan has 'Domine non sum dignus'; 'Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus, quae retribuit mihi? Panem coelestem, accipiam, et nomen Domini invocabo'; 'Corpus Domini nostri,' etc.; 'Quid retribuam Domino,'

etc. ; and, receiving the chalice, ' Praesta, quaeso, Domine, ut perceptio Corporis, et Sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi ad vitam nos perducat aeternam.'

In the form for administering Holy Communion the minister says ' In nomine Patris,' etc. before the ' Confiteor,' at the conclusion of which the priest replies ' Deo gratias ' ; while the ' Domine non sum dignus ' is said by the minister and those about to communicate. As in the old Rite of Paris, and other liturgies, the communicant answers ' Amen ' to the words of administration.

In some churches, both in Milan and Ticino, an ablution of water is provided for the mouths of the communicants, either at the altar rails or on returning to their places. This ablution is still found in the Roman Mass of Ordination, where it is received at the side of the choir. Before the first ablution a prayer almost the same as the Roman is said, with ' ut de Corpore, et Sanguine Domini nostri Jesu Christi ' substituted for ' et de munere temporali.' At the second is : ' Confirma hoc, Deus, quod operatus es in nobis : et dona Ecclesiae tuae perpetuam tranquillitatem, et pacem.' At high Mass the deacon pours the wine and arranges the vessels ; while the subdeacon gives the water and removes the chalice from the altar.

The Ambrosian rite has a ' Communio ' called the ' Transitorium,' which is often, though not exclusively, a text taken from the Gospel for the day, answering to the Antiochene and Byzantine *Κοινωνικόν*—that sung on Quinquagesima apparently comes from the Greek : ' Venite, convertimini ad me, dicit Dominus. Venite flentes, fundamus lacrymas ad Deum : quia nos negleximus, et propter nos terra patitur : nos iniquitatem fecimus, et propter nos fundamenta commota sunt. Festinemus anteire ante iram Dei, flentes, et dicentes : Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.'

The ' Oratio post Communionem ' is followed by ' Dominus vobiscum ' and a threefold ' Kyrie Eleison,' which again recalls the diaconal litany of the Byzantine rites. After ' Benedicat, et exaudiat nos Deus. Amen,' the deacon (priest) chants ' Procedamus cum pace,' eliciting the reply ' In nomine Christi.' ' Benedicamus Domino ' with its response precedes the ' Placeat ' (Roman)—addressed to ' Deus ' instead of

'sancta Trinitas'—and the Blessing. The phrase 'Procedamus cum pace,' in place of 'Ite, missa est,' again shows a strong Oriental influence. In Masses for the dead, after the customary salutation (without 'Kyrie Eleison'), the priest makes the sign of the cross, saying: ℣. 'Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine.' ℟. 'Et lux perpetua luceat eis.' ℣. 'Animae istorum, et omnium fidelium defunctorum per Dei misericordiam requiescant in pace.' ℟. 'Amen.' The 'Placeat' is said at a requiem, but not the Blessing. Before giving the Blessing the priest kisses the cross which he has traced on the altar and, if the Blessed Sacrament is reserved, makes a genuflection.

The Last Gospel is first found in 1560, and the Council of Milan, held in 1576, ordered it to be said at the end of every Mass. At one time the celebrant had very probably intoned the antiphon ('Trium puerorum') of the 'Gratiarum actio post Missam' immediately after the Blessing, continuing his thanksgiving on his way to the sacristy (*e.g.* Tournai (1498); Cambrai (1503)), for even now the missal directs that the 'Benedicite' shall be recited on the way from the altar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(1) 'Missale Ambrosianum.' Mediolani Typographia Pontif. Archiep. S. Joseph. MCMXXIV.

(2) 'Il Nuovo Parrochiano Ambrosiano.' Milano: Giovanni Daverio. 1919.

(3) 'The Ambrosian Liturgy: the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass according to the Rite of the Church of Milan.' Done into English, with an introduction by E. G. Cuthbert F. Atchley. London: Cope and Fenwick. 1909.

(4) 'The Mozarabic and Ambrosian Rites: Four Essays in Comparative Liturgiology.' W. C. Bishop, M.A. Edited from his papers by C. L. Feltoe, D.D. Alcuin Club Tracts, XV. London and Oxford: A. R. Mowbray & Co. 1924.

(5) 'Esposizione delle Cerimonie della Messa Privata giusta il Rito Ambrosiano con appendice.' Milano: Tipografia Arcivescovile, Giacomo Agnelli. 1873.

(6) 'Esposizione delle Cerimonie della Messa Solenne e Cantata' (*supra*). 1855.

(7) 'Seconda Appendice alla Prima Parte del Cerimoniale Ambrosiano' (*supra*). Fascicolo Primo, 1856; Fascicolo Secondo, 1857.

CHAPTER VII
MOZARABIC RITE

CHAPTER VII

MOZARABIC RITE

THE national rite of Spain, as ' El Rito Mozárabe ' is still proudly called, although owing its preservation to the ' Quo primum ' Bull of 1570, was nevertheless saved from total extinction through the energies of the renowned Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros (1495–1517), whose scarlet hat most fittingly hangs from the cupola of the chapel where the Mozarabic liturgy is still performed. The celebration of the rite, however, has fallen upon evil days, and Spain has adopted the Roman Mass (although many mediaeval ceremonial features still persist in cathedral services), with the exception of one chapel in the cathedral of Toledo and one, San Salvator of Talavera, in the old cathedral of Salamanca, but in the latter the original Mass is now said only a few times in the year.

At the present day ' Mozarabic ' is the normal designation of this Spanish liturgy, although various titles have from time to time been given to it, *e.g.* ' Gothic ' or ' Visigothic,' since its development coincided with the kingdom of that name ; ' Toledan ' from the fact that the primatial see was its head-quarters and that here alone real opposition to the substitution of the Roman rite was encountered ; and ' Isidorian ' because the rite, although not the work of any one man, but rather a gradual evolution, was nevertheless alleged to be deeply indebted to a careful revision at the hands of the ' Mozarabic father.'

The term ' Mozarabic ' originated after the abolition of the rite in Christian Spain, in order to designate that which was still used in the Caliphate of Cordoba, where the Arab-speaking Catholic population was styled ' Mozarabes ' or ' Muzarabes ' (' Mostarabes '). Its exact derivation has been the subject of much speculation, but two theories have been propounded

—first, that the word is a corruption of ' mixti-arabes,' as opposed to the pure Moslem Arabs, concerning which Archbishop D. Rodrigo says : ' Isti sunt misti arabes eo quod mixti arabibus convivebant, quoniam hodie apud vos novum perseverat genus ' ; and secondly, that the explanation is to be found in the Arabic word ' musta'rab,' the passive participle of the tenth form of ' araba,' a word signifying ' one who is considered an Arab.' In any case, however, the liturgy itself is in no sense of the word Arab, nor, so far as we can judge, has it been influenced by its continuous use in Moslem dominions, although the Christian population is said to have ' submitted to the practice of Circumcision and the legal abstinence from wine and pork ' in the middle of the tenth century. The enlightened toleration and freedom accorded by the followers of Islam in Spain to their Christian subjects have been a sad object-lesson to the children of the false Prophet in later generations. Holy Scripture points out that it was at any rate the intention of St. Paul to visit Spain (' when I shall begin to take my journey into Spain,' Rom. xv. 24), and St. Clement seems to show that he carried out his resolve when he declares that the great Apostle of the Gentiles travelled to ' the extreme bounds of the West.' Beyond these references we have no data, and Innocent I (402–417) ascribed all the Western Churches to St. Peter and his successors (through St. Torquatus and his Companions—' Missa in diem septem Episcoporum qui in Hispaniam ab Apostolis missi sunt Torquati et Sociorum ejus,' May 15), without any reference to St. Paul or St. James and in language reminiscent of a Hildebrand : ' Aut legant si in his provinciis alius apostolorum invenitur aut legitur docuisse. Quod si non legunt, quia nusquam inveniunt, oportet eos hoc sequi quod ecclesia Romana custodit, a qua eos principium accepisse non dubium est.' The legend that St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews during his sojourn in Spain seems to have nothing to commend it, nor do we find that the Pauline conception of the Mosaic sacrifices, expressed in some of the ' Post Pridie ' prayers, is a very convincing argument for the Spanish apostolate of the Doctor of the Gentiles.

By the fourth century Christianity had become the dominant

religion in most of the populous centres of the country, and a metropolitical system had been introduced. Councils were held at Saragossa (380, 395 or 396) and Toledo (400) to condemn Priscillianism, and it was Hosius of Cordoba, the confidant of Constantine, who signed first at the Council of Nicea (325) as legate of the Pope, followed by two Roman presbyters, with the words 'We have subscribed for our Bishop, who is the Bishop of Rome. So he believes as above is written.' A hundred years later, however, conquering hordes of Arian Visigoths invaded Spain, bringing with them their heresy, so that for a further century Catholicism and heterodoxy warred together for the mastery. In the year 589 King Reccared abjured his errors, together with his followers, so that the land, having obtained doctrinal unity, was able to consolidate its liturgical position in a series of National Councils, whose enactments were the more valuable inasmuch as a succession of wise and good men filled the chief Spanish sees. It seems fairly certain that the Mozarabic and Gallican liturgies had a common origin, although discussion centres round the point as to which influenced the other. If Spain derived her rite from Milan via Gaul, then what liturgy was in use prior to this adoption; and if, on the other hand, the Goths brought a Byzantinized rite from Constantinople and Asia Minor, engrafting this on to the Romano-Spanish liturgy already existing, how came the various similarities between Toledo and Milan? Mgr. Duchesne uses the Mozarabic rite to complete his description of the Gallican Mass. The Byzantine fondness for Old Testament commemorations may perhaps be discerned in the Cordoba Calendar (961), which under September 1 speaks of 'Et estimant quod in eo est assumptio Josue filii Nini (leg. Nun) prophete'; while the 'Liber Ordinum' of 1052 refers to 'Sancti Elissei prophete' on August 29. Old Mozarabic Calendars have the term 'Adsuntio' applied to St. John (December 29), 'Sancti Johannis Evangeliste *Adsuntio* ejus,' and in the 'Missa' of the present Mass (December 27) this is retained, 'Offeramus . . . hostiam ob ipsius sancti apostoli *sacratae assumptionis* memoriam.'

Until after the Arian conversion there is no definite information as to a fixed rite, and that known after the Moorish

invasion by the name of ' Mozarabic ' seems to have been very largely the product of the Councils of the newly converted Visigothic kingdom. Before Toledo had become a Catholic stronghold Profuturus, Bishop of Braga and Metropolitan of the Suevic kingdom, appealed to Rome in 538 for liturgical guidance. Pope Vigilius (538–555) in response sent as a specimen the Roman Mass for Easter Day, which the appellant and his colleagues adopted, completing the service for other days from their own Spanish books, thus producing a ' mixed rite ' in a ' missale mixtum,' a name used for the missal of the national liturgy at the present day, although rather connoting the gathering together of prayers into one book. In 561 the Council of Braga, held after the conversion of the Suevi from Arianism (*c.* 550), decreed that this Hispano-Roman form was to be universally (throughout Galicia) adopted (' a sede beatissimi apostoli Petri suscepit '), a state of affairs which probably lasted until the annexation of the Suevic kingdom of Galicia by the Visigothic Leovigild (*vide* Rite of Braga). Then, coming under the influence of Toledo, the rite emanating from Councils held in that city abolished all rivals, although presumably the non-Roman portions of the mixed liturgy of Profuturus must have formed the germ from which the later rite sprang. In 589, the year of King Reccared's conversion, a Council of Toledo was held under the presidency of St. Leander of Seville—March 13—whom Pope St. Gregory the Great (590–604) is said to have made legate for all Spain, when, possibly, early attempts at liturgical stabilization were made. Of this prelate St. Isidore in his ' De viris illustribus ' says : ' In ecclesiasticis officiis idem Leander non parvo laboravit studio. In toto enim psalterio duplici orationes conscripsit : in sacrificio quoque laudibus atque psalmis multa dulci sono composuit.' As in the case of North Italy, Spain was fortunate enough to possess a powerful see, held by men of more than average sanctity as well as ability, while Toledo, like Milan, centred round one dominant figure—albeit of Seville—whose prominence caused the whole rite to be named after him, many generations acclaiming St. Isidore (' beatus et lumen noster Isidorus ')—April 4, December 22—as the real author of the liturgy, despite the in-

sufficient evidence. Toledo, the 'royal dowager of Spain,' has become the sacred city of the West after Rome, while its name has been construed in Hebrew from the word *Toledoth*, 'generations' or 'the history of man,' although other fanciful writers find a derivation in the Hebrew *Thal*, 'a rocky height,' or in the Arabic *Atalaya*, 'a watch-tower.' With St. Leocadia, a virgin victim of the Diocletian persecution ('Confessor,' a title which once implied martyrdom, although Leocadia died in prison; *cf.* fourth and fifth Councils of Toledo), as the patroness of the city (December 9), no fewer than three churches were raised in her honour, that outside the walls sheltering the Fathers of the fourth (633), fifth (636), sixth (638) and seventeenth (694) Councils. Still standing, although greatly restored, this primitive basilica (erected in 618 under King Sisebuth and St. Helladius) is now known as El Christo de la Vega, from the miraculous crucifix over the high altar. The Council (638) spoke, also, of it as 'Praetorian,' from a detachment of the royal guard or a neighbouring palace or villa, but this title more rightly belonged to St. Peter and St. Paul, the official church of the King and the army, and the scene of six National Councils—eighth (653), twelfth (681), thirteenth (683), fifteenth (688), sixteenth (694) and eighteenth (between 702–712)—as well as of the Provincial Council of 684. For this basilica King Wamba appointed a bishop, whom Canon 4 of the twelfth Council deposed from his 'see,' and now the very site of the building is unknown, save that it was spoken of as 'in suburbio Toletano.' Burials within churches had been specifically prohibited by the first Council of Braga (Can. 18, A.D. 561)—'Placuit ut corpora defunctorum nullo modo intra basilicam sanctorum sepeliantur'—but even the convener of this Synod (St. Martin) rested in his monastery at Dumio, and both Eugenius II (*ob.* 657)—'In basilica sanctae Leocadiae tenet habitatione sepulcrum' (Ildeph., 'De viris illustr.,' cap. xiv.)—and St. Ildephonsus (*ob.* 667)—'In ecclesia beatae Leocadiae tumulatur, ad pedes sui conditus decessoris'—were laid to rest in St. Leocadia. According to untrustworthy tradition, St. Eugenius was the first Bishop of Toledo, but the importance of the see was created when the town became the official residence of the Visigothic monarchy (*c.* 466 or 467), so that after the King's

abjuration of Arianism the prestige of the archbishop as metropolitan of the realm virtually gave Toledo the primacy of Spain, a dignity officially conferred in a Bull issued in 1088 by Pope Urban II (1087–1099), and retained at the present day, despite the one-time claims of the Archbishops of Braga to assert their supremacy. The great St. Isidore (*c.* 565–636) succeeded his brother St. Leander (*ob.* 599) in the archbishopric of Seville. The fourth Council of Toledo (633, under St. Isidore, six metropolitans and sixty-two bishops) ratified and confirmed the national liturgy as it had been developed up to that time, but the Mass for St. Martin shows traces of prayers prior to the year 450, and the 'Alia,' 'Ploramus et gemimus,' dates from the barbarian invasions of the early fifth century. This latter prayer, found in 'XXI Missa Omnium Tribulantium vel Pressuram Sustinentium sive Mare Transmeantium,' despite its extreme length, deserves recapitulation from its great antiquity: 'ploramus et gemimus suspiramus et nostra delicta nutibus tuis, misericordissime, pandimus. Medellam sceleribus nostris exposcimus, et ut infidelibus verissimam dones fidem expetimus: ut aut convertantur et vivant, aut confundantur et amplius de ruina nostra non gaudeant. Jamjam, Domine, respice supplices tuos vultu placabili et misericordia singulari. Emenda nos, Domine, in misericordia et non in ira: nequando dicant gentes: Ubi est Deus eorum? et titubare amplius corda faciant infirmorum. Satis est, Domine, quod sibi hanc fortitudinem gloriantes adscribunt, et de se presumentes sancta secreta despiciunt; in suo sperant arcu, et de tuo nil trepidant brachio. Cesset jam, Domine, ista usque nunc vana exultatio, ut congregatio tua fidelium, que usque nunc male duro suppressa est jugo, gaudeat se funditus a periculo liberatam, dum te Deum sine cujusquam metu conlaudaverit jucunditer letabunda; ut secura mens tibi serviat libertate, que in nullo modo hereticorum jam dominari senserit pravitatem. Amen.' The 'Inlatio,' also, from the 'Missa Quotidiana IV[a]' seems to speak of a time of bitter persecution: 'Per te enim unum verumque Deum constantiam fides accipit. Per te virtutem sumit infirmitas: et quidquid est in persecutionibus sevum, quidquid in morte terribile, nominis tui facis confessione superari.' Promulgated

in 633, the Toledan Council, held by King Wamba in 675, ordered (Can. 3) the bishops of the Province to conform to the order and ritual in use in the metropolitical church, with the further proviso that all monastic establishments should have the same rite. Until the Moorish invasion (710) the liturgy was being improved and consolidated, in spite of an ever-increasing degeneracy noticeable in the government of the country. To St. Isidore, the ' father of the Mozarabic rite,' belongs the honour of being one of the very first mediaeval commentators on the liturgy (*cf.* St. Ambrose, ' de Mysteriis '), and his two books (' De ecclesiasticis officiis '), written in 610, provide a regular text-book of liturgiology, treating of services, chants, buildings, instruments and persons, although chiefly important for the light that they throw upon ancient Spanish usages, of which some concern the diocese of Seville alone. One theory suggests that the framework and ceremonial of the rite were Italian in origin, and even possibly Roman, but that the lessons, prayers and hymns were the composition of Spanish bishops and doctors, helped by borrowings from Africa and Gaul—' Old Spanish rhetoric, Latinized under the Empire, to which we listen in the Mozarabic ritual.'

St. Eugenius II (646–657), poet, theologian and musician (February 12, November 15), was the Spanish Gregory in matters relating to the ecclesiastical chant, for to him has been attributed the authorship of the ' Canto Melodico ' or ' Eugeniano.' Even in the Roman services in Toledo Cathedral this is still alternated with the Gregorian plainsong in the Graduals, except on ferials, while some of the hymns continue to be sung to Eugenian melodies. Of him St. Ildephonsus wrote (' De vir. illustr.') : ' Studiorum bonorum vim persequens, cantus pessimis usibus vitiatos melodiae cognitione correxit : officiorum omissos ordines curamque discrevit.' Replying to a petition from Protasius, Bishop of Tarragona, Eugenius, declining to compose a votive Mass, but sending a Mass of St. Hippolytus and some prayers (' missam s . . . i H . . vel orationes '), speaks of the splendour of the Spanish votive Masses in the seventh century : ' Missam vero votivam ideo non scripsi, quia in hac patria tam accurati sermonis habentur atque sententiae, ut simile non possim exudere, et superfluum

judico inde me aliquid dicere, unde meliores recolo jam dixisse.' The old 'Liber Ordinum' had fifty-six of these votive Masses (twelve of which the priest was directed to say on his own behalf), but the printed missal has retained only sixteen. St. Ildephonsus (657–667)—January 23—is chiefly noted in Catholic tradition for his tender love towards the Blessed Virgin (writing 'De Virginitate perpetua Sanctae Mariae contra tres infideles' (Narbonne) in 659), and his consequent detestation of the Jovinian heresy, of which he was the conqueror, but in addition to his defence of the faith he was also the composer of several Masses. A much-revered spot in the nave of Toledo Cathedral—'Capilla de la Descensión de Nuestra Señora'—marks not only the site of the high altar of the oldest church, but also the place where, on December 18, 666, according to legend, Our Lady descended to earth and presented St. Ildephonsus with a chasuble. Five or six Masses are alleged to have been composed in honour of the heavenly visitant, but, although this seems an exaggeration, there is a possibility that the Annunciation liturgy was the work of this Toledan prelate. A later occupant of the primatial see, St. Julian (680–690)—March 8—according to his biographer and successor, Felix (*ob.* 700), wrote a Mass book in four parts 'de toto circulo anni,' together with a book of Collects (a revision with his own additions): 'Ecclesiasticos bene habitos ordines in sui regiminis sede sollicitiori cura servavit, vitiatos utiliter subcorrexit: minus habitos prudenti dispositione instituit, et de officiis quam plurima dulcifluo sono composuit. . . . Item librum carminum diversorum, in qua sunt hymni. . . . Item librum missarum de toto circulo anni, in quattuor partes divisum: in quibus aliquas vetustatis incuria vitiatas ac semiplenas emendavit atque complevit, alias vero ex toto composuit. Item librum orationum de festivitatibus, quas Toletana Ecclesia per totum circulum anni est solita celebrare, partim stylo sui ingenii, partim inolita antiquitate vitiatum, studiose correctum in unum congessit, atque Ecclesiae Dei usibus ob amorem reliquit sanctae religionis' ('Vita sancti Juliani'). Lesley even asserts that to Julian, rather than to Isidore, belongs the credit for compiling the Spanish liturgy in its final form ('De lit. Goth.,' xvi.).

In 710 the Moorish invasion of Spain began, and for 373 years Toledo was a Moslem city, having been betrayed to Tarik by the local Jews, in revenge for their former treatment at the hands of Sisebuth, when the choice lay between Baptism or exile, despite the repudiation of this policy by the Fathers of the fourth Council (633), when St. Isidore stigmatized it as 'non secundum scientiam.' With the recent Turkish and Kurd atrocities, perpetrated on defenceless Armenians and Chaldeans in Asia Minor, fresh in the minds of all, Mohammedan rule in Spain at first sight conjures up a like picture, although a very different story is borne out by the historical facts. With the exception of the poll tax, Christians living under the Moors had no heavier exactions than their Islamic neighbours; while liberty of worship was accorded to them (seven churches in Cordoba), so that many were found so satisfied with the new regime that they openly declared life to be more tolerable than under the Franks or Goths. The priests themselves, who had naturally suffered most by the change of rulers, were at first but little perturbed by the turn of events, as an old chronicle written at Cordoba ('Bride of Andalusia'), the centre of the new government, in 754 and ascribed to Isidore of Beja shows. Not a single religious revolt marred the eighth century, although in 851 a number of more or less hysterical zealots at Cordoba so hankered for martyrdom that they openly insulted and ridiculed the religion of the Prophet, with the result that numbers of Christians were put to death, in accordance with the teaching of the Koran, and many churches were destroyed. The leader of these uncontrollable devotees, Eulogius, who was named Metropolitan of Toledo although refused permission by the Caliph, eventually suffered death on March 11, 859, thus ending the era of the 'martyrs' or 'suicides.' Even the secular learning of Cordoba was an offence to the unbalanced zeal of this fanatical priest, who exclaimed: 'Let the foaming and bespittled grammarians belch, while we remain evangelical servants of Christ.' The next century, however, brought back a happier era, when Recemundus (Rabi ben Zaid) was Bishop of Elvira—politician, astronomer, linguist, philosopher—a *persona grata* with the Caliph Abderrahman III, to whom he dedicated his Calendar (A.D. 961). The six ancient parishes

of Toledo—the stalwart champions in later centuries for the Mozarabic rite—were all allowed to continue their religious worship under Islam. According to a very old reckoning their foundations have been dated as follows: SS. Justa y Rufina, 554; St. Eulalia, 559; St. Sebastian, 601; St. Mark, 634; St. Luke, 641; and St. Torcuato, 701.

In spite, however, of this religious peace Mohammedan rule was not conducive to liturgical improvements or alterations, so that with a single exception—some prayers, hymns and Masses ('Hymnos, versus ac missas composuit, in quibus ejus pietas ac devotio relucebat: sed haec omnia exciderunt'), attributed to Abbot Salvus (*ob.* 962)—the Mozarabic rite remained stationary from the end of the seventh century. When Charles the Bald in 870 wished to see the old Gallican rite, which in his own dominions had already been superseded by the Roman, he sent for priests from Spain. Of Salvus, the Abbot of St. Martin at Albelda (near Clavigo, two leagues from Logrono), an anonymous contemporary said: 'Cujus oratio nempe in hymnis, orationibus, versibus et missis quas illustri ipse sermone composuit, plurimam cordis compunctionem et magnam suaviloquentiam legentibus tribuit.' The last Office and Mass to be inserted in the Mozarabic rite, before its virtual suppression in the eleventh century, seems to have been that of St. Pelagia, a child martyr of Cordoba, put to death in 925 by the Caliph Abderrahman III, and dating from only a few years afterwards.

At the end of the eighth century the orthodoxy of the old national liturgy was called into question by the heresy of Elipandus, Metropolitan of Toledo (738–808), who quoted from it in support of Adoptionism. In his letter to Alcuin (793) an attempt was made to compromise the liturgy on eight counts, when quotations were made which supposedly implied heresy: (1) The 'Inlatio' of 'Coena Domini,' although the text of his letter differs from that found in the Sacramentary, which reads: 'Qui per adoptionem nativitatis sue, dum suo non indulgit corpori, nostro demum non pepercit'; (2) 'Item in missa de tertia (lege quarta) feria Pasche—(*cf.* Sacramentary 'Ad Orat. Domin.' in 'Missa de quarta feria Pasche'; (3) 'Missa de quinta feria Pasche'; (4) the 'Inlatio' of

the same Mass ; (5) ' In Missa Ascensionis Domini ' ; (6) ' Sancti Sperati ' (not in missal, but in breviary) ; (7) ' Post Pridie ' in ' Missa Generalis Defunctorum ' ; and (8) in the Holy Saturday liturgy for the ' Benedictio lucerne '—' Induit carnem, sed non exuit majestatem : nostram substantiam expetens, sed propriam non reliquens.' The Council of Frankfort (794) therefore, ignorant of the real facts of the case, accused the Mozarabic rite of having become tainted with Islam, while Alcuin maintained that the words ' adoptio ' and ' adoptivus ' must originally have been ' assumptio ' and ' assumptus,' although the former are patient of an orthodox interpretation and have been in consequence retained in the liturgy. Indeed, an energetic protest against Adoptionism is found in the ' Post Nomina ' of the ' Missa de die sabbato ante Pentecosten ' : ' Quem tibi (Patri) non adoptio, sed generatio consubstantialem, neque gratia similem, sed natura signat equalem ' ; and the true doctrine of the Visigothic Church as to our adoption by the Incarnation of the Son of God can be clearly gauged from the ' Ad Orationem Dominicam ' for the fourth Sunday in Advent : ' Summe et omnipotens Deus, Peter ingenite, qui Unigeniti tui in adsumptione carnis adventum reconciliationis nostrae voluisti esse remedium : ut per eum gratiam reciperemus adoptionis, qui a te ante omnia secula sine initio ineffabiliter genitus, in natura Deitatis tibi exstat equalis, et efficeremur tui per adoptionem filii qui servi esse ex nostro merito eramus indigni : dignos quesumus nos effice tante dignatatis solemnitate, ut possimus ad te non immerito proclamare et dicere : Pater Noster.' The ' Inlatio ' for Our Lady's December feast (December 18) also expresses the purest Pauline doctrine : ' per Jhesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum : ex te Deo Patre sine initio natum, tibique indifferenter atque indemutabiliter coeternum, ac per omnia coequalem, non adoptione, sed genere ; nec gratia, sed natura,' and in the ' Ad Orationem Dominicam ' for St. Peter's Chair (February 22) we have : ' tuum Deitatis natura et nostrum adoptionis gratia Patrem audiamus invocare et dicere : Pater.'

Rome, mindful of her duty not only of feeding but also of preserving in purity the flock of the Lord, sent in 924 a

papal legate (Zanelo or Janello) to Santiago to examine the rite on the spot. The result, however, was wholly favourable, and Pope John X (914–928) gave it a further approbation, changing only, as Sr. Moraleda y Esteban says (' El Rito Mozárabe '), the words of Consecration to the Roman form. In modern missals this is always used in actual practice, but the old Spanish formula is still inserted ' ne antiquitas ignoretur.'

Most of the Mozarabic manuscripts that have been preserved appear to have been written between the year 924 and the second half of the eleventh century, when the rite was universal throughout Spain.

During the time of the reconquest (eleventh century) very determined efforts were made to suppress the Mozarabic rite in favour of that of Rome, and both Nicholas II (1058–1061) and Alexander II (1061–1073) attempted to change the liturgy, the former in 1060 and the latter in 1064. Not very much success, however, attended their efforts, as both rulers and people fought strenuously to retain the old service books, in spite of the protestations of Cardinal Hugo Candidus, who had been sent by Alexander to effect the transition. As a result of aspersions made against the Mozarabic books, to the effect that they were either of Gothic, *i.e.* Arian, origin or that they were tainted by Islam, Bishops Munio of Calahorra, Eximino of Oca (see transferred to Burgos), and Fortunio of Alava went in person to the Apostolic See, armed with their books—' Liber Missarum,' ' Liber Antiphonarum,' ' Liber Orationum,' ' Liber Ordinum ' from Albelda and breviary from Hirache (Navarre). All these, which were manuscripts of the earlier type, only containing the parts of the various services said by one person or class of persons, were carefully examined by the Council of Mantua (1067) and decreed to be free from heresy and worthy of praise. The Codex Aemilianus of the Councils, in speaking of this, says : ' Which books our Lord Pope and all his advisers receiving, diligently scrutinising and with sagacious study looking through, found quite Catholic and clear of all heretical depravity ; and by Apostolic authority forbade and interdicted every man from vexing, condemning or presuming to alter the office of the Church of Spain ' (' Quos libros

domnus papa et omne concilium suscipiant, diligenter perscrutantes et sagaci studio perquirentes, bene catholicos et omni heretica pravitate mundos invenerunt: et ne quis amplius officium Ispane Ecclesie inquietaret, vel damnaret, vel mutare presumeret, apostolica auctoritate prohibuerunt et etiam interdixerunt'). Still, however, the conspiracy persisted, and now with the active support of the Spanish kings, so that on March 22, 1071, a Roman Mass was sung in the presence of Cardinal Hugo Candidus and Sancho Ramirez, King of Aragon, in the monastery of San Juan de la Peña (near Jaca at the foot of the Pyrenees, the burial-place of the early kings of Aragon). In 1074 the Roman rite was introduced into Navarre on the accession of Sancho of Aragon, and into Cataluña a little later, while the pace of the Romanizing movement in Spain was accelerated by the election of St. Gregory VII (Hildebrand) to the Chair of Peter (1073–1085), and by Alfonso VI becoming King of Castile and Leon. In writing to the latter (and Sancho V of Navarre) the Holy Father expressed himself in the following terms: 'Quapropter et filios carissimos vos adhortor et moneo ut vos sicut bonae soboles, etsi post diurnas scassuras, demum tamen ut matrem revera vestram Romanam Ecclesiam recognoscatis in qua et nos fratres reperiatis Romanae Ecclesiae ordinem, et officium recipiatis, non Toletanae vel cujuslibet aliae sed istius quae a Petro et Paulo supra firmam petram per Christum fundata est et sanguine consecrata, cui portae inferi, id est, linguae haereticorum nunquam praevalere potuerunt, sicut caetera regna Occidentis et Septemtrionis teneatis' ('Epist.,' i. 1; 'Epist.' 64). In 1077 the use of Rome was forced on the king's Castilian subjects, and after putting the respective merits of the two liturgies to the test of ordeal by battle, as well as by fire and by a contest between two bulls, in all of which puerile devices Spain's ancient rite came out victorious, the Council of Burgos (1085) definitely decreed the abrogation of the Mozarabic services throughout Castile. In 1085 (May 26) Toledo was captured from the Moors and once again the question of rite came to the fore, but this time with a more organized opposition, despite the very strong Roman proclivities of the king (Alfonso VI of Leon), his wife, Queen

Constanza, and the new archbishop, a Cistercian named Bernard. The first Mass after the reconquest was said in the church of El Cristo de la Luz, a former mosque, built in 922 on the site of a Visigothic church. Undeterred by previous defeats, ordeals for the supremacy of rite were once more resorted to, both by battle and fire. In the former the royal champion was worsted, while in the latter the peculiarly thick vellum of the Mozarabic missal stood the ancient rite in good stead, despite the tradition that the Roman book had leapt from the flames. All these supposed judgments of Heaven were well disposed to the old paths, but even here the Roman rite was introduced in 1089, with the compromise that the six already mentioned ancient parishes of Toledo should be allowed to continue in their Mozarabic ways. All the unredeemed districts still maintained the old liturgy, as was seen when King James of Aragon conquered Valencia in 1238, and when Murcia and the greater part of Andalusia became Christian dominions under Ferdinand III (1235–1251), although it is unknown what Christian rite was being used in Granada at the time of the capture of this last Moorish stronghold by Ferdinand and Isabella (Jan. 2, 1492). From the fourth Council of Toledo (633) to the donation of Pelayo, Bishop of Leon (1073), of a ' Liber Comicus ' to his cathedral over thirty references to the old rite still remain.

Despite the Toledan compact as to the preservation of the national liturgy in the six ancient churches of the city, by the thirteenth century the Roman Mass had so ousted the Mozarabic that it had come to be used only on some days in the year, and then in a corrupt form. An attempt was made in 1436 to revive the old service-book, when Juan de Todesillas, Bishop of Segovia, founded a Mozarabic college (eight priests) at Aniago, near Valladolid, but the establishment was short-lived, as five years after its inception the foundation turned Carthusian (1441). When the famous Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros (1495–1517) ascended the primatial throne in 1495 the old liturgy had become little more than the heritage of a few erudite ecclesiastics, so that it was in grave danger of total extinction, like its neighbouring and kindred types in Gaul.

Cardinal Ximenes, however, wishing to revive a liturgy which was a standing witness to the piety and scholarship of the past ages of his country, obtained the goodwill of his Chapter (October 1, 1508) and the sanction of Pope Julius II (1503–1513) for a revival of the rite in the six parishes of his primatial city, together with the founding of a chapel in the cathedral (Apostolic Letters, September 20, 1508, and January 21, 1512). In order to re-establish the Mozarabic use as a living rite revision was necessary, so that the Cardinal commissioned Alfonso Ortiz and three priests, who were accustomed to say Mass and the Divine Office according to the old model, to seek out the ancient manuscripts and from them to produce a new edition of both missal and breviary. The former—' Missale Mixtum secundum regulam beati Isidori dictum Mozarabes '—was published in 1500, and the latter—' Breviarium Gothicum '—in 1502. The Mozarabic foundation in the cathedral made provision for thirteen chaplains, a priest-sacristan and two ' mozos sirvientes,' who were to sing both Mass and the Divine Office daily in Corpus Christi Chapel. In 1791, through the munificence of Cardinal Lorenzana, this chapel (' La Capilla Mozárabe ') was entirely rebuilt in marble and bronze ; while the mosaic forming the reredos was erected in 1776 after resting at the bottom of the sea, as the ship which was bringing it from Italy had foundered. About the year 1833, through the unsettled state of the country, these Mozarabic services were discontinued for eighteen years, but by the Concordat of 1851 it was expressly stipulated that they should be revived, although loss of endowments necessitated eight chaplains instead of the former number. Mass is now sung only on Sundays and festivals, being said on the remaining days.

Here again we may discern Rome's benevolent concern for the maintenance of the ancient liturgies of Christendom, even when they differ in the Holy Father's own patriarchate, although the importance of centralization and consolidation in the eleventh century caused some of the Popes to swerve from their customary toleration.

In 1517 Rodrigo Arias Maldonado de Talavera established the Mozarabic liturgy in the ' Capilla de San Salvador '

or ' de Talavera ' in the old cathedral of Salamanca, with the proviso that the ancient rite should be used on fifty-five days in the year. This was later diminished to six, and then to only three times per annum, for, although an episcopal mandate speaks of Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Ascension, St. John Baptist and Transfiguration, present custom seems to favour only the first three. An attempt also was made to revive the rite in Valladolid, for in 1567, through Pedro Gasca, Bishop of Siguença, two Mozarabic Masses a month (Fridays) were ordered to be said in the church of St. Mary Major. When exactly these ceased is not known, but they were at any rate continued down to the year 1748. Pope Julius III (1549–1555) regulated the marriage between a Mozarabic and a Roman subject in 1553, declaring that the children were to follow the rite of the father, but if the eldest daughter of a Mozarab married a Roman she and her husband could choose as to which rite she and her children should follow, while if she became a Roman and was then left a widow she was free to return to the old rite. Although this ruling is still in force, the comparative insignificance of the remaining Mozarabs makes the problem of very little importance.

By 1842 all the parishes, except those of Santas Justa y Rufina and San Marcos had become Roman, so that the Mozarabic faithful in the suppressed parishes, numbering under 1000, were added to the above-mentioned two. An attempt was made in the last century to increase the life of these Mozarabic parishes, when for that end a royal decree was published on July 13, 1899, together with a further edict dated April 9, 1900, both of which were supported by the metropolitan. The result has been disappointing for those who desired the extension of the national rite, and for all the Sacraments, save the Mass, as well as for the Occasional Offices, only Rome is followed, even by the Mozarabs. Appearances may be deceptive, but a visitor to Toledo sees but little interest taken in the rite at the present day, for even the Sunday Mass in the cathedral is only attended by a handful of strangers ; while Santas Justa y Rufina is generally closed and San Marcos, a tasteless whitewashed Baroque building, seems to have the

Roman liturgy. In 1910 there were computed to be about 500 Mozarabic families in Toledo, and about 1000 in the neighbourhood, although these latter were diminishing. The 'Directorium Mozarabicum' for 1930, besides designating the 'Mayor de Mozárabes' and eight 'capellanes,' speaks of a 'Parroco' for both of the churches, together with two 'Beneficiados de Santas Justa y Rufina' and one for San Marcos. July 19, the titular feast of the former parish, is reckoned as a feast of four copes, but the current Directory adds the note, 'In Paroecia 6. capp. cum Octv.,' as if authority had no wish to allow the practice of the national liturgy in the two Mozarabic parishes to fall into desuetude. In 1927, also, on the occasion of the seventh centenary of Toledo Cathedral a high Mass was celebrated at the *altar major*, when for one short hour 'El Rito Mozárabe' came into its own in the Metropolitan Church.

The basis of the printed editions of the Mozarabic missal is found in the rite of the tenth and eleventh centuries, but the earliest books had no separation between missal and breviary. In the priest's book was Vespers, Matins (and Lauds) and Mass for each day, since originally the lesser hours were used exclusively by the Monastic Orders. Some ferias and fast days—*e.g.* Vigils of Christmas and Epiphany and Ash Wednesday—have an additional hour known as 'Aurora,' which the eleventh-century 'Rituale Antiquissimum' (Silos MS.) called the 'Ordo peculiaris.' Possibly the two offices were said only on the days when the priest offered the Holy Sacrifice (except in Lent), as we find amongst the schismatic white (secular) clergy of the Byzantine Church. So the 'Liber Antiphonarum' (*cf.* Ambrosian MSS.) contained the music of all the antiphons and responds sung throughout the year, at Vespers and Matins as well as Mass; the 'Liber Comicus' had the lessons; the 'Liber Orationum' (*cf.* 'Orationale' published by Bianchini), the collects for all services except Mass; and the 'Liber Ordinum,' the Occasional Offices, Ordinations and a large number of votive Masses (*c.* 50). According to Dom Férotin, the learned Benedictine of Farnborough, a considerable part of the 'Liber Ordinum' comes from the use of Toledo and dates back to the end of the

seventh century ; while certain other parts are not later than the sixth century, and most of the prayers, etc., for Baptism and Ordination, as well as the forms for public Penance, Unction, Burial, the offices of Holy Week, the ' Missa Omnimoda ' and several of the votives, probably date from a time previous to the invasions of the barbarians in the early part of the fifth century. Plenary missals first appeared in the tenth century, but the final revision of the Mozarabic service books under Ximenes was made from a close study of the earliest and purest manuscripts. The ' Missale Omnium Offerentium,' corresponding to the Ordinary of the Mass, does not seem to have existed in very early days.

In 1755 Alexander Lesley, S.J., published at Rome an edition of the ' Missale Mixtum ' with preface, notes and an appendix—reprinted in Migne's ' Patrologia Latina ' (vol. LXXXV.) at Paris, in 1862, as ' Liturgia Mozarabica secundum regulam Beati Isidori : pars prior.' Antonio Lorenzana, Archbishop of Mexico, produced the ' Missa Gothica seu Mozarabica ' in 1770 (Angelopoli (Puebla), 1770, and reprinted in 1804 and 1875), the missal still used in Toledo, containing 145 Masses (63 of the saints).

Offices, in common with the whole of Western Christendom, are divided into Sundays, feasts and ferias ; while feasts in the Mozarabic rite are classified as of six, four or two copes, or of nine lections. A note in the ' Directorium,' however, amongst the general rubrics, acknowledges that in reality no office has nine lections, although it forbids the expunging of the name from the Calendar, on the grounds of its extreme antiquity—' antiquitas tot annorum spatio consecrata.' As in the Ambrosian and old Gallican rites, Advent has six Sundays (' pro adventu Domini nostri Jesu Christi '), although only five appear in many manuscripts, and Spain sometimes reckons seven, if one may include the Sunday known as ' pro adventu Sancti Joannis Baptistae.' Advent Sunday may fall on any day from November 12 to November 18, and its key-day is November 11, since the ecclesiastical year begins on the Sunday following the feast of St. Martin, which appears to have been the universal Gallican custom, for not only does the Church of Milan follow a similar ruling, but

the old rite of Gaul, according to the Council of Macon (581), had a like arrangement.

Anciently, on every day from December 18 (' Annunciatio Sanctae Mariae Virginis de la O ') until Christmas, the choir sang the syllable ' O ' a number of times after Vespers, although there is no mention of this in either missal or breviary. It is possible that we have here the origin of the greater antiphons—' O Sapientia,' etc.—and, anyhow, their customary melody is considered non-Roman. This loud and prolonged ' O ' has been said to express the eager desire of the holy ones in Limbo, the angels in heaven and all the world for the Birth of Christ. The Epiphany (' Apparitio ') is one of the greatest festivals in the Mozarabic liturgy, kept in the tenth century at Cordoba with especial pomp in the monastery of Pinamellar (Peñamelaria). The Mass of the vigil, which originally was used on the day itself, commemorates Our Lord's Baptism, while the present Mass of the day has the Roman memorial of the Magi, without, however, entirely displacing all references to the Baptism in Jordan and the other manifestations. The Presentation of Christ in the Temple and the Holy Name of Jesus are commemorated in the prayers for the Octave of Christmas. Apart from Christmas, Epiphany and Pentecost, vigils are unknown in this rite (others appear now in the ' Directorium,' but without Mass or office), but the three days preceding January 6 were termed ' Jejunia in Kalendis Januarii,' being set apart ' in contemptum superstitionis gentilium,' just as fasting was prohibited during Advent ' ob impietatem Priscillianistarum,' who, denying the Incarnation, fasted at that season. When, as in the current year (1930), the Vigil of the Epiphany (' Vigilia Apparitionis D.N.J.C.') falls on Sunday, both Mass and Office are of the vigil, without even a commemoration of the Sunday. The liturgy of this Sunday, ' ante Epiphaniam Domini,' was evidently composed ' de initio anni,' since the January fast is recalled in the ' Post Pridie ' of the Mass : ' Vespertini hujus sacrificii libatione ' ; but when, in the seventh century, the feast of the Circumcision began to be observed, the former New Year service was transposed to the Sunday.

Nine Sundays are reckoned as after Epiphany, but no

mention is made of Septuagesima, Sexagesima or Quinquagesima, although the Sunday preceding Ash Wednesday has a proper Office and is called ' Dominica ante carnes tollendas ' (' Missa de initio Quadragesime in Dominica ante carnes tollendas '), or ' Dominica ante diem Cinerum.'

The Mozarabic Lent once began on the first Monday, the old Gallican day, and the first Sunday still retains the ' Alleluia,' despite Ash Wednesday (' Feria quarta in capite Jejunii seu Cinerum '), borrowed from Rome as a late addition, thereby causing a dislocation of the Gospels in the missal. On this day the officiant, after the blessing and imposition of ashes, reads a wonderful sermon in Latin, composed by St. Isidore and styled 'ad carnes tollendas' (' Postea Sermo ad carnes tollendas a D. Isidoro concinnatus, utpote quadragesimale Jejunium anuncians dicendus est ').

The six Sundays in Lent may be divided into two equal parts, all the antiphons, responds and collects in the second half referring to the Passion. An ingenious reason for this division has been discovered by a diligent scrutiny of the Lenten series of services found in the breviary, ' ad tertiam,' ' ad sextam ' and ' ad nonam.' Under the first and third two lessons appear at each hour from the sapiential and historical books of the Old Testament respectively, followed by three antiphons each with its collect and other devotions ; while ' ad sextam ' we find only one lesson from the Prophets (the lesser hours are never found in any primitive secular breviary). Gaps, however, appear in these series of lessons, which are wanting ' ad nonam ' for the Wednesdays and Fridays ; while in the historical lessons there is a lection missing where these services ought to be. The *raison d'être* of all this is to be found in the missal, where the Mass for these days begins with the very lessons from the sapiential and historical books which are missing.

These ' Missa Catechumenorum,' similar to those found in the Ambrosian rite, the Church of Jerusalem in the fourth century and the Byzantine rite of to-day, were for the instruction of the ' competentes ' preparing for Easter baptism at the cathedral church. On Wednesdays and Fridays ' ad nonam ' the ' Missa Fidelium ' followed the expulsion of the catechumens

and those under censures, but at other times the services ended with three antiphons and a dismissal. According to some liturgiologists—*e.g.* W. G. Bishop—a study of these antiphons makes it clear that they consist of a double series—the first used up to ' Laetare,' and the second for the remainder of Lent. Since the preparation of the candidates (' in traditione symboli ') originally lasted only for the three weeks immediately preceding Easter, as the ninth Canon of the second Council of Braga (572) declared (together with the ordering of a general observance of the three Rogation days at the beginning of Lent), the inference seems to be that the first series of antiphons and the twofold series of lessons are additions to the earliest arrangement. This doubling of the time of preparation was probably in imitation of the custom at Milan and Byzantium, but against this theory of the two dates must be set the very striking correspondence between the present arrangement and the series of Gospels, although this could be due to an almost accidental result of the pushing back of the series of lessons from Genesis. The fourth Sunday in Lent (ancient third) is known as ' in Mediante Die Festo,' both from the first words of the Gospel : ' Mediante die festo ascendit Jhesus in templum ' (*cf.* ' Ad Confractionem panis '), and from the fact that it is ' ad medietatem Quadragesimae.' Another appellation, ' Dominica in Vicesima ' (from which the ferias are named), is so called because Easter is twenty days hence.

The ' Orationale Gothicum ' seems to assume that Mass on the Saturdays in Lent will be said at the sixth instead of the ninth hour, possibly because of the ' Scrutinies ' being held on that day, as was the custom in Milan and Africa, but apparently, despite the second Canon of the fourth Council of Orleans and the use of Rome, Spain did not observe these days as fasts. Passion-tide was thus three weeks in all, according to Gallican usages, but although Canons 1 and 9 of the second Council of Braga (572) were passed against cutting down this season to two weeks, the Mozarabic rite has now two Passion Sundays. Before the first of them—' Dom. IV. Quadrag. I. Passionis '—the ' Directorium ' gives the advice, ' Cooperiuntur Altaria,' and from this Sunday the ' Judica me ' is omitted. In

striking contrast to the Ambrosian rite, every day in Lent and Passion-tide, Holy Week excluded, is now observed as the feast of a saint, although a Calendar dating from 1039—much earlier in substance—gives only one commemoration (SS. Emeterius and Celidonius, martyrs of Calahorra) in the sixty days from February 23 to April 24. The old Roman division was five weeks of Lent and only one of Passion-tide. On Palm Sunday, according to the missal (' Liber Ordinum,' in the usual place of the Sermon after the Gospel), the ancient ' Traditio Symboli,' which comprises a threefold repetition of a Spanish variant of the Apostles' Creed, takes place after the ' Psallendum ' and before the Epistle, in the form of a ' Sermo ad Populum.' The ' Directorium ' for the current year (1930), in addition to enjoining its use, further prescribes the sign of the cross : ' munieniens se prius Celebrans signo Crucis.' In the ' Liber Ordinum ' the ' Sermo ' emphasizes the ' disciplina arcani ' in regard to the Creed : ' Sit vobis codex vestra memoria . . . simbolum enim nemo scribit, ut legi possit ' ; and St. Ildephonsus says : ' Sancti Patres hoc (symbolum) non membranis, sed memoriae commendare jusserunt ' (' De cognit. Baptismi,' cap. xxxiii.). On Palm Sunday, also, the Tradition of the Creed was practised at Milan (St. Ambrose, ' Epist. xx, ad Marcellinam sororem '), and the ' Capitulare Evangeliorum ' of Aquileia (eighth century), which on this point follows the Ambrosian rite, calls this Sunday ' In simbolo.' The Good Friday service, ' ad nonam pro indulgentia,' is the remains of the solemn reconciliation of penitents ordered by Canon 7 of the fourth Council of Toledo (633).

The Sundays after Easter include Easter Day itself (Low Sunday is known as ' In Octava Paschae '), and in order to avoid any fasting during the Paschal season the Rogation days, as at Milan, were kept on the three days before Pentecost. The Council of Gerona (Can. 2, A.D. 517) had ordered the litanies and fasts for the Thursday, Friday and Saturday *after* Pentecost, but present custom has abandoned both of these rulings in favour of the Vigil of Pentecost only. Other Rogations appeared just before the Epiphany as a warning against idolatry (St. Isidore, ' De eccles. offic.,' chap. 41), and in preparation for the feasts of St. Cyprian (September 13)

and St. Martin (November 11). Reference is made to the September litanies, which accompanied the fast, by Felix of Cordoba in the eighth century : ' Letanie secundum morem a quarta feria, quinta feria, et sexta feria, presule Deo, per omnem Spaniam celebrate.' An Arabic Astronomical Calendar, now in the Escorial, speaks also of an Assumption fast, for, under the date August 15, it reads : ' Feast of the transitus and death of Mary, and end of her fast ' (*cf.* Byzantine rite). Sets of services were found for all these Rogations, consisting of ' Missae Catechumenorum ' at the third, sixth and ninth hours, with a series of lessons, resembling those found in the Lenten season, but here an Epistle lesson is added to those from the sapiential and historical books. A ' Missa Fidelium ' was added ' ad nonam ' on the last day of the Rogations. In the Calendar, although services were provided for three days only, the Rogations were marked to begin on the fourth day before the festival which they precede, in order to allow for the possible intervening of a Sunday. The vigil of Pentecost makes no provision for the blessing of the font, but allusions to Baptism appear in the Mass both for the vigil and the feast ; while on the former day, after the Prophecies, the priest, standing before the altar, is directed to say ' Erigite vos.'

The Holy Trinity was commemorated by some prayers which were taken from Palm Sunday, and Corpus Christi, together with the Purification (with Octave), All Saints (' Lib. Ord.,' 1052) and most of the feasts of the Apostles were supplied by Ximenes in the last revision. The Nativity of Our Lady is found in the Calendar of Cordoba (961). Sundays after Pentecost are reckoned in the missal by ' Missae dominicales cotidianae,' which thus give a liturgy to those Sundays in the year unoccupied by the ' proprium de tempore.' The present service book has sixteen such Masses, but in a different order from that found in the manuscripts and without anything that could recall their primitive titles. The Sunday immediately preceding the Nativity of St. John Baptist is known as ' Dominica pro adventu S. Joannis Baptistae,' reckoned as an Advent Sunday, unless the feast falls on Sunday—' quia satis habebit locum per annum.'

Most of the days which are common to both Mozarabic

and Roman rites are now kept on the Roman days, although the Annunciation has retained both feasts. December 18—'Annunciatio Sanctae Mariae Virginis de la O'—is the original Spanish date (*cf.* 'Expectatio Partus B.M.V.'), the tenth Council of Toledo (656), under St. Eugenius, decreeing that it should be kept before Christmas in order to avoid Lent, although Spain, always pre-eminent in her tender love towards the Mother of God, had observed the Annunciation even before the 'Mother and Mistress of All the Churches.' The Calendar of Cordoba (961) speaks of this feast as 'Festum Apparitionis Marie matris Jesu, super quam sit salus'—that is, 'Apparitio Gabrielis angeli virgini Marie.' The fifth Council of Toledo (636) instituted a fast and litanies for the three days preceding the feast—a canon confirmed by a decree of King Chintilla (636) and by the succeeding national Council (Can. 2, sixth of Toledo, 638). The breviary lection that would make St. Ildephonsus the real author seems to be without any historical foundation. Saints' days within the Christmas Octave include December 29, St. James, the Lord's Brother; December 30, Translation of St. James the Great (confusion in missal as to whether 'the Great' or 'the Less'); and December 31, St. Columba, Virgin and Martyr (now abandoned, but commemorated at Lyon), together with St. Sylvester. The 'Alia' for the liturgy of December 29 contains a passage reminiscent of the rigorism of Tertullian: 'Illosque solum puto quod digne suscipiat Christus in requiem, quos aut integritas mentis commendat, aut cruoris effusio juste delibat.' The Holy Innocents ('Allisio Infantium') once had their feast on January 8, the first free day after the Epiphany, since there was no privileged octave and the seventh was sacred to SS. Julian and Basilissa, when the 'Inlatio' referred to the feast of the preceding day: 'Dominum nostrum, cujus temporalem *heri* celebravimus Apparitionem.' Now, however, the commemoration is made on the usual Roman date (December 28). In the Mass of SS. Cosmas and Damian (September 27) perfumed oil was blessed for the sick as a memorial of the 'unmercenary' doctors. This 'unguentum,' a mixture of oil, incense and other ingredients ('suavibus pigmentis aromatibus' in the benediction), was formerly put under the altar at

the Vespers of the vigil and blessed by the bishop, after the people had received Holy Communion, in the Mass of the feast. The manuscript of 1052 has several Byzantine similarities in its Calendar. Thus, St. Onesimus is kept on February 15 (*cf.* Greek Menology) in place of the following day ; ' — poli — episcopi ' (St. Polycarp) appears for February 23 ; and St. Theodosia, the Virgin Martyr of Tyre, is honoured on the Oriental day (April 3) rather than the Roman (April 2).

The oldest complete Mozarabic Calendar extant is found in the ' Orationale Gothicum,' which dates from a time earlier than any of the manuscripts already printed, or even than those used by Cardinal Ximenes in his revision. ' Cathedrae Sancti Petri ' is marked on February 21, and ' SS. Petri et Paulae ' on June 29, but in this latter feast the title has been lost through a lacuna in the manuscript. With the exception of St. Andrew (November 30) and St. John the Divine (December 29), no other Apostles are mentioned, and the festival on December 18 appears simply as ' S. Mariae Virginis.' In 1909 a Calendar, dating from the sixth century (or fifth), was found in the ' patio de los naranjos ' by the Church of Santa Maria la Major at Carmona (near Seville), engraved on a column of marble. Here, as in the Calendar of Cordoba (961), the feast of St. John is marked as December 27 instead of the 29th, showing that the early tradition of the Church of Seville differed in this respect from that of Toledo.

Two books are used in the celebration of Mass : the one containing the ' Ordinary ' and ' Canon,' or the constants—known sometimes by the strange title of ' Omnium Offerentium '—although the variable parts for St. James' Day are inserted, possibly because this was the only Mass which remained in some churches ; and the other a complete missal, nearly all the Mass in this rite varying with the day. In the missal, however, the ' Omnium Offerentium ' appears twice—on the first Sunday in Advent, which is an entire model Mass, and also before Low Sunday, although there are certain inconsistencies between them. For example, in the one case the ' Benedicite ' is not for general use but comes under the first Sunday in Lent, apparently for that season only, while in the other it seems as if it was to be

said at every Mass, and even the versions of the Canticle vary. Further, the prayers after the ' Gloria in Excelsis ' do not agree ; neither is the position of the ' Sacrificium ' the same. The phrase ' Omnium offerentium ' is found in the prayer at the Offertory, said after the priest has re-covered the chalice with the pall : ' et omnium offerentium et eorum pro quibus tibi offertur, peccata indulge ' ; but it seems curious to account for its designating the whole Ordinary and Canon, while the little ' Devocionario Muzarabe,' published in 1903, only makes it synonymous with the ' Missa Catechumenorum.'

Various theories have been put forward as to the source of the words—in the Celtic language ' Mass ' is taken from the Latin word whose origin is derived from ' Offero ' ; Cornish, Welsh and Breton have ' Offeren ' ; while in the Gaelic it is ' aifrionn ' or ' aifreonn.' Possibly all these derivatives come from ' Offerentia,' used by Tertullian in the general sense of the act of presenting an offering, which perhaps was employed in Celtic countries with the special meaning of the ' Holy Offering.' In Spain the expression originally stood as ' Missale Offerentiarum,' the ' Missal of all Masses,' for in very debased Latin the term ' Offerens ' may express the sense of an ' act of offering,' as well as of ' one who offers.' The Mozarabic rite has one hundred and fifty-one psalms in place of the usual number, the last, recounting the fight with Goliath, being ascribed to Davidic authorship.

Hymns, however, seem to have been barred from the worship of the Spanish Church until the seventh century, while Rome retained her veto for another five hundred years, in spite of the fact that St. Ambrose, so early as the end of the fourth century, had both defended their use and composed some himself. The Council of Braga (563) had decreed that ' no poetical composition shall be sung in the church, as the holy Canons prescribe,' but this was rescinded at Toledo in 633 (Can. 13), when it was determined that hymns composed in the Divine honour can no more be condemned than prayers, asking pertinently that if hymns are forbidden why not the minor and major doxology ? A peculiarity of the Spanish use, which still persists in the old rite, is the form of the

' Gloria Patri '—' Gloria *et honor* Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto in saecula saeculorum. Amen '—although the customary ' Sicut erat,' etc., has been used since the Council of Vaison (529). This special form was a general custom before the seventh century, but the Fathers of the fourth Council of Toledo (633), held under the presidency of St. Isidore, definitely promulgated in the fourteenth Canon that ' Gloria Patri ' should be said at the end of every psalm, with the addition of ' honor.' In this they claimed to be guided by the authority of David, who sang ' Afferte Domino gloriam et honorem,' and of St. John, who in his Apocalypse had declared ' Honor et gloria Deo nostro.' The Spanish Pope, St. Damasus (366–384), is alleged to have been the first to order the ' Gloria Patri ' at the end of the psalms, probably as a protest against Arianism. Speaking of this peculiar form of Gloria, a popular manual of the Mozarabic liturgy (' Devocionario Muzarabe ') says that ' Gloria ' signifies splendour, while ' honor ' adds excellence, dignity and reverence. Although the additional word ' honor ' is now only found in Spain, it originally existed in Milan (Beroldus) and Ireland (Antiphonary of Bangor) and probably elsewhere. In the colour sequence blue is still directly prescribed for the Immaculate Conception (December 8) and its Octave, but in the old Toledan rite this was also enjoined for Trinity and the Sundays after Pentecost.

The vestments are similar to the Roman, although the Gothic shape is always used, since, as a Benedictine writer from the monastery of Silos, the home of revived interest in the old rite, truly says, a ' guitar ' chasuble would be in direct antagonism to the Mozarabic chapel. To Catholics who have seen the wonderful liturgical revival in Belgium under the late saintly Cardinal of Malines, with the direct authorization of the old style of vestments by all the members of the Belgian episcopate, such a custom for the use of Spain will seem very ordinary, although to Latin Catholics, brought up for generations on the ' fiddle ' and the ' guitar,' the ample and flowing Gothic chasuble still appears unusual. The stole, called until the eleventh or twelfth century ' orarion,' was first spoken of as the distinctive dress of a deacon in

sixth-century Spain. In a synod held in 633 (Can. 28, fourth Council of Toledo) the 'Orarion' was prescribed for bishops, priests and deacons; while the Council of Braga (675) forbade the celebration of Mass without it. The altar lights are used—six, four or two, according to the rank of the day—but a single standard is lit on the Gospel side during the 'Illatio' and put out after the Communion. The prayers said at the vesting are for the most part similar to the Roman, although those directed for the preparatory washing of the hands and the putting on of the alb are different. After the lavabo four 'Aves' are recited kneeling; while before leaving the sacristy the Mozarabic priest says a responsory and prayer for pardon and purity. The responsory consists of: ℟. 'Pater, peccavi in Coelum et coram te, jam non sum dignus vocari filius tuus.' *P.* 'Fac me sicut unum de mercenariis tuis.' ℣. 'Quanti mercenarii in domo patris mei abundant panibus, ego autem hic fame pereor: Surgam et ibo ad patrem meum, et dicam ei.' *P.* 'Fac me . . .' 'Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison.' 'Pater noster, . . .' ℣. 'Ab occultis meis munda me, Domine.' ℟. 'Et ab alienis parce servo tuo.' ℣. 'Domine, exaudi orationem meam.' ℟. 'Et clamor meus ad te veniat,' with the prayer 'Deus, qui de indignis dignos' (*cf.* Sarum rite).

On arriving at the altar, on feasts of six or four copes and their octaves, the priest sings to rather florid plain-chant the following antiphon: 'Per gloriam nominis tui Christe Fili Dei vivi, et per intercessionem Sanctae Mariae Virginis, et omnium Sanctorum tuorum auxiliare et miserere indignis servis tuis, et esto in medio nostri, Deus noster, qui vivis et regnas in saecula saeculorum.' ℟. 'Deo gratias.' When the Mass is said or monotoned ('semitonada') the priest proceeds with the whole, but when sung the choir takes it up after the words 'Fili Dei vivi.' On feasts of saints, the saint of the day is invoked with the description 'Apostoli,' 'Martyris,' etc., after the fixed prayer to Our Lady.

The preparatory prayers, which now find a place in the Mozarabic Mass, were inserted by Cardinal Ximenes, who imported them from the mediaeval Toledan use. This was the pre-Tridentine Roman rite, which preserved some

few Mozarabic features and of which, so late as 1550, Cardinal Archbishop Siliceo issued an edition with the title ' Missale Mixtum secundum consuetudinem almae ecclesiae toletanae.' The Pian missal was authorized as from November 2, 1574.

Consistent with the passionate Spanish devotion to the Mother of God, the celebrant begins with the ' Ave Maria ' (*cf.* Braga). The ' Post Pridie ' for the Assumption affords a striking example of this Marian love, where we find the prayer directly addressed to Our Blessed Lady : ' Virgo Dei genitrix Maria, cujus hodie veram Adsumptionem celebramus in sede superna. . . . Roget quesumus ibidem, Domina. . . .' Then, in making the holy sign, he continues : ' In nomine + Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Amen. Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia.' The psalm ' Judica me Deus,' preceded and followed by ' Introibo ad altare Dei ' and its response, is similar to the use of Rome, with the addition of ' honor ' in the ' Gloria Patri.' Although in this position the psalm dates from the revival of Cisneros, some missals of the seventh century insert ' Judica me ' before the Preface. Versicles precede the Confiteor : ℣. ' Dignare Domine die isto.' ℟. ' Sine peccato nos custodire.' ℣. ' Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus.' ℟. ' Quoniam in saeculum misericordia ejus.' ℣. ' Ora pro nobis Sancta Dei genitrix.' ℟. ' Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.' ' Confiteor Omnipotenti Deo, et Beatae Mariae Virgini, et Sanctis Apostolis Petro et Paulo, et omnibus Sanctis, et vobis, fratres, manifesto, me graviter peccasse, per superbiam in lege Dei mei, cogitatione, locutione, opere et omissione, mea culpa, mea culpa, gravissima mea culpa. Ideo precor Beatissimam Virginem Mariam, et omnes Sanctos et Sanctas, et vos, fratres, orare pro me.' The ' Misereatur ' differs from the Roman by the word ' omnibus ' before ' peccatis,' but the ' Indulgentiam ' is distinctive : ' Indulgentiam, + absolutionem, et remissionem omnium peccatorum vestrorum cum emendatione morum et vitae, per gratiam Sancti Spiritus tribuat vobis misericors Dominus. Amen.' These two prayers are called the ' Absolutio ad populum '—as public absolution given to the assembled faithful. The final versicles and responses add : ℣. ' Sacerdotes tui induantur justitiam.' ℟. ' Et Sancti tui exultent ' ; while the Mozarabic ' Aufer a nobis ' is considerably longer :

'Aufer a nobis, quaesumus Domine, cunctas iniquitates nostras, et spiritum superbiae, et elationis, cui resistis, et reple nos spiritu timoris, et da nobis cor contritum et humiliatum quod non spernis, ut ad Sancta Sanctorum puris mereamur mentibus introire. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate ejusdem Spiritus Sancti, Deus per omnia semper saecula saeculorum. Amen.' The prayer finished, the priest makes the sign of the cross on the altar with the thumb of his right hand, kissing the spot, as he says 'In nomine Patris + et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.' Then, before the making of the chalice, the Holy Cross, to which Spain in particular owes so much, is saluted with an antiphon, versicle and response and prayer: 'Salve, Crux pretiosa, quae in corpore Christi dedicata es, et ex membris ejus tamquam margaritis ornata: salva praesentem catervam in tuis laudibus jugiter congregatam.' ℣. 'Adoramus te, Christe, et benedicimus tibi.' ℟. 'Quia per Sanctam Crucem tuam redemisti mundum.' 'Oremus. Exaudi nos, Deus salutaris noster, et per triumphum Sanctae Crucis a cunctis nos defende periculis. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.' The versicle and response are found in the Paris missal of 1738, to be said by the celebrant as he kisses the cross offered him by the subdeacon after 'Aufer a nobis.'

The Spaniards have attributed many of their victories over the Moors, notably those at Navas de Tolosa (1212) and Oran (1509), to the power of the Cross, which often manifested itself to the soldiers by means of an apparition in the sky. The old Church held the feast of the Invention of the Cross (May 3) in high esteem, the Code of Laws of the Visigoths (Lib. XII. t. iii. l. 6) citing it as one of the great commemorations of the year. This worship of the Cross was taken from the ancient Toledan Office (dating from the end of the eleventh century) by the conqueror at Oran (Ximenes de Cisneros), and fittingly inserted into the Mozarabic Mass. In common with so many rites, the chalice is made before the commencement of the actual liturgy, although the exact time appears to have been a matter of indifference, since the 'missale mixtum,' issued in 1561, says 'Preparatio hostie et

calicis potest fieri ante incoeptum officium misse, vel ante Evangelium, vel ante offertorium, quando voluerit sacerdos.' On fasts this ceremony takes place after the Old Testament lections. Possibly at one time the mixture was made after the Epistle at high Mass (since a direction is made to that effect in the ' Missa Omnium Offerentium '), and before the beginning of the service at low Mass, or it may have been the custom to put the elements on the altar as now directed in the missal, but only to move them to the centre at the actual Offertory (*cf.* Dominican rite).

After the Holy Cross prayer the priest is directed to uncover the chalice, handing the veil to the minister, and then, placing it outside the altar stone on the Epistle side, to spread the corporal, while he says ' In tuo conspectu, quaesumus Domine, haec nostra munera tibi placita sint, ut nos tibi placere valeamus : attollite portas principes vestras, et elevamini portae aeternales, et introibit Rex gloriae. Quis est iste Rex gloriae ? Dominus fortis et potens in praelio, Dominus virtutum ipse est Rex gloriae.' At one time it seems to have been the custom for the deacon to spread the corporal, as in so many rites, after the singing of the Gospel. When the paten containing the Host (in this rite the Host always rests on the paten) is placed on the corporal, and the chalice is being purified, the celebrant continues : ' Dignare, Domine, mundare vas istud, in quo sumere pretiosum sanctum Corpus tuum valeam. Qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas, Deus per omnia semper saecula saeculorum. Amen.' Then, at the placing of the wine in the chalice : ' Misce, quaesumus Domine, in Calice isto quod manavit ex latere tuo ; ut fiat in remissionem peccatorum nostrorum. Amen.' The water is blessed with ' Ab illo benedicatur, cujus spiritus super aquas ferebatur. In nomine Patris, + et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen ' ; but it is poured in during the prayer ' Ex latere Domini nostri Jesu Christi sanguis et aqua exiisse perhibentur ; haec ideo nos pariter commiscemus ' (' infunditur aqua '), ' ut misericors Deus utrumque ad medelam animarum nostrarum sanctificare dignetur. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.' Then, with the chalice covered by the paten and pall, the oblata are

blessed : ' Benedictio Dei Pa+tris Omnipotentis, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti descendat super hanc Hostiam tibi Deo Patri offerendam. Amen.' Two versicles and responses—℣. ' Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.' ℟. ' Qui fecit coelum et terram.' ℣. ' Sit nomen Domini benedictum.' ℟. ' Ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum '—complete this preparatory part of the Mass. According to Dom German Prado, a learned Benedictine from Silos, the oblata are censed here *more Romano*, but the ' Devocionario,' published in 1903, orders the censing at the actual Offertory. This same little manual, as has been already pointed out, identifies the ' Missa Omnium Offerentium ' with the ' Missa Catechumenorum,' and inserts the words ' Incipit Missa Omnium Offerentium ' after the preparatory portion.

The Mozarabic rite now enters upon the pre-Cisneros Mass, although the original liturgy, as at Rome, began with the lessons. This is still the custom on fasts, but as early as the time of St. Germanus of Paris (*ob.* 576) a series of chants preceded them on Sundays and festivals. In the ' Missa Omnimoda ' (Votive for all the needs of living and dead), taken from the ' Liber Ordinum,' a private prayer of the priest (' Apologia ') is inserted at the very beginning. This prayer (' Accedam ad te '), which dates from the seventh century, was originally prefaced by the rubric : ' Quum venerit sacerdos ut sacrificium offerat, antequam praelegendum decantare incipiat, acclinis, ante altare, tacite dicit hanc orationem.' Now ' Accedam ad te ' is said after the Offertory lavabo, immediately before the ' Missa Fidelium.' The term ' Omnimoda ' is found, also, in the ' Liber Ordinum ' in such connections as ' Omnimoda discretio,' ' Omnimoda salus,' ' Omnimoda intentione deposco, ut oblationem.'

In the present missal an Introit, called ' Officium,' in the form of a responsory with ' Alleluias ' and Gloria, begins this section of the Mass. The original Mozarabic name was ' Praelegendum ' or ' Prolegendum ' ; while St. Germanus in the Gallican rite speaks of ' Antiphona ad praelegendum ' —that which preceded the reading of the sacred Scriptures. The ' Officium ' for Corpus Christi, the feast of title of the Mozarabic chapel, will serve as an example : ' Cibavit eos ex

adipe frumenti : Alleluia. Et de petra melle saturavit eos : Alleluia, Alleluia.' ℣. 'Exultate Deo adjutori nostro : jubilate Deo Jacob.' *P.* 'Et de petra . . .' ℣. 'Gloria et honor Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto. In saecula saeculorum. Amen.' *P.* 'Et de petra . . .' The letter '*P*' appears to stand for 'pressa'—that is, 'repetitio'—not for 'psalmus' or 'presbyter,' as has been suggested. Normally, this rite is without a Kyrie, although it is said as part of the preparation in the sacristy, as well as appearing in requiems and one or two votive Masses, where it is a definitely Roman interpolation, though of extreme antiquity. The Council of Vaison (529) at any rate introduced the Kyrie into the offices, where the words 'Domine miserere' had been used (*cf.* 'Peregrinatio Etheriae'). Perhaps the Kyries in certain Masses date from the letter of Vigilius to Profuturus (538), thus early justifying the title of a 'Missale mixtum.'

After the 'Ad Missam Officium' the celebrant proceeds to the middle and, with his hands on the altar, says 'Per omnia semper saecula saeculorum. Amen,' repeating this formula both before and after the 'Gloria in Excelsis,' as if to proclaim that to God, who is without either beginning or end, is to be attributed all grace and glory. The words, however, probably owe their existence in each case to some collect or 'apologia' said privately, now disappeared with the exception of its ending. Here again, in this Doxology, Spain uses an additional word—'semper.'

The 'Gloria in Excelsis' is found in the Mozarabic Mass (except in Advent and Lent) from at least the seventh century, when a Council of Toledo ascribed its authorship to 'anonymous Fathers,' although it is a Roman importation, displacing the older Trisagion of the Gallican liturgy. In the 'Sacramentarium Bobbiense' the Gloria is already prescribed, although some of the collects which follow manifestly presuppose the Benedictus as the original chant. The form of Gloria now sung (said) at Mass is identical with the Roman, but on Sundays and feasts the Gloria is also said (together with the 'Te Deum' and 'Credo') at Prime with certain variations : after 'Glorificamus te,' 'Himnum dicimus tibi : gratias tibi agimus propter gloriam tuam magnam' is

added; and after 'Domine Fili Unigenite Jesu Christe' appears 'Altissime.' On Easter Day a Latin farced Trisagion is still sung after the Gloria—'Sanctus Deus, qui sedes super cherubim,' etc.—as well as the 'Benedicite' in an abridged form, although this latter chant is optional. 'Sanctus Deus angelorum,' mentioned by St. Germanus in his second letter as being used in Lent, was probably a similarly farced Trisagion. The original chants in the Church of Paris appear to have been 'Antiphona ad praelegendum,' Trisagion, threefold Kyrie and Benedictus.

On the Sunday 'pro Adventu Sancti Johannis Baptistae' the Benedictus is still ordered to be chanted here. Since all forms of the 'Agios' or Sanctus, with the exception of the Sanctus in the 'Illatio,' are derived from the East, it seems a probable suggestion that these chants before the lessons were introduced in imitation of the Byzantine three antiphons.

The Collect 'Oratio' stands in the Roman position, but without the customary salutation or even 'Oremus,' since the latter word occurs only twice in the Mozarabic Mass—before the ἅγιος and before a kind of 'Capitula' which precedes the 'Pater noster,' in place of 'Praeceptis salutaribus moniti.' In practice the 'Oratio' forms a supplement to the Gloria, as it is a general custom in this rite for psalms, hymns, canticles and every sort of responsory to be concluded by prayers which more or less sum up the leading ideas of what has gone before; so that we find many Gallican prayers named with reference to what they have followed—'post Ajus,' 'post Prophetiam,' 'post Nomina,' 'post Pacem,' etc.

Often this prayer merely continues the theme of the 'Gloria in Excelsis,' having little or no connection with the Mass of the day, and nine of the 'Orationes' are used with especial frequency. Even on Sundays in Advent, when the Gloria is now omitted, reference is made to this Canticle, but on certain feasts (Christmas, Sunday before the Epiphany, Epiphany, Ascension, Pentecost, Corpus Christi, all the Commons, and between thirty and forty days in the 'Sanctorale') the 'Oratio,' as in the Roman rite, refers to the day. A noteworthy feature in this liturgy seems to be the tendency for the varying prayers to fall into couples, a bidding prayer

or invitation to pray (sometimes of considerable length), often of the nature of a homily addressed to the congregation, and a collect, summing up the previous suggestions, addressed to God (*cf.* Roman Good Friday solemn prayers). In some prayers (*e.g.* second Sunday after the Octave of the Epiphany) the reply 'Amen' is made both before and after the customary conclusion of the collect. At the centre of the altar the priest says: 'Per misericordiam tuam, Deus noster, qui es benedictus et vivis et omnia regis in saecula saeculorum,' which is the equivalent of the Roman 'Per Dominum nostrum.' Before the reading of the prophetic lection is 'Dominus sit semper vobiscum,' and its response, when the celebrant does not turn and face the people, since the primitive form of altar is anticipated with the officiant facing west. On special occasions, such as the Eucharistic Congress in 1911, an altar is erected for this rite in the nave of the cathedral and the sacred ministers once again conform to the ancient custom. The first Council of Braga (563) ordered bishops as well as priests to use the form 'Dominus vobiscum,' ascribing any other greeting to the heresy of the Priscillianists, although Spain has since inserted the word 'semper.' Rome, alone in the West, has the episcopal 'Pax vobis.' The Mozarabic lectionary appears to be very similar to that once used in the now destroyed Church of Africa, since that which underlies the sermons of St. Augustine appears to have been Gallican rather than Roman in type, although the African position of the 'pax' after the Consecration agreed rather with the 'Mother and Mistress of All the Churches.'

Prophecy, Epistle and Gospel have been retained in the Spanish rite, and in Lent and other fasts *two* Old Testament lessons are read, the one from the books of Solomon and the other from the Pentateuch or one of the historical books. Mass on vigils (*e.g.* Christmas, Epiphany) begins immediately with the reading of these lections, as it appears to have done in the normal liturgy at the time of St. Justin Martyr (*c.* 167), and as indeed is still the case in the Presanctified rite of Good Friday. A letter written by St. Isidore to Leudefred, Bishop of Cordoba, on the duties of deacons, gives the custom in his day as to the reading of these lessons: 'praedicare

Evangelium et Apostolum. Nam sicut lectoribus Vetus Testamentum, ita diaconibus Novum praedicare praeceptum est.' The same author, also, in his 'Regula monachorum' speaks of 'Lectio' as 'Missa'—a usage found in the Rule of St. Fructuosus of Braga and in the 'Regula ad monachos' of St. Caesarius of Arles: 'Vigilias a mense Octobri usque ad Pascha duos nocturnos faciant et *tres missas*. *Ab una missa* legat frater folia tria, et orate: legat alia tria, et levet se.' Although, normally, Rome has now only Epistle and Gospel, it must be remembered that prophetical lessons are read on all Lenten ferias when the Epistle has been dropped; while on Ember days and greater vigils the three are still in use. In primitive times it is probable that the deacon called for silence before each of the lections, but now this is done only before the first from the New Testament (Epistle), for which the modern 'Devocionario' (1903) gives a symbolical reason—'that the faithful may take more care to be acquainted with the precepts of the New than of the Old, which latter Testament came to an end, as far as ceremonies and laws were concerned, with the death of Christ.'

After announcing the prophetical lesson (*e.g.* 'Lectio libri Proverbiorum Salomonis'—Corpus Christi), the response 'Deo Gratias' is made, with 'Amen' at its conclusion; while before the chant ('Psallendo') the celebrant again says 'Dominus sit semper vobiscum.' The version of the Psalms known as the 'Vetus Italica' is used in this rite, as in the Papal Chapel at Rome, St. Mark's, Venice, and the use of Milan.

The chant between the first two lessons, which is the oldest of the Mass chants, is described as 'Psallendo' or 'Lauda,' the latter name appearing in the manuscripts. The form taken is that of a respond, that is a solo with an accompanying refrain and originally sung from the lesson ambo. On some feasts, also, an invocation in antiphonal form, known as 'Clamor,' appeared before the Epistle. On the second and third Sundays in Lent, as well as on the weekdays of the same season, a 'Tractus'—psalm verses without repetition (*cf.* Rome)—is substituted. A note in the current 'Directorium' (1930), appended to the first Sunday in Lent, bids the celebrant prepare the chalice after the

'Psallendum' and then, taking the veiled chalice and paten into his hands, to kneel at the foot of the altar and say the 'Preces' ('modo feriali') in a low voice, raising it at 'Per misericordiam . . .' This done, the priest, having uncovered both chalice and paten on the altar, is to read the Apostle (Epistle). These 'Preces' or short penitential litanies are said on every Sunday in Lent except the sixth, when the 'Traditio Symboli' intervenes. This interesting survival was originally drawn up for the use of public penitents, who, according to the sixth Canon of the first Council of Lyon (517), were allowed as a special favour to stay in church on these occasions 'usque ad orationem plebis quae post evangelia legeretur.' In addition to this 'Psallendo' the Gallican rites had the 'Benedicite Omnia Opera' or 'Cantus Trium Puerorum' sung here, although its use appears to have been subject to much variation. By the fourteenth Canon of the fourth Council of Toledo (633), since some priests were leaving out the 'Benedicite' on Sundays and festivals, its use was rendered obligatory at all solemn Masses ('in omnium missarum solemnitate')—to be sung at the entrance of the chancel ('in pulpito')—but in spite of this pronouncement the desire for brevity was too strong and the command was very generally disregarded. The 'Omnium Offerentium,' bound up with the missal, gives a short form of this hymn for every Mass, but the complete Mass for the first Sunday in Advent omits it altogether. A second rendering of the hymn appears on the first Sunday in Lent, presumably for Lenten use, and on Easter Day there is a rubric to the effect that the priest may say it if he likes. According to St. Germanus, the 'Benedicite' seems to have been sung in his day *after* the Epistle at Paris and Luxeuil. The form, still occasionally recited between the first two lessons, consists of 'Benedictus es' (Dan. iii. 52–55) with an abridged form of the 'Benedicite,' the whole preceded by part of the third chapter of Daniel (verses 49–51) rather freely translated. This was once followed by Psalm cv—'Confitemini'—which has now been reduced to a single verse. Before the Epistle the deacon chants 'Silentium facite'; while after the announcement the response 'Deo gratias' is given, with, as at the conclusion of all the

lessons, ' Amen.' In accordance with old Gallican custom, during Eastertide the Apocalypse is read for the prophetic lesson, and the Acts of the Apostles for the Epistle. The fourth Council of Toledo (Can. 16) even threatens to excommunicate those who omit the Apocalypse ! There is no chant between the second and third lessons, and the rite has never admitted any Proses or Sequences. Before the ' Munda cor meum ' the celebrant, bowing profoundly in the centre of the altar, says : ' Conforta me, Rex Sanctorum, summum tenens principatum ; da sermonem rectum, et bene sonantem in os meum : ut placeam tibi et omnibus circumstantibus. Jube Domine benedicere. Dominus sit in corde meo, et in ore meo, et in labiis meis ad pronuntiandum Sanctum Evangelium divinum.' From the fifth century the reading of the Gospel has been the deacon's especial privilege (*cf.* Council of Vaison, 529), expressed in the delivery of an ' Evangelarium ' at his Ordination. A Spanish ' Liber Ordinum ' of the ninth century already has this ceremony with the formula : ' Ecce fili evangelium Christi accipe, ex quo annunties bonam gratiam fideli populo.' The ' Devocionario ' (1903) seems to suppose that in a solemn Mass with ministers the deacon will sing the Gospel, and certainly this was the ancient custom, but Dom German Prado points out in the *Revista Ecclesiástica* for September 1926 that it is the celebrant who sings the Gospel, comparing this with the Byzantine pontifical Mass when, according to Sozomen, it was the bishop himself. The ' Munda cor meum ' differs in some respects from the Roman form : ' Munda cor meum, *corpusque*, ac labia mea, omnipotens *et misericors* Deus, qui labia Isaiae prophetae calculo mundasti ignito ; ita et me tua *gratissima* miseratione mundare *digneris*, ut sanctum Evangelium valeam nuntiare. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen ' ; but the blessing is altogether different : ' Corroboret Dominus sensum tuum, ac labia tua, ut recte pronunties nobis eloquia sancta sua.' Before the Gospel the mutual salutation is given with ' Gloria tibi Domine,' but at its conclusion ' Amen ' is said and then, making a cross on the book and kissing it, the celebrant continues : ' Ave verbum + divinum, reformatio virtutum, restitutio sanitatum.'

At the Gospel both lights and incense are used *more Romano*, and while it is being sung the 'Liber Omnium Offerentium,' containing the Ordinary of the Mass, is placed on the Epistle side of the altar, so that the priest has in the left-hand missal the 'variables' and in that on the right the 'constants.' After a further salutation the 'Lauda' (more accurately 'Laudes'), an Alleluiatic chant consisting of a verse between two 'Alleluias,' is sung, taking the place of the 'Sonus' described by St. Germanus, which occupied the time of the procession of the oblata and during which the Offertory ceremonies are now carried out. Though resembling the Latin 'Alleluias' between the Epistle and Gospel, its position here was due to Byzantine influence, and the fourth Council of Toledo (633) ordered that the 'Laudes' should never be sung before and never omitted after the Gospel. In the Mozarabic rite four classes of 'Alleluias' are recognized—'initials,' 'doubles,' 'redoubles' and 'finals'—those in the 'Laudes' belonging to the first class. Originally the 'Sacrificium' was sung while the elements were being put on the altar, immediately after the 'Laudes,' but now it is separated by the Offertory prayers, which, forming no part of the original rite and resembling Rome, are yet different in wording. The prayer at the offering of the bread in the Roman rite ('Suscipe, sancte Pater') was possibly borrowed in the eleventh century from a Spanish missal, but it finds no place here, and while the Host is being offered the celebrant says 'Acceptabilis sit majestati tuae, omnipotens aeterne Deus, haec nostra oblatio, quam tibi offerimus pro reatibus et facinoribus nostris, et pro stabilitate sanctae Catholicae et Apostolicae Ecclesiae, et fidei cultoribus. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. In nomine Patris, + et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.' In accordance with Western custom, azyme bread is used at the Mass, but at the sixteenth Council of Toledo (Can. 6), held in 693, although the exact kind of bread is described, there is no mention of its being unleavened. Then, with the paten and Host on the corporal, the celebrant takes the chalice and offers it 'In nomine Patris, + et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Offerimus tibi, Domine, Calicem ad benedicendum Sanguinem

Christi Filii tui, deprecamurque Clementiam tuam, ut ante conspectum divinae Majestatis tuae cum odore suavitatis ascendat. Per eundem + Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.' Replacing the chalice, the priest continues: 'Hanc oblationem, quaesumus Domine, placatus admitte, et *omnium offerentium* et eorum pro quibus tibi offertur, peccata indulge. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.' These prayers are followed by (hands joined and bowing profoundly) 'In spiritu humilitatis et in animo contrito suscipiamur, Domine, a te, et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum; ut a te suscipiamur hodie, ut placeat tibi Domine Deus. Veni, Sancte Spiritus sanctificator, sanctifica hoc + sacrificium de manibus meis tibi praeparatum.' In solemn Masses the deacon here brings the incense to the celebrant, who blesses it, saying 'Ab illo benedicatur, in cujus honore cremabitur. In nomine Patris,' etc. While the altar is being censed the priest recites 'Placare Domine, per hoc incensum mihi et populo tuo, parcens peccatis nostris, et quiescat ira et furor tuus: praesta propitius, ut bonus odor simus tibi in vitam aeternam. Amen.' Then, handing back the thurible to the deacon, he is himself censed three times. Bowing down in the centre of the altar with joined hands, a form of the 'Orate fratres' is sung: 'Adjuvate me, fratres, in orationibus vestris et orate pro me ad Deum,' with the response 'Adjuvet te Pater, et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus.' On the Sundays in Lent, between the 'Laudes' and the 'Sacrificium' ('Offertorium' which follows 'Adjuvate me'), the prayers said kneeling, to which reference has already been made, are: 'Paenitentes orate: flectite genua Deo: deprecemur Dominum: ut remissionem peccatorum, et pacem nobis donare dignetur.' ℣. 'Erigite vos in nomine Christi: completa oratione vestra simul dicite. Amen.' ℟. 'Amen. State locis vestris ad Missam.'

The 'Sacrificium,' answering to the Gallican 'Laudes' and the Roman 'Offertorium,' was originally the beginning of the 'Mass of the faithful,' but now the lavabo and the prayer 'Accedam ad te' precede this.

Where offerings are to be made by the people the priest is now directed to receive them, saying to each one: 'Centuplum accipias, et vitam aeternam possideas in Regno Dei.

Amen.' A form for the blessing of the bread, similar to those found in the Roman and Sarum books, is still given in the missal, although the custom is long since obsolete : ℣. ' Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.' ℟. ' Qui fecit coelum et terram.' ℣. ' Sit nomen Domini benedictum.' ℟. ' Ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum.' ' Oratio. Bene ✠ dic, Domine, creaturam istam panis, sicut benedixisti quinque panes in deserto ; ut omnes gustantes ex eo recipiant sanitatem tam animae, quam corporis. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. Benedictio ✠ Dei Patris Omnipotentis, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti descendat super hunc panem, et super omnes ex eo comedentes.'

On the greatest feasts the offering of silver medals is substituted, in memory of the old custom, but when the primate or some royal personage is present two or more of them are gilded. In size they are larger and thicker than a peseta, one side bearing the arms of the cathedral and the reverse a jar with lilies and the date 1557, when the Toledan silversmith Juan Rodriguez de Babia minted one hundred of them.

After the ' Sacrificium,' according to the ' Antifonario de Léon ' (fol. 164), the deacon should say ' Deo gratias,' but a Romanized lavabo has been inserted, three verses of the psalm being said. Then, turning to the altar, a final blessing is given ' super oblationem cum tribus digitis ' : ' In nomine Patris, ✠ et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, regnas, Deus, in saecula saeculorum. Amen.'

The ' prayer of humble access ' (' Accedam ad te '), now said at this point by the celebrant with his head bowed, once appeared before the ' Officium,' and St. Isidore in his ' Etymologies ' (vi. 19) mentions a dismissal of the catechumens with a deacon's proclamation as coming in this place— ' tempore sacrificii et quando catechumeni foras mittuntur, clamante levita : Si quis catechumenus remansit exeat foras, et inde *missa* ' (*cf.* St. Augustine, ' Ecce post sermonem fit *missa* catechumenis : manebunt fideles '). The prayer ' Accedam ad te ' seems to have been the work of St. Julian of Toledo (680–690) : ' Accedam ad te in humilitate spiritus mei ; loquar ad te, quia multam spem in fortitudine dedisti mihi. Tu ergo, Fili David, qui revelato mysterio ad nos in carne venisti, clave

Crucis tuae secreta cordis mei adaperi, mittens unum de Seraphim, qui candenti carbone illo, qui de altari tuo sublatus est, sordentia labia + (signat os) mea emundet, mentem + (signat frontem) enubilet, docendique materiam + (a fronte ad pectus se signat) subministret, ut lingua, quae proximorum utilitati per charitatem servit, nec erroris insonet casum, sed veritatis resultet sine fine praeconium. Per te, Deus meus, qui vivis et regnas in saecula saeculorum. Amen.'

The ' Missa Fidelium,' after the mutual salutation, begins in the prayer called ' Missa,' the first of those seven sacred prayers, already traditional when spoken of by St. Isidore (' De off. eccl.,' Lib. I. cap. xv.)—' Missa,' ' Alia Oratio,' ' Post Nomina,' ' Ad Pacem,' ' Illatio,' ' Post Pridie ' and ' Ad orationem dominicam '—which, unlike the immutable Roman Canon, vary with the season or feast. One computation makes the ' Missa ' and ' Alia Oratio ' one prayer, the former being the bidding to the latter; while others mention the fifth prayer as ' Illatio,' containing Sanctus, ' Post Sanctus,' and words of Consecration. The text of the prayers given here will be that found in the missal for ' Corpus Christi.' The ' Missa ' (' Ad Missam Oratio,' ' Oratio Missae ') sometimes takes the form of an admonition to the faithful, or bidding prayer (' Apologia '; *cf.* Gallican ' Praefatio '), concerning which St. Isidore writes: ' Oratio admonitionis est erga populum, ut excitentur ad exorandum Deum.' At other times this consists of an invocation to God or a simple prayer in anticipatory preparation for the Divine Mysteries: ' Propitiare Domine, cunctis iniquitatibus nostris, et redime nos, et de incorruptione vitam nostram: gravia sunt enim nostra delicta; sed tu misericors a nobis debita prolonga flagella, et cum suspensa fuerit iracundia tua, corrigantur; quae in nos conspicis esse non recta.' ℟. ' Amen.' The ' Missa ' is followed by the celebrant monotoning ' Per misericordiam tuam, Deus noster, qui es benedictus et vivis et omnia regis in saecula saeculorum.' ℟. ' Amen.' Then, for the first time in the Mozarabic Mass, the priest chants ' Oremus,' although probably it originally stood as ' Flectite genua Deo,' since this is implied by the subsequent ' Erigite vos,' found in the ' Liber Ordinum ' before the ' Alia Oratio ' and after the ' Ectene ' or

diaconal litany. The choir reply in Byzantine fashion, which formed no part of the original rite: '*ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος*, Domine Deus Rex aeterne, tibi laudes et gratias.' In the short invitation to intercessory prayer, a very compressed form of the 'prex' or prayers of the faithful is found, consisting of an 'Ectene' cut down to two clauses, the second of which is probably a conflation of several clauses, though even in this shortened form one of the people's responses has already vanished. St. Germanus places this 'Ectene' before the dismissal of the catechumens, apparently carrying with it both 'Prefatio' ('Missa') and 'Collectio ante nomina' ('Alia Oratio'), although this can hardly have been its original position and already catechumens in the primitive sense were growing scarce. A solemn entreaty on behalf of the Church of God is common to all liturgies: Rome has 'In primis, quae tibi offerimus pro Ecclesia tua sancta catholica'; Constantinople, 'For the strengthening of the holy Churches of God'; and St. Fructuosus, Bishop of Tarragona, as he was being led to martyrdom in 259, replied in answer to one who asked for his prayers, 'I must keep in mind all the Holy Catholic Church extended from East to West.' ('In mente me habere necesse est Ecclesiam Catholicam ab oriente usque ad occidentem diffusam.') This liturgy has: 'Ecclesiam sanctam catholicam in orationibus in mente habeamus, ut eam Dominus fide, spe, et charitate propitius ampliare dignetur: omnes lapsos, captivos, infirmos, atque peregrinos in mente habeamus, ut eos Dominus propitius respicere, redimere, sanare et confortare dignetur'; to which the choir replies 'Praesta, aeterne omnipotens Deus.' The response given here is identical with that found in the Mozarabic Vespers and Lauds in answer to the 'Supplicatio.' Here 'Oremus' may possibly have replaced an original 'Deprecemur,' since an alternative title for 'Supplicatio' is 'Deprecatio.' The Rule of St. Benedict (cap. IX.) has 'Supplicatio litaniae, id est Kyrie eleison.' Prayer for the 'lapsi' recalls the long discussion in the primitive Church, more especially at the time of the Decian persecution, concerning those who under threats of punishment had sacrificed to idols, but who later wished to return to the faith. The problem was

particularly acute in Alexandria and Carthage, and St. Cyprian, who wrote ' De lapsis,' summoned a Council in A.D. 251 to be held at Carthage, in order to deal with the matter. Forty-two bishops were present, and its decisions were ratified by Pope St. Cornelius (250–252).

Next, after the fragmentary solemn prayers, comes the ' Alia Oratio,' known in Gallican books as ' Collectio sequitur.' In the Reichenau fragments it is not quite clear if one or two prayers stood here, and there is uncertainty as to whether the Reichenau ' Collectio ' or the ' Ante Nomina ' were originally identical with it. Neither these, however, nor the Mozarabic ' Alia Oratio ' bear any reference to the ' Nomina ' which follow, save in the invariable ending of the Spanish prayer. This ' Alia Oratio ' (' Secunda ') asks God to accept favourably the prayers and offerings of the faithful (' Invocationis ad Deum est, ut clementer suscipiat preces fidelium oblationesque eorum '—St. Isidore). In the ' Missa in II° Dominico de Quotidiano ' (' Codex Toletanus ') the ' Alia ' takes the form of an ' Apologia.' That for Corpus Christi reads ' Deus, quem esurimus, et sitimus, tua, quaesumus, dulcedine satiemur. Ut hoc sacrificium, quod tibi cum solemnitatibus Corporis Christi offerimus, et praesenti vita nos a delictis mundos efficiat, et aeterna post cum Sanctis omnibus felicitate sustollat ' ; while the common ending for this prayer is ' Per misericordiam tuam, Deus noster, in cujus conspectu Sanctorum Apostolorum, et Martyrum, Confessorum, atque Virginum nomina recitantur.' ℟. ' Amen.' Here the diptychs of the living and dead begin, formerly read by the deacon, as St. Isidore testified, and standing in the Gallican position *before* the Anaphora (*cf.* Act v., second Council of Constantinople, A.D. 553). Sometimes, however, the ' Nomina ' appear to have been read by clerks in *minor* orders, since the ' Post Nomina ' prayer for the third Sunday after Easter reads : ' Transfer hec nomina in pagina celi, que levitarum et cantorum tuorum officiis recitata sunt.' In ancient times patriarchs, prophets and anchorites were added after confessors in the above ending, and their names were also recited, as is testified by some of the ' Post Nomina ' prayers—*e.g.* fourth in Advent and Easter, where the classes of saints are alluded to as

'Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs.' The original series is still to be seen in a set of Irish diptychs in the Stowe missal (700–900), although here they have been transferred to a position in the Canon of the Mass, and in the Rule of Aurelian, Bishop of Arles (546–553), a further set of diptychs is found adapted to fit into the Roman Canon.

According to the 'Liber Ordinum' (fol. 162), the diptychs were not only read by the deacon, following the Oriental custom, but they were arranged differently from the present use, which was revised by Cardinal Cisneros, although even now they are said to be the oldest extant. It is, however, impossible to tell how much variation existed in the different Spanish sees, as only the Toledan diptychs have come down to us. Here they continue: 'Offerunt Deo Domino oblationem Sacerdotes nostri [Archbishop of Toledo and other metropolitans of Spain and Gothic Gaul], Papa Romensis [concerning whom the Council of Vaison (Can. 4, in 529) said 'Et hoc nobis justum visum est ut nomen domni Papae quicunque sedi apostolicae praefuerit, in nostris ecclesiis recitetur'], et reliqui [bishops of Carthage, Milan, Lyon, etc.] pro se, et pro omni clero, et plebibus Ecclesiae sibimet consignatis, vel pro universa fraternitate [those who are in peace and communion with the Catholic Church]. Item offerunt universi Presbyteri, Diaconi, Clerici [all clergy of the Church of Toledo], ac populi circumadstantes [names of the offerers, the King and the principal magistrates—*cf.* 'Et omnium circumstantium' in Roman rite], in honorem Sanctorum pro se et suis.' Then, before the names of the living and the dead are read out, the choir answers 'Offerunt pro se et pro universa fraternitate,' implying the lay people who actually offered, with an allusion to the 'Liber viventium.' The response 'Et omnium offerentium' has very possibly dropped out. In several Mozarabic prayers the names on the diptychsare classed as 'Offerentium (living) et pausantium (dead).'

The first part of the latter continues: 'Facientes [*cf.* 'Communicantes' in Roman liturgy] commemorationem Beatissimorum Apostolorum et Martyrum [confessors are omitted here, since up to the time of St. Martin there was only

a cult *qua* saints for those who had actually shed their blood, while all others were grouped with the ordinary dead, thus proving the extreme antiquity of this passage—*cf.* commemorative formulary at the end of the Rule of Aurelian, *c.* 546], gloriosae Sanctae Mariae Virginis, Zachariae, Joannis, Infantium [the words ' gloriosae . . . Infantium ' are obviously a later addition, since neither Apostles nor martyrs are included here], Petri, Pauli, Ioannis, Iacobi, Andreae, Philippi, Thomae, Bartholomaei, Mathaei, Jacobi, Simonis et Judae, Mathiae, Marci et Lucae.' And the response is made, ' Et omnium Martyrum.' The names of local martyrs who laid down their lives for Christ in Spain were originally included, but omitted for the sake of brevity. Then, in the second place, the faithful dead who have not achieved the crown of martyrdom are commemorated : ' Item pro spiritibus pausantium [the names of the ' Pausantes,' ' Quiescentes ' or ' Dormientes ' once varied with every see, since those recorded were its departed occupants and others connected with it], Hilarii, Athanasii, Martini, Ambrosii, Augustini, Fulgentii, Leandri, Isidori, David, Juliani, item Juliani, Petri, item Petri, Joannis, Servi Dei, Visitani, Viventis, Felicis, Cypriani, Vincentii, Gerontii, Zachariae, Cenapoli, Dominici, Justi, Saturnini, Salvati, item Salvati, Bernardi, Raymundi, Joannis, Celebruni, Gundisalvi, Martini, Roderici, Joannis, Guterrii, Sancii, item Sancii, Dominici, Juliani, item Juliani, Philippi, Stephani, Joannis, item Joannis, Felicis ' ; to which the choir replies, as in the Stowe missal, ' Et omnium pausantium.' The inclusion of St. Fulgentius, Bishop of Carthage, has been thought by some scholars to point to a liturgical connection between North Africa and Spain. Looking through these forty-seven names, we find three distinct classes—Doctors of the Universal Church, saints honoured throughout the Peninsula, and archbishops of Toledo—dating from after, as well as before, the final conquest of the city (1085), some of whom have never been raised to the altars. The third prayer or ' Oratio post Nomina ' follows the diptychs, said on behalf of those who offer as well as for the holy dead, that through this Sacrifice they may obtain pardon for all their offences (' Tertia autem effunditur pro offerentibus, sive pro defunctis fidelibus, ut per idem sacri-

ficium veniam consequantur '—St. Isidore) : ' Acceptum habe, pie Pater, sacrificium populi offerentis ; quo et vivis gratiam, et sepultis requiem largiaris aeternam.' R7. ' Amen.' Traces of the original form of the ' Post Nomina,' as an address rather than a prayer, are still found in the Easter Mass. To this variable prayer there is the constant ending : ' Quia tu es vita vivorum, sanitas infirmorum, ac requies omnium fidelium defunctorum in aeterna secula saeculorum.' R7. ' Amen.'

The fourth Isidorian prayer, ' Oratio ad Pacem,' precedes the giving of the ' pax,' which, in accordance with Gallican and Oriental practice, stands before the beginning of the Anaphora, so that those who offer the Gift may first be reconciled to their brethren. Of this, the great Mozarabic Father writes : ' Quarta post haec infertur pro osculo pacis, ut caritate reconciliati, omnes invicem digne sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi consocientur, quia non recipit dissentionem cujusquam Christi indivisibile corpus.' On Corpus Christi the prayer continues : ' Tuam, Domine, misericordiam, qui das pacem, assiduis praeconiis immolamus. Quia tu es pax vera, qui pacificas universa, et tua pace commemorantia omnia perseverant in opera bona. Amen ' ; with the invariable conclusion : ' Quia tu es vera pax nostra, et charitas indisrupta, vivis tecum et regnas cum Spiritu Sancto, unus Deus in saecula saeculorum.' R7. ' Amen.' In some instances the ' Oratio ad Pacem ' refers to the oblations (*e.g.* Ascension ; St. Eulalia (December 10) ; ' Missale Gothicum, primo die S. Paschae ' ; ' Missale Gallicanum, Missa V de Adventu ' ; ' Sacramentarium Bobbiense, Missa sacerdotis pro seipso '). After the ending of the ' ad Pacem ' the celebrant, raising his hands to his shoulders, solemnly invokes the aid of the Blessed Trinity : ' Gratia Dei Patris omnipotentis, pax ac dilectio Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et communicatio Spiritus Sancti sit semper cum omnibus nobis ' ; to which the choir responds : ' Et cum hominibus bonae voluntatis.' The Apostolic salutation (2 Cor. xiii. 14) appears in all the Oriental liturgies, save that of St. Mark, the word ' pax ' being added in the Mozarabic rite with the positions of the first two Divine Persons reversed. Among the Byzantines, however, and

originally also in Spain, as manuscripts show, this 'Gratia Dei' came after the 'pax' and immediately before the Sursum Corda dialogue and Anaphora, while its place before the 'pax' was taken by εἰρήνη πᾶσιν or some such equivalent. After the reply of the choir in this rite the priest continues, with his hands placed on the altar: 'Quomodo adstatis, pacem facite' (although he once said 'Inter vos pacem tradite'—*cf.* Can. 1, *Conc. Compostell.*, 1056); and the choir chants the antiphon 'Pacem meam do vobis,' which the celebrant repeats in a low voice: 'Pacem meam do vobis, pacem meam commendo vobis, non sicut mundus dat pacem do vobis.' ℣. 'Novum mandatum do vobis, ut diligatis vos invicem.' *P.* 'Pacem meam,' etc. ℣. 'Gloria et honor Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto in saecula saeculorum. Amen.' *P.* 'Pacem meam do vobis . . .' While this is being sung the celebrant kisses the paten and gives it to the deacon ('vel puero'): 'Habete osculum dilectionis et pacis, ut apti sitis sacrosanctis mysteriis Dei.' Then, as at the beginning of Mass, the priest (bowing down with hands joined) says 'Introibo ad altare Dei' ('mei' being added), and the ministers reply 'Ad Deum, qui laetificat juventutem meam,' as if both the Mass of the catechumens and the Mass of the faithful, or rather its central portion (Anaphora), need this simple preparation by way of a preface. Before the Sursum Corda the celebrant places his hands over the chalice, so that the tips of his fingers reach the pall, though without touching it, while he says 'Aures ad Dominum,' since faith comes by hearing. The choir answers 'Habemus ad Dominum,' and the priest continues 'Sursum corda,' with the reply 'Levemus ad Dominum.' Bowing down, the celebrant proceeds: 'Deo ac Domino nostro Jesu Christo Filio Dei, qui est in coelis, dignas laudes dignasque gratias referamus'; and the response is given: 'Dignum et justum est.' This, however, can hardly be the original form, as the 'Great Thanksgiving' is always addressed to the Father or the Holy Trinity, and Dom Férotin ('Lib. Ord.,' col. 236) has suggested that the text once ran: 'Deo ac Domino nostro Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto dignas laudes et gratias referamus.'

As in the Roman rite, a Preface leads by way of ' the angels and archangels ' to the Sanctus, which, together with the ' Post Sanctus ' and words of Consecration, make up St. Isidore's fifth prayer under the general name of ' Illatio,' although this is perhaps more often used to describe the Preface only (' Quinta, deinde infertur illatio in santificatione oblationis, in qua etiam et ad Dei laudem terrestrium creaturarum virtutumque celestium universitas provocatur, et Hosanna in excelsis cantatur, quod Salvatore de genere David nascente salus mundo usque ad excelsa pervenerit '). The term ' Illatio ' (' Inlatio '), equivalent to the Greek ' Anaphora ' (Offering), may be compared with the Gallican ' Immolatio ' (Offering or Sacrifice) and ' Contestatio ' (' Eucharistia ' or testifying of our thankfulness ; *cf.* Latin ' actio,' ' gratiarum actio '). The Mozarabic ' Illationes,' proper to every Mass (*cf.* Ambrosian rite), are in some ways similar to the Roman Prefaces, although they are longer and more diffuse, and the oldest of them show many resemblances to the Eastern type, for such a point as detailed references to the Old Covenant was never so thoroughly worked out in the indigenous Western liturgy. Many of these Illations are thanksgivings, showing a distinctly chronological order in the events commemorated, but the later Masses depart more and more from the early type, both in this and other respects. The custom of composing Masses for many special festivals and occasions must necessarily have had a great influence in obliterating many of the original features of the primitive type of Illation, for on some days admonition is given to the people concerning the mystery or life of the particular saint whose feast is being celebrated (*e.g.* Corpus Christi, St. Laurence), that of St. James recalling the miraculous cure of the paralytic, effected by the prayers of Spain's patron on his way to martyrdom. The Illation for the second Sunday after the Octave of the Epiphany (' Missa Quotidiana III ' ; ' In IIII° Dominico de Quotidiano '—' Codex Toletanus ') shows signs of very great antiquity, since it contrasts the Eucharist with the pagan offering of animal sacrifices : ' Here is neither the bleating of sheep nor the bellowing of cattle nor the death-cry of fluttering fowl to grieve the ear. Here the eye is not shocked with blood

nor the appetite with surfeit : yet so wonderful and astounding is the victim that though without blood it is eaten alive. For although the true body is eaten and the blood most manifestly drunk, yet nevertheless without aught distasteful is the salvation of our souls ministered in the spiritual food and cup.' (' Non hic balatus ovium, non mugitus boum, non volatilium vox sub ictu mortis dolorem incurrit, non horrorem sanguinis, non fastidium cruditas ; sed tamen mirabilis atque stupenda est hostia, ut incruenta sit, cum viva sumatur. Nam licet verum corpus edatur et sanguis manifestissimus hauriatur, nullus tamen horror incutitur, cum salus animarum nostrarum spiritali cibo et poculo ministratur.') The ' Post Sanctus ' for ' Missa Quotidiana VI ' gives a similar idea : ' Non enim hic horrido mugitu pecudum tristis hostia aut taurus occiditur, aut hircus de gregibus immolatur : sed hostia quam verus Dominus et Sacerdos instituit omnipotens ' ; and in the same prayer, for ' Missa III Pluralis,' there is ' Vere sanctus, vere terribilis et nimium metuendus es, Deus : . . . qui non arietum aut hircorum sanguine delectaris, sed integre confessionis placaris obsequiis ' (*cf.* ' Inlatio in Missa de VI^{a} Feria Pascha ' : ' Fracta est confestim virtus seva carnificum, et ad nihilum redacta est exhausta crassatio (grassatio) cruentorum '). The later type of Illation is shown in that of Corpus Christi : ' Dignum et justum est, nos tibi gratias agere, Domine Sancte, Pater aeterne, omnipotens Deus. Qui paras adinventiones tuas sapienter, et disponis omnia suaviter. Qui ascendisti super occasum : Dominus nomen est tibi. Tu panis es vivus et verus, qui descendisti de cœlo, ut dares escam esurientibus, imo ut ipse esses esca viventium. Qui es nobis in pane, quo corda firmantur, ut in virtute panis hujus per hos dedicatos nomini tuo dies sine impedimento carnis, et sanguines jejunare valeamus, te ipsum panem habentes. Quai pauperes tuos coelestibus saturas panibus. Cui merito omnes Angeli, et Archangeli non cessant clamare quotidie, ita dicentes.'

The Sanctus differs in certain respects from that found in the Roman rite : ' Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria *majestatis tuae. Hosanna Filio David.* Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.

Hosanna in excelsis. *ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, κύριε ὦ θεός.*' The last portion is plainly an innovation due to Byzantine influence, although it now appears to be omitted in 'ordinary masses.' In accordance with a rubric found in the 'Liber Ordinum,' the celebrant should add 'Hosanna in excelsis' to the response of the choir, as is the practice at Requiems. The 'Post Sanctus' is sometimes spoken of as forming the fifth prayer, but, though variable, it normally begins 'Vere Sanctus, vere benedictus Dominus Jesus Christus,' and ends 'Dominus, ac Redemptor aeternus.' Most liturgies, except the Roman, have some such prayer linking up the Sanctus with the recital of the Institution (*cf.* Easter Eve in the Ambrosian rite), but here, although there is no 'amen,' a prayer, 'Adesto, adesto, Jesu bone Pontifex,' has been interpolated before the Consecration, concerning which Lesley writes: 'more suo adeo imperite ut interpolatio manifesta est.' In the Merovingian-Gallican missals of the seventh and eighth centuries there is no intervening prayer, nor yet in the 'Missa Omnimoda,' found in the 'Liber Ordinum' of Silos (1052), although the interpolation is probably earlier than the Cisneros revision of 1500. Perhaps it originated as a parenthetical ejaculation said secretly by the priest before the actual Consecration, and inspired by the Roman Canon (*cf.* 'Supplices te rogamus'). On the Feast of Corpus Christi the 'Post Sanctus' reads: 'Vere Sanctus, vere benedictus Dominus Jesus Christus Filius tuus, qui, repudiata immundorum contagione libaminum simplicem ritum novae functionis instituit. Docuitque discipulos suos inter sacrosancta solemnia innocentia pura vivere, et Deo soli hostiam laudis offerre. Christus Dominus, ac Redemptor aeternus.'

The Consecration formula begins what is known as the 'Misa secreta,' since the breaking of the silence was possibly a later innovation under Eastern influence, although the previous prayer ('Adesto'), for no very apparent reason, is styled the beginning of the 'Canon' by some writers: 'Adesto, adesto, Jesu bone Pontifex, in medio nostri, sicut fuisti in medio discipulorum tuorum, et sancti+fica hanc + oblationem, ut sanctificata + sumamus per manum Sancti Angeli tui, Sancte Domine ac Redemptor aeterne.' Without any

break this prayer leads straight into the Consecration, which by its position has been likened to a precious stone set in a gold ring (' Sicut gemma in annulo concluditur aureo sic ista missa secreta inclusa est in medio '—' Ex Codice Cassineusi,' 384, fol. 97). The first paragraph now begins with the Oriental ' in qua nocte tradebatur,' instead of the Roman ' qui pridie quam pateretur ' ; but, since the sixth prayer is termed ' Post Pridie ' (in the Mass ' in Vigilia Pasche dicenda ' the prayer is called ' Post Missam secretam '), it is obvious that the Western form must have originally existed in Spain, although both the ' Liber Ordinum ' of Silos (1052) and the eleventh-century Toledo manuscript (35–6) have the present wording. A curious point is raised by a Mass in the former compilation, ' Missa Sancti Petri Apostoli Romensis,' where the Roman Canon itself is found, but with no embolism to the Lord's Prayer and a Mozarabic form of ' Benedictio.' Several Gallican books have striking similarities, so it can hardly be a mere caprice of the copyist, and in view of the title ' Post Pridie ' as the name of a prayer, one may pertinently ask Can this be the original Canon of the Church of Spain, or was this a first step in Romanizing the old liturgy ? Cardinal Cisneros, however, in his revision (1500) inserted the Roman words of Consecration, on a slip of paper gummed to the margin, in place of those traditional in the Mozarabic rite (*cf.* Byzantine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom). For the Host, the old Spanish words were ' Hoc est Corpus meum quod pro vobis tradetur,' and for the chalice, ' Hic est Calix novi Testamenti in meo Sanguine, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum.' Later editions relegated the Roman form to footnotes, but ever since the mission of Zanelo (924) there seems to be evidence for its use, despite the plain written word of the Mozarabic missal. From acting on the precept 'Sit vobis codex vestra memoria,' only two known manuscripts contain the actual words of Consecration, but their absence from the remainder no more implied a Mass without the *ipsissima verba* of Our Lord than did the East Syrian liturgy before Nestorian error had omitted them.

The ' Misa secreta,' as now said, follows directly after the

prayer ' Adesto ' with the words ' Dominus noster Jesus-Christus, in qua nocte tradebatur [he washes his fingers], accepit panem, et gratias agens, bene +dixit, ac fregit, deditque discipulis suis : dicens : accipite et manducate. Hoc est enim Corpus meum. Quotiescumque manducaveritis, hoc facite in meam + commemorationem.' R7. ' Amen.' ' Similiter + et Calicem postquam coenavit dicens : Hic est enim Calix Sanguinis mei novi et aeterni Testamenti, mysterium fidei, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Quotiescumque biberitis, hoc facite in meam + commemorationem.' R7. ' Amen.' ' Quotiescumque manducaveritis panem hunc, et Calicem istum biberitis, mortem Domini annuntiabitis, donec veniat in claritatem + de coelis.' R7. ' Amen.'

After the words of Consecration both Host and Chalice are elevated for adoration, but the latter is covered with the pall (*cf.* Braga). The three responses show in this, as in so many other instances, distinct Oriental influence, and the words ' in meam commemorationem,' as well as ' in claritatem de coelis,' are chanted on feasts of nine lessons (except in octaves). The ' Liber Ordinum,' however, shows that at one time the reply of the faithful to the last of these responses was ' Sic credimus, Domine Jesu.'

The concluding paragraph of this Consecration formulary is taken from 1 Cor. xi. 26, and includes a short general anamnesis, while its substantial agreement with the Ambrosian and Oriental liturgies is a detail of considerable importance. The sixth Isidorian prayer (' Post Pridie ') follows, of which the great Mozarabic Father says ' Conformatio [' Confirmatio '] sacramenti, ut oblatio quae Deo offertur sanctificata per Sanctum Spiritum corpori Christi et sanguine conformetur [' confirmetur '].' It has been already shown how the title of this prayer precludes the Pauline formula of Consecration as the original, and now the above quotation seems to give some credence to the theory that the epiclesis or invocation of the Holy Spirit, following the words of Institution, effects the actual change of substance. In the first place, however, St. Isidore has also written (' Epist. VII., ad Redemptorem,' sect. 2) of ' Verba Dei . . . scilicet, Hoc est Corpus meum '

as ' substantia sacramenti ' ; and secondly, it has been proved that the epiclesis is not really primitive, for even in the Gallican books, although several prayers contain such an invocation, the majority are without it. The undue stress put upon this Eastern view has perhaps been caused by the anxiety on the part of those separated from the Catholic Church to find reasons that may seem to justify them in perpetuating their schism. The ' Post Pridie,' also, for the fourth Sunday after the Octave of Easter, quite definitely postulates the reality of Consecration by Our Lord's own words : ' Hec pia, hec salutaris hostia, Deus Pater, qua tibi reconciliatus est mundus. Hoc est corpus illud, quod pependit in cruce. Hic etiam sanguis, qui sacro profluxit ex latere. Pietati tue, proinde, gratias agentes ex hoc quod nos Filii tui morte redimeris et resurrectione salvaveris, adclines mente te Deum pietatis oramus, ut hec libamina Spiritus Sancti benedictione respergens sumentium visceribus sanctificationem adcommodes : quo, purificati a criminum labe, plenissime jucundemur in hoc Resurrectionis Dominice die.' An epiclesis for the fifth Sunday after Easter identifies the Angel of the Sacrifice with the Holy Spirit : ' Pro quo te Deus omnipotens rogamus et petimus : ut oblata in conspectu tuo nostrae servitutis libamina : ipse tibi acceptabilia facias : et accepta discurrente sancto Angelo tuo nobis sanctificata tui Domini nostri commixtione purificas : petitiones nostras in odorem suavitatis accipias.' There are, however, at least two ' Post Pridie ' prayers (St. Valerian (St. Cecilia), November 22 ; St. Euphemia, September 16) that show the Angel to be an ordinary member of the Angelic hierarchy. Thus, in the Mass of St. Cecilia : ' Excelse celorum Deus ac Domine, qui martiris tui Valeriani voluntatem per Angelum scisictare dignatus es . . . per eandem Angeli tui precem quaesumus, ut nostris petitionibus placabilem accomodes aurem, et per quem visitasti illorum jam credula pectora, per eum corda nostra jubeas mederi infirma ; et per quem illorum suscepisti precamina, per eum jubeas nostra sanctificare oblata ' ; and in that of St. Euphemia : ' Deus qui per manus Angeli tui argumentum rotarum, quo certatrix Eufimia distendebatur, mirifice confregisti ; tu ad sanctificanda hec oblata tibi libamina salutis e celo nuntium

mitte, qui et ad te nostrorum vulnerum causas deferat et apte oblatam nobis exhibeat medicinam.' In support of this latter theory, also, comparisons may be made with the short exposition on the Gallican liturgy, ascribed to St. Germanus, and the Benedictional of Autun-Freising (' Transmitte Domine de coelo de sancta sede tua angelum qui communicet populum et sanctam eucharistiam de manu sua accipat ').

In the Mozarabic missal there are possibly fourteen or fifteen Masses which have either a definite epiclesis or a form that can be twisted into one, but in the remainder we find the great oblation, often with allusions to the day (*e.g.* St. James). When the Catholic view as to the exact moment of Consecration became, so to speak, fixed, some of the ' Post Pridie ' prayers appear to have been altered in the mistaken idea that a subsequent invocation was contrary, or at any rate inimical, to Catholic principles. The same rather narrow view showed itself in altering what one may term dramatic anticipations, especially in the Armenian liturgy, whereas the ' Mother and Mistress of All the Churches ' herself speaks of ' hanc immaculatam Hostiam ' in the Offertory prayer, and the Byzantines (Uniates as well as Orthodox) sing (Great Entrance) the ' Cherubikon,' in which the sacred elements are referred to as the ' King of all things, invisibly escorted by an army of angels.' Thus the argument that the wording of the epiclesis proves that in ancient days this was held to be the moment of Consecration is nullified by the facts.

The ' Missa de III[a] Feria post vicesima ' has an example of a Logos invocation in the ' Post Pridie ' : ' Mitte Verbum tuum e celis, Domine, quo abluantur delicta et sanctificentur oblata ' ; but as specimens of epicleses of the Third Person the following may be quoted : ' XLIIII Item Alia Missa de Defunctis ' : ' Obtemperantes talibus institutis, te poscimus, piissime Pater, ut ad sanctificationem hostie spiritalis Spiritum Sanctum, quem Filius tuus repromisit, inmittas ' ; Ascension Day : ' Visitet ea Spiritus Sanctus et vivificet ' ; Vigil of Pentecost : ' Spiritus Sancte, qui a Patre et Filio procedis, hiis propitius inlabere holocaustis ' ; and ' In VIII° Dominico de Quotidiano ' : ' Complentes igitur atque servantes precepta Unigeniti tui, precamur, omnipotens Pater, ut his creaturis

superpositis altario tuo Spiritum sanctificationis infundas : ut per transfusionem celestis atque invisibilis sacramenti, panis hic transmutatus in carnem, et calix transmutatus in sanguinem, sit offerentibus gratia et sumentibus medicina.' A form of invocation on the consecrated species, rare in the Visigothic liturgy, is found in the ' Missa quam sacerdos pro se dicere debet. Item de quo supra ' (*sic*), part of a Madrid manuscript (*c.* 1052), emanating from the ancient abbey of San Millan de la Cogolla : ' Descendat etiam, Domine, illa Sancti spiritus tui incomprehensibilis majestas, sicut quondam in Patrum hostiis mirabiliter descendebat.' As an example of an emended ' Post Pridie,' the missal for the fifth Sunday in Lent (' Codex Toletanus ') says : ' Recitatis, Domine, Unigeniti tui sacramentorum '—sign of primitive age, since the Bread and the Cup are spoken of as two Sacraments—' praeceptis . . ., et infundas in eis imbrem Spiritus tui Sancti de coelis : ut fiat sacrificium [secundum ordinem Melchisedech . . . sic hoc sacrificium respicere et sanctificare digneris : *quod est*] verum corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi Filii tui : qui pro nobis omnibus factus est sacerdos et hostia.' Very possibly the whole of the passage in brackets is a later interpolation, but at any rate the words ' quod est ' cannot be original and must have been substituted for ' ut fiat.' Comparisons, also, may be made with the prayer said on the feast of St. Christina (July 24), together with that found in the ' Missale Gothicum ' (' Missa XX, in Cathedra S. Petri '), whose variations are indicated by square brackets : ' Haec igitur praecepta servantes sacrosancta munera nostrae salutis offerimus, obsecrantes [te, clementissime omnipotens Deus,] ut infundere digneris Spiritum tuum Sanctum super haec solemnia [or praelibamina] *ut fiat nobis legitima eucharistia* in tuo Filiique tui nomine et spiritus sancti [benedicta] : in transformatione ejusdem corporis [ac sanguinis] domini nostri Jesu Christi [Unigeniti] Filii tui, edentibus nobis vitam aeternam regnumque perpetuum [collatura bibituris].' ' Legitima eucharistia ' or valid eucharist seems a vague term deliberately substituted for the original words, ' verum corpus et verus sanguis ' ; while ' in transformatione . . . domini Jesu Christi ' was probably added to the

prayer at the time of the change by way of a kind of compensation.

This supposition has very strong support in a Gallican Post Pridie ' for the Vigil of Christmas (Caius College, Cambridge, fragment), where the words ' verum corpus ' have been changed into ' eucharistia legitima,' without, however, deleting ' verus sanguis,' so that it reads ' ut per mysterium tuae operationis *fiat nobis eucharistia legitima et verus sanguis*, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti in saecula saeculorum. Amen.' Some of the ancient ' Post Pridie ' prayers express themselves in very ambiguous language, so that they can be understood as an epiclesis or not, according to the wish of the celebrant (*e.g.* Mone's Reichenau Fragments, No. III, and the Sunday preceding the November fast); while in others we find either a wrapping up of the invocatory petitions in the convenient obscurity of flowery verbiage or the excision of important words and phrases. As examples of the last-named there are the ' Missa Dominicalis VI ' (' Missale Gothicum ') and the ' Missa Dominicalis V,' where in the latter Mass the ' Post Pridie ' had originally the same invocation as that for ' Cathedra S. Petri ' (*vide supra*), but all the words between ' Spiritum tuum Sanctum ' and ' Edentibus ' have been cut out, and so awkwardly that nothing is left to agree with ' collatura ' !

On the feast of Corpus Christi the ' Post Pridie ' reads : ' Complentes igitur, atque servantes praeceptum Unigeniti tui, precamur, omnipotens Pater, ut his creaturis superpositis altario tuo spiritum sanctificationis infundas, ut per transfusionem coelestis, atque invisibilis Sacramenti, panis hic transmutatus in carnem, et calix transformatus in sanguinem, sit offerentibus gratia, sumentibus medicina.' ℟. ' Amen.' One ' Post Pridie,' however, is almost the same prayer as the ' Te igitur ' and ' Quam oblationem ' of the Roman rite : ' Per (quem) te petimus et rogamus, ut accepta habeas et benedicas hec munera et sacrificia inlibata, que tibi offerimus pro tua ecclesia sancta catholica, quam pacificare digneris per universum orbem terrarum diffusam. Memorare etiam, quesumus Domine, famulorum tuorum, quorum oblationem benedictam, ratam, rationabilem, facere digneris quae est

imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Jesu Christi, Filii tui et Redemptoris nostri ' (' Missam XV Dominico de Quotidiano ' ; *cf.* ' XVII—Item alia Missa pluralis pro eis qui in natalicia martirum vota sua Domino offerunt ') ; but the Anaphora of Serapion has something very similar before the Consecration. According to the Benedictine liturgiologist, Dom Moreau, the ' Te igitur ' clause is a survival of the primitive epiclesis, but the Mozarabic ' Post Pridie ' for Easter Monday is an amalgam of ' Hanc igitur,' ' Supra quae,' and ' Supplices ' : ' Hanc quoque oblationem ut accepto habeas et benedicas supplices exoramus, sicut habuisti accepto munera Abel pueri tui justi et sacrificium Patris nostri Abrahae, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech ' (*cf.* ' Post Pridie ' for St. John). In one of the votives that a priest can say on his own behalf (VI), the ' Post Pridie ' appears to be derived from a source common, also, to the ' Unde et memores.'

A fixed formula follows, which corresponds to the ' Per quem haec omnia ' of the Roman rite, although it differs considerably, and the choir or ministers reply ' Amen ' : ' Te praestante, sancte Domine, quia tu haec omnia nobis indignis servis tuis valde bona creas : sanc+tificas, vivi+ficas, bene+dicis ac praestas + nobis : ut sit + benedicta a te Deo nostro in saecula saeculorum.' ℟. ' Amen.'

Of these crosses four are made over the Host and chalice, while at the fifth the celebrant signs himself. Then, holding the Host over the uncovered chalice, the priest says ' Dominus sit semper vobiscum,' to which the customary answer is made, and elevating the Blessed Sacrament with his right hand (only), so that the people may see it, he recites either the following words with the Creed or an antiphon proper to the feast : ' Fidem quam corde credimus, ore autem dicamus.' The Latin custom, when administering Viaticum, of holding the Blessed Sacrament while the sick person is exhorted to make a public profession of belief in the Sacraments of the Church, may not unfairly be compared with the above practice. In the Mass of St. Andrew a liturgical formula is found as an introduction to the Creed : ' Omnes qui Christi sanguinis effusione per Crucem redempti sumus ereptique a noxa

originali, ab omni nos inquinamento carnis et spiritus mundemur : ut purgatis labiis mundatisque pectoribus, fidem veram et corde firmiter teneamus, et voce libera proferamus publice et dicamus : Credimus . . .' ; while allusion to it is made in the ' Ad Orationem Dominicam ' for St. Eulalia : ' Recensito, dilectissimi fratres, symbulo nostre credulitatis.'

On Sundays and most festivals of six or four copes (octaves) the Creed is recited (Apostles' Creed on Palm Sunday), the choir singing it on greater days and intoning it on less solemn occasions. The priest says it in a low voice, while he holds the Host over the chalice.

The Creed was first used at Mass (in the West), in this rite, as a protest against Arianism, Canon 2 of the third Council of Toledo (589), at the express wish of the newly converted Reccared, ordering it to be said after the Consecration and before the ' Pater noster,' as a preparation for Holy Communion (' sanctam ' not appearing as an epithet for ' ecclesiam '). From Spain the custom spread to the Frankish kingdom, and Walafrid Strabo (*ob.* 849 at Reichenau) declared that it was used in Gaul ' after the example of the East, as a medicine against heretics.' It seems that the position of the Creed in the Byzantine liturgy was not always the same, for, although it is now said at the kiss of peace, John of Biclarum avers that Justinian II (565–578) ordered it to follow in the place where it was later put by the third Council of Toledo (Can. 2, 589), a synod which avowedly copied the Byzantine use in many particulars. This Council declared that it was to be recited by all people together, in a loud voice, ' after the manner of the Fathers of the East,' and that its purpose was ' that the people might profess their belief, and thus with hearts purified by faith might present themselves to receive the Body and Blood of Christ ' (' Ut in omnibus ecclesiis die dominica symbolum recitetur. . . . Ut priusquam dominica dicatur oratio voce clara a populo predicetur, quo et fides vera manifestum testimonium habeat et ad Christi corpus et sanguinem prelibandum pectora populorum fide purificata accedant '). This Council also, held under the presidency of St. Leander, Bishop of Seville, whom Pope St. Gregory the Great had made

papal legate for all Spain, authorized the insertion of the 'Filioque' into the Creed, although even so early as 447 a Spanish synod had used the word. From Spain this addition spread into Gaul and Germany, Charlemagne writing a letter to Elipandus (794) defending its use and ordering it to be sung in his private chapel at Aachen. The Synod of Aachen (809) even felt so strongly on the subject as to petition Pope Leo III (795–816) to introduce it into the Roman liturgy, but although the request met with a refusal, since there was no Arian menace at Rome, there was no sort of doubt concerning the doctrine which it involved and which had already been defended by St. Augustine; while it was only in the time of Justinian (527–565) that Rome had officially accepted the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed.

The Creed as sung in the Mozarabic liturgy contains differences from the Roman form, and, since the Toledan Council (589) had expressly ordered it to be sung 'by all people together,' this is emphasized by the plural, 'Credimus,' 'confitemur,' 'expectamus.' The clause 'of all things visible, and invisible' runs 'visibilium omnium, et invisibilium *conditorem*,' with '*nostrum*' inserted before 'Jesum Christum.' 'God of God' is expressed as 'Deum *ex* Deo,' and the same preposition is also used for the next two sentences. In place of 'Genitum, non factum' Spain has '*Natum*, non factum,' with an altogether different wording for 'consubstantialem Patri': '*omousion* (ὁμοούσιον) *Patri, hoc est ejusdem cum Patre substantiae*.' Here the Nicene word is categorically expressed, that word which only differed in a single diphthong ('ου' instead of 'οι') from a declaration concerning Our Divine Lord which would have definitely committed the Church of God to a deadly heresy. The use of a particular word often safeguards the faith from error, since, as Bossuet says, 'words protect dogmas' (*e.g.* 'θεοτόκος, 'Transubstantiatio'). After 'per quem omnia facta sunt,' '*quae in coelo, et quae in terra*' is added. At the 'Incarnatus' clause, where a genuflection is now ordered, the Mozarabic Creed continues: '*Passus sub Pontio Pilato. Sepultus, tertia die resurrexit. Ascendit ad coelos; sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis. Inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos. . . . Dominum vivifica-*

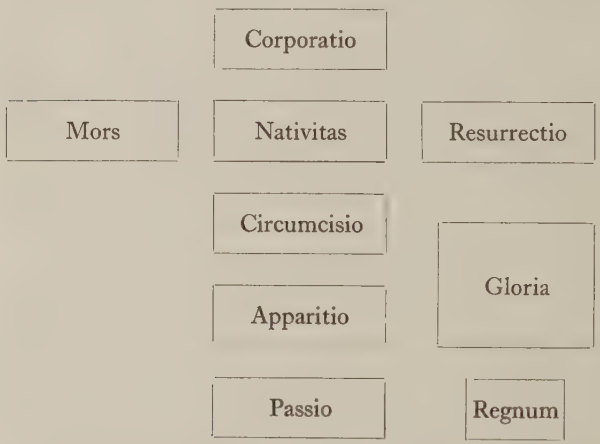
torem, et ex Patre, et Filio procedentem ; cum Patre, et Filio adorandum, et conglorificandum.' The conclusion, with the exception of the two plural verbs, is similar to the Roman Creed.

The alternative antiphon—' Antiphona ad Confractionem Panis '—which may be compared to the Ambrosian ' Confractorium,' is probably an earlier feature than the Creed. That said on Corpus Christi and its Octave is also used for Passion-tide (Maundy Thursday and Holy Saturday excepted) : ' Tu Domine, da escam nobis in tempore opportuno ; aperi manum tuam et imple omnem animam, benedictione.' The common antiphon throughout the year, although a different one appears in the ' Missa Votiva Omnimoda,' is : ' Terra dedit fructum suum benedicat nos Deus, Deus noster, benedicat nos Deus. Alleluia ' ; and that used in Lent : ' Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos : quemadmodum speravimus in te.'

After the Creed or antiphon a unique fraction takes place, when the Host is divided into nine parts, arranged on the paten symbolically in the form of a cross. This Gallican practice, which is very similar to the old Irish custom, was referred to in Canon 3 of the second Council of Tours (567) : ' ut corpus Domini in altari, non in imaginario ordine, sed sub crucis titulo componatur,' when nine parts of the Host were to form a cross. In the Stowe missal we read that the number of fragments varied from five on ordinary days to sixty-five on the three chief festivals of Easter, Pentecost and Christmas ; while the complexity of the patterns varied accordingly (five, ferial days ; seven, confessors and virgins ; eight, martyrs ; nine, Sundays ; twelve, Kalends of January and Maundy Thursday ; thirteen, Low Sunday and Ascension ; sixty-five, Easter, Pentecost and Christmas). In 558 Pelagius I (555–560) maintained that each part was similar to the other. These devices, however, cannot belong to the primitive Church, when the faithful were accustomed to receive Holy Communion at every Mass, and Mgr. Duchesne, writing about this elaborate and intricate fraction, says ' A certain dose of superstition was introduced early in this (Gallican) rite.' As he breaks each particle the Mozarabic

celebrant says aloud the name of the mystery which it is supposed to represent : ' Corporatio,' ' Nativitas,' ' Circumcisio,' ' Apparitio,' ' Passio,' ' Mors,' ' Resurrectio,' ' Gloria ' and ' Regnum.' Then, washing his fingers (' purget bene digitos ') and covering the chalice, he makes the ' Memento pro vivis,' with these three words said aloud. Dom German Prado, in his description of the Mozarabic liturgy (*Revista Ecclesiástica*, September 1926), speaks of the ' Memento ' as for the dead, but the ' Devocionario ' quite definitely states ' pro vivis.'

In the cross of the fraction five particles form the upright and two the arms, while ' Gloria ' and ' Regnum,' the largest and the smallest of the pieces, are placed together on one side :



Various theories have been put forward at different times, purporting to explain the meaning of this intricate fraction. Apringius (*c.* 520), Bishop of Beja (Badajoz), in his ' Commentary on the Apocalypse,' and St. Ildephonsus and Beatus of Liebana, writing on the same book, declare that the ' seven seals ' are ' Corporatio,' ' Nativitas,' etc., and therefore the Host was originally divided into seven parts ; while, in addition to this, Christ, through the mystery of His holy humanity,

opened and elucidated what in the Scriptures had been previously hidden and closed. At the beginning of the thirteenth century Jacobo de Vitry, Bishop of Tusculum, tells us that the Mozarabs divide the Host sometimes into seven and sometimes into nine parts, but he does not state that the pieces were laid out in the form of a cross. It is also said that, although the Host is divided up, the same Christ is present in every part, while ' Corporatio,' standing for the first particle, shows that the beginning of our salvation was the Incarnation of the Word, and the completion of the arm of the cross by ' Resurrectio ' proclaims that the consummation of the Passion and our Redemption came through that mystery. Further, the two pieces ' Gloria ' and ' Regnum ' occupy their respective places, since Christ as the vanquisher of death is seated at the right hand of the Father ; while His Kingdom will endure eternally, neither the ' Glory ' nor the ' Kingdom ' of Christ being limited to either place or time.

When the celebrant has finished the ' Memento,' the seventh and last variable Isidorian prayer—' Ad Orationem Dominicam '—is said (' Harum ultima est oratio, qua Dominus noster Jesus Christus discipulos suos orare instituit dicens : " Pater noster qui es in caelis." In qua oratione, ut sancti Patres scripserunt, septem petitiones continentur ; sed in tribus primis aeterna poscuntur, in sequentibus quatuor temporalia, quae tamen propter aeterna adipiscenda petuntur. . . . Hae sunt autem septem sacrificii orationes commendatae evangelica apostolicaque doctrina, cujus numeri ratio instituta videtur vel propter septenariam sanctae Ecclesiae universitatem, vel propter septiformem gratiae spiritum, cujus dono ea quae inferuntur sanctificantur '). This originally formed another example of those series of prayers with which the Gallican services were punctuated—the priest's bidding (' Praefatio '), the people's private prayer, and the priest's concluding Collect (' Collectio ')—and which appear in the East as the deacon's invitation (' Ectene '), the people's response (' Kyrie Eleison '), and the priest's prayer at the end. In the Roman Mass the series of intercessions inserted between the lessons on Holy Saturday may be compared to these devotional forms. Here we have the introduction and conclusion to the ' Pater

noster,' with the prayer itself taking the place of the private prayer.

The ' Pater noster,' which naturally finds a place in every liturgy, save that of the Apostolic Constitutions, of which there is no evidence of actual use, comes in the East just before the elevation and fraction. In the Gallican rite and its two extant relics (Milan and Toledo) it follows the fraction, although there is a difference concerning the commixture, since in the Ambrosian liturgy it is made at once and in the Gallican and Mozarabic the fraction and commixture are separated by the ' Pater noster.' The ' Ad Orationem Dominicam,' which, although variable, is equivalent to the ' Praeceptis salutaribus moniti ' of the Roman Mass, acts as an ' Introduction,' ' Chapter ' or ' Preface ' to the Lord's Prayer, preceded by ' Oremus,' sung for the second and last time in this rite. The form used on Corpus Christi runs : ' Praeceptum orationis, quod Christus suis commendavit Discipulis, nos quoque, fratres, cum gemitu cordis exclamemus e terris. Pater noster.' The Byzantine practice of the Lord's Prayer said in full by the people, although adopted at an early date in Gaul, was not the original Gallican custom. The unedited Antiphonary of León (fol. 175) has the rubric ' Pater noster ab omnibus fidelibus recitatur,' but in the present Mozarabic liturgy the prayer, with the exception of ' sed libera nos a malo,' is said by the priest only. There is, however, the intercalation of ' Amen ' after every clause save ' Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie,' when the reply is ' Quia Deus es.' This insertion of ' Amen ' into the course of prayers was once a common habit in Spain (*cf.* ' Liber Ordinum ').

All the Gallican liturgies had forms of embolism, akin to ' Libera nos quaesumus,' but sung aloud as in the Roman rite on Good Friday. In Gaul the embolisms were variable, but in Spain the form is now that of a long intercessory prayer : ' Liberati a malo, confirmati semper in bono, tibi servire mereamur Deo ac Domino nostro. Pone, Domine, finem [here he strikes his breast ; *cf.* ' Nobis quoque peccatoribus '] peccatis nostris : da gaudium tribulatis, praebe redemptionem captivis, sanitatem infirmis, requiemque defunctis : concede pacem et securitatem in omnibus diebus nostris : frange

audaciam inimicorum nostrorum, et exaudi, Deus, orationes servorum tuorum omnium fidelium christianorum in hac die, et in omni tempore. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit, et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus per omnia semper saecula saeculorum.' R̄. 'Amen.' The Mozarabic rite had also added an embolism by way of a commentary to the 'Pater noster,' which the Council of Gerona (517) and Canon 10 of the fourth Council of Toledo (633) ordered to be said always at the end of Vespers and Lauds. This last-named Council, in its eighteenth Canon, mentions the following order at Mass: 'Pater,' Commixture ('Conjunctionem panis et calicis'), Benediction, and Communion.

Uncovering the chalice and making a genuflection, the priest takes the particle 'Regnum' and, holding it over the chalice, says: 'Sancta sanctis, et conjunctio Corporis Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit sumentibus, et potantibus nobis ad veniam, et defunctis fidelibus praestetur ad requiem.' Although the first words are obviously derived from the 'τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις' of the Byzantine liturgy, there does not seem any evidence that it was ever said aloud with a response as in the East, or that it was ever anything more than a private devotion. In Eastertide, however, and during the festival of Corpus Christi, before the prayer 'Sancta sanctis,' the celebrant thrice repeats 'Vicit Leo,' each time raising his voice a tone: 'Vicit Leo de tribu Juda, radix David. Alleluia.' In answer to this the choir and ministers similarly sing: 'Qui sedes super Cherubim, radix David. Alleluia.' Reference to the Paschal use of 'Vicit Leo' is made by St. Ildephonsus in his 'De cognitione baptismi,' and a sixth-century bronze paten of Spanish origin—now in the British Museum—bears the legend 'Vicit Leo de tribu Juda, radis [*sic*] David. Alleluia.' After the 'Sancta sanctis' the priest drops the particle ('Regnum') into the chalice, covers it with a pall, and then in a loud voice proclaims 'Humiliate vos benedictioni'—unless it is high Mass, when these words naturally fall to the lot of the deacon. According to the 'Liber Ordinum,' a response of 'Deo gratias' was at one time made to the invitation. This formulary was known to St. Caesarius of Arles, and is the counterpart of the Byzantine 'τὰς κεφαλὰς

ἡμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ κλίνωμεν.' The blessing which follows and its one-time unpopularity with Rome have been referred to in speaking of the Lyon rite, but authority for this position comes to the Mozarabs from the eighteenth Canon of the fourth Council of Toledo (633), where it is expressly stated that the blessing must be given before and not after Holy Communion—' Quod post benedictionem populo datam communicare debeant sacerdotes . . . post orationem dominicam et conjunctionem panis et calicis benedictio in populum sequatur : et tunc demum corporis et sanguinis Domini sacramentum sumatur ; eo videlicet ordine, ut sacerdos et levita ante altare communicent, in choro clerus, extra chorum populus.' After the customary salutation between priest and people the blessing is given in three, four or five clauses, variable according to the day, with a response of ' Amen ' to each clause. St. Ildephonsus, in his ' De cognitione baptismi ' (cap. cxli.), refers to the triple invocation in the ' Benedictio.' That given in the ' Devocionario ' for Corpus Christi is ' Fides, qua creditis Christum, perducat vos ad regna coelorum.' ℟. ' Amen.' ' Spes, qua speratis aeterna per patientiam, vos faciat adversa sustinere praesentia.' ℟. ' Amen.' ' Charitas indeficiens, et hic dulcedinem hominum, et post consortium vobis praelargiatur Angelorum.' ℟. ' Amen.' ' Per misericordiam ipsius Dei nostri, qui est benedictus, et vivit et omnia regit in saecula saeculorum.' ℟. ' Amen.' This is followed by a further salutation and, formerly, by a diaconal invitation to the people to come to Holy Communion, ' Locis vestris accedite,' with the response ' Deo gratias.' The Mozarabs have been grammatically very careless in their benedictions, using sometimes the first person, sometimes the second, and even changing the person in the middle. Benedictions also appear in the Divine Office, being usually taken from the office for the day, although this was not an original element of the choir services, since this addition to Vespers was ordered by the Council of Arles in 506 (Can. 30), and extended to Matins by the first Council of Barcelona in 540 (Can. 2). There is no Agnus Dei, but at the time of the Communion the choir sings a responsory known as ' Ad Accedentes,' which the priest repeats silently and which begins, as in the East, with Psalm

xxxiii. (1, 22, 'Gustate et videte'). The Apostolic Constitutions (Lib. VIII. cap. viii., cap. xx.) ordered this psalm to be sung as Holy Communion was being distributed, and its use in this position was known to both St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. Jerome ('Quotidie coelesti pane saturati, dicimus: Gustate et videte, quam suavis est Dominus'). According to St. Germanus, the Communion anthem in the Gallican use was called the 'Trecanum,' and was an act of faith in the Holy Trinity, presumably of the nature of a doxology. 'Gustate et videte' is used on Corpus Christi and its Octave, from Advent until Lent, and at other times (*e.g.* St. James): 'Gustate et videte quam suavis est Dominus. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.' ℣. 'Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore, semper laus ejus in ore meo. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.' ℣. 'Redimet Dominus animas servorum suorum, et non derelinquet omnes, qui sperant in eum. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.' ℣. 'Gloria et honor Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto in saecula saeculorum. Amen. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.' A similar chant, with 'Alleluia' inserted at intervals, appears also in the Armenian and Syriac service books. In Lent the variant 'Accedentes' is 'Qui venit ad me non esuriet: qui credit in me non sitiet unquam.' ℣. 'Ego sum lux mundi: et qui sequitur me non ambulabit in tenebris, sed habebit lumen vitae.' *P.* 'Qui venit ad me . . .' ℣. 'Qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem; in me maneat et ego in illo.' *P.* 'Gloria et honor Patri, . . .' *P.* 'Qui vivit et credit in me, non morietur in aeternum.' Paschal-tide has yet another form: 'Gaudete, populi, et laetamini. Angelus sedit super lapidem Domini, ipse vobis evangelizabit.' *P.* 'Christus surrexit a mortuis Salvator mundi: et replevit omnia suavitate. Gaudete, populi, et laetamini.' ℣. 'Erat autem aspectus ejus sicut fulgur; et vestimenta ejus sicut nix; et dixit.' *P.* 'Christus surrexit . . .' ℣. 'Et exierunt mulieres cito de monumento cum timore, et gaudio magno: currentes nunciare discipulis ejus, quia resurrexit.' *P.* 'Christus surrexit. . . .' ℣. 'Gloria et honor Patri, . . . Gaudete, populi, et laetamini.' Having said the 'Accedentes,' the celebrant uncovers the chalice and taking from the paten the particle 'Gloria,' which is the largest in size, he continues: 'Panem coelestem de mensa

Domini accipiam : et nomen Domini invocabo.' Then, holding ' Gloria ' above the chalice, he says aloud the ' Memento pro defunctis,' and in a low voice the following prayer : ' Domine Deus meus, da mihi corpus, et sanguinem Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi ita sumere : ut per illud remissionem omnium peccatorum merear accipere, et tuo Sancto Spiritu repleri, Deus noster, qui vivis et regnas in saecula saeculorum. Amen.'

This is followed by an ejaculation, popular in the Middle Ages (*e.g.* Sarum rite), when, having made the sign of the cross with the same particle (' Gloria '), he receives it : ' Ave in aevum, + sanctissima caro Christi, in perpetuum summa dulcedo.'

After the celebrant has taken ' Gloria ' into his hands he covers the chalice and consumes each of the remaining particles in inverse order, so that he finishes with ' Corporatio,' the result of the first fraction. God is thus represented as Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and End of all things, because our Redemption began with the Incarnation of Christ, and all the mysteries of His Life, Passion, Death and Resurrection were admirably ordered so that we might attain our eternal salvation. When this reception of the particles is finished the celebrant meditates for a while on the Holy Sacrament, with hands joined, and then, uncovering the chalice, genuflecting, and purifying the paten, he says ' Ave in aevum, coelestis potus, qui mihi ante omnia, et super omnia dulcis es ' (*cf.* Sarum). Before receiving the precious Blood, together with the particle ' Regnum,' the priest makes the sign of the cross with the chalice, saying ' Corpus + et Sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat corpus et animam meam in vitam aeternam. Amen.'

In the original Mozarabic rite the communicants received in both kinds, since this was the normal method until the Western Church took further order, and the words of administration were ' Corpus Domini nostri Jhesu Christi sit salvatio tua,' and ' Sanguis Jhesu Christi maneat tecum redemptio tua,' to each of which the faithful replied ' Amen.' In the ' Missa Omnimoda,' as given in one manuscript, these words are found, but with a verse slightly altered and confused, and with

the prayers normally said at the placing of the elements on the altar before the beginning of Mass.

Following the 'Accedentes,' the choir sings a further antiphon, which varies according to the season and corresponds with the Roman 'Communio.' That commonly sung is 'Refecti Christi Corpore, et Sanguine, te laudamus Domine. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia'; while in Lent the form changes to 'Repletum est gaudio os nostrum, et lingua nostra in exsultatione.' In the Stowe missal and St. Gall fragments are a collection of chants for the latter part of Mass which very closely resemble these in the Mozarabic liturgy. The rinsing of the vessels (ablutions) had not developed into a ceremony in Visigothic days, but a rubric in the 'Devocionario' (1903) says: 'Then after a short pause he takes the first ablution, purifies his fingers with wine and water, and says "Domine Deus meus, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus: fac me te semper quaerere et diligere: et a te per hanc sanctam communionem quam sumpsi, numquam recedere: quia tu es Deus, et praeter te non erit alius in saecula saeculorum. Amen."' The 'Gothic or Mozarabic Mass,' published by the Manresa Press, Roehampton, in 1900, directs that this prayer is to be said *immediately* after the reception of the chalice.

While the celebrant is folding the corporal and covering the chalice, the assistants take away the small missal or 'Liber omnium offerentium' and remove the other to the Epistle horn, where, before singing the Post-Communion prayer, the priest says 'Refecti Christi' ('Repletum est').

The thanksgiving after Communion, called 'Completuria' ('Completuria post Eucharistiam'—Pentecost, in Sacramentary of Toledo) in most of the manuscripts, is now, under Roman influence, termed 'Post communio.' Originally (*cf.* 'Missale Gothicum') there was a 'Prefatio' or invitatory formulary in addition to the 'Collectio,' but this introduction, as at Milan, has been lost. The prayer, as in the Roman rite, varies with the day, but the Mozarabic liturgy has only a small selection, with four or five used over and over again, one appointed for feasts of Our Lord and one for saints' days, so that the variation often seems to consist only in the name of the feast. The

prayer sung for Corpus Christi continues : ' Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quod accepimus, et sanctus sanguis ejus, quem potavimus, adhaereat visceribus nostris, aeterne omnipotens Deus, ut non nobis veniat ad judicium, neque ad condemnationem, sed proficiat ad salutem et ad remedium animarum nostrarum in vitam aeternam.' Then, the choir having responded ' Amen,' the celebrant goes to the centre of the altar, where, with hands extended before his breast, he ends the prayer with a fixed termination, similar to that found after the Collect for the day : ' Per misericordiam tuam, Deus noster, qui es benedictus, et vivis et omnia regis in saecula saeculorum.' ℟. ' Amen.' ' Dominus sit semper vobiscum,' with its reply, only follows the Post-Communion in this rite, whereas at Milan the salutation both precedes and follows.

The dismissal (' absolutio '), which varies according to the rank of the feast, ended the Mass before the last revision of the rite (1500) added prayers in honour of Our Lady and a blessing. On the greatest festivals and their octaves, as well as on the Sundays after Easter, the form used by the celebrant or deacon, unless a day should have its own special variation, is ' Solemnia completa sunt. In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi votum nostrum sit acceptum cum pace '; to which the choir answers ' Deo gratias.' On less solemn occasions the dismissal ordinarily used is ' Missa acta est. In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi perficiamus cum pace.'

To this original ending the great Cardinal Cisneros, from his especial devotion to the Mother of God, added a Marian codicil, taking the prayers from the Roman Toledan missal, which was used in Spain, or at any rate in the archdiocese of Toledo, before the revised missal of St. Pius V had superseded the mediaeval variations found throughout Europe. These prayers are said by the celebrant kneeling at the centre of the altar. The ' Salve Regina ' is identical with the ordinary Roman form, except for the additional word ' semper ' at its conclusion—' O dulcis *semper* Virgo Maria.' Then follow four versicles and responses and a Collect : ℣. ' Post partum Virgo inviolata permansisti.' ℟. ' Dei genitrix intercede pro nobis.' ℣. ' A subitanea et improvisa morte.' ℟. ' Libera nos Domine.' ℣. ' Ora pro nobis Sancta Dei genitrix.' ℟. ' Ut

digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.' ℣. 'Dominus sit semper vobiscum.' ℟. 'Et cum spiritu tuo.' (Oratio) 'Concede nos famulos tuos . . .' The prayer finished, the celebrant rises and, having made a cross on the altar, which he kisses, says: 'In unitate Sancti Spiritus benedicat vos Pater + et Filius' (*cf.* Braga). At these last words the celebrant turns to the people, since this final benediction, unknown to the original rite, had no existence in the days when Mass was celebrated facing west.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(1) 'Devocionario mozárabe,' por D. Jorge Abad Perez. Toledo. 1903.
(2) 'The Gothic or Mozarabic Mass.' Manresa Press, Roehampton. 1900.
(3) 'Roma Sacra: Essays on Christian Rome.' (The Liturgy of Toledo.) William Barry, D.D. Longmans, Green & Co. 1927.
(4) *Revista Ecclesiástica.* Organo del Clero Hispano-Americano. Vol. lvii, September 1926, Num. 3.
(5) 'The Mozarabic and Ambrosian Rites: Four Essays in Comparative Liturgiology.' W. C. Bishop, M.A. Edited from his papers by C. L. Feltoe, D.D. 'Alcuin Club Tracts.' No. 15. London and Oxford: A. R. Mowbray & Co. 1924.
(6) 'Directorium Mozarabicum ad Divinum Officium debite persolvendum et Missam Gotho-Hispanam recte peragendam intra Sacellum et duas Toleti Mozarabes Paroecias pro vertente Anno MCMXXX.' Toleti: Typis Editorialis Catholicae Toletanae. 1929.
(7) 'Le Liber Ordinum en usage dans l'Église Wisigothique et Mozarabe d'Espagne du Cinquième au Onzième Siècle.' Par D. Marius Férotin. Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et Cie. 1904.
(8) 'Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum et les Manuscrits Mozarabes.' Par D. Marius Férotin. Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et Cie. 1912.
(9) 'Spain. Being a Summary of Spanish History from the Moorish Conquest to the Fall of Granada (711–1492 A.D.).' Henry Edward Watts. Third edition. London: T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square.
(10) 'Textos inéditos de la liturgia mozárabe.' G. Prado. Madrid. 1926.
(11) 'Manual de liturgia hispano-visigótica o mozárabe.' G. Prado. Madrid. 1927.
(12) 'Historia del rito mozárabe y toledano.' G. Prado. Burgos. 1928.

PART II

CHAPTER VIII
INTRODUCTION TO ORIENTAL RITES

CHAPTER VIII

INTRODUCTION TO ORIENTAL RITES

'CREDO in Unam, Sanctam, Catholicam et Apostolicam Ecclesiam'—so speaks, in no uncertain terms, the Nicæno-Constantinopolitan Creed, declaring in two words ('Unam,' 'Catholicam') that the Church of the living God must be absolutely united in matters of dogma and at the same time sweep over all national boundaries and extend throughout the whole earth. Questions of faith admit of no compromise or alteration, be the believers European, Asiatic or African, white, brown or black—all must hold the Creed in exactly the same way; all should be in peace and communion with the Apostolic See.

Over the West, where the Latin rites (Roman, Ambrosian and Mozarabic) hold sway, the Pope is also Patriarch, but in the East the ancient and undivided Church had four other patriarchates (Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem and Constantinople), remnants of which still exist, represented by both Uniate and schismatic prelates with their flocks. Anything of the nature of a detailed history of these great sees, with the various schisms which harassed them, ending with the return to Catholic unity of a small section from each dissident body, would be manifestly impossible in a book of this kind, but fuller information concerning each Uniate Church will be found in the chapter devoted to its existing rite. Before the committing of the liturgy to writing much must have been known by heart, for St. Augustine says 'Let your memory be your Codex,' and the recital of the service from memory is still in a great measure the practice of the Copts; while the Emperor Justinian supposes this custom as resting upon the bishops and priests of his day.

The grouping of liturgies round a patriarchal or metropolitical see developed in the fourth and fifth centuries, thus

producing different types, shown in the arrangement of prayers, ceremonial and devotional practices. Rigid uniformity in such matters was never demanded by Rome, even in her own patriarchate, so it was entirely lawful for the Eastern sees to produce their own ritual and liturgical books. These divergences, however, were forcibly suppressed by Constantinople, where under imperial influence the patriarch had obtained a virtual sovereignty over all the East, with the result that the Byzantine rite of St. John Chrysostom effectively abolished the other liturgies used by Oriental Churches in communion with her. Before, however, this unification of rite had taken place two serious Christological heresies—Nestorian and Monophysite—had rent the unity of Eastern Christendom, establishing groups of schismatic Churches in both Syria and Egypt. The centralizing edicts of New Rome fell on deaf ears in these dissident bodies, who continued in their original rites, thus preserving variations which would otherwise have been lost.

In 1053 the breach between Rome and Constantinople became a *fait accompli*, although since that date various attempts have been made to heal the divisions of Christendom and from every schismatic body numbers of the clergy and laity have returned to communion with the Holy See, retaining, error and superstition excepted, their own liturgies, rites and ceremonies. These Easterns, then, who have acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, from whatever schismatic Church they might originally have emanated—'Orientales uniti sanctae sedi'—are those to whom the term 'Uniate' is now applied, a word originating in the Russian 'Uniyatu' and at first designating only the Ruthenians.

The importance of these Uniate Churches is very great, despite the fact that Catholics of the Roman patriarchate are about forty times greater than all the Eastern Catholics put together, for out of 330 millions of Catholics not more than 8 millions are Orientals. Before speaking of the divisions into which the Uniates are divided, through the varying circumstances of their conversions, great stress must be laid upon the fact that all their rites are equal in dignity and importance, precedence in public functions standing by pre-

eminence in their own rite or by date of ordination. An Eastern Catholic, also, is not an imperfect Catholic lacking the advantages of complete Latinization—unless a Westerner is prepared to say that St. John Chrysostom, St. Athanasius or St. Ephrem Syrus was below the mark in his orthodoxy, and in that case, since such a view would be entirely contrary to expressed papal pronouncements, the holder of it would himself stand at the bar of heterodoxy for impugning what Rome has affirmed. Eighteen rites are found amongst the Uniates, although many of these are but variants of the Byzantine, used by groups converted at different times, in different countries and under different circumstances. Without the two early schisms already noted this rite would have stood alone in the East to-day, so that rite would have followed patriarchate, instead of the opposite being the case, and one city would still be unable to possess two (or more) lawful Catholic Ordinaries. This indeed was deemed by the fourth Lateran Council (1215) to resemble a ' monster with several heads ' (' We forbid altogether that one and the same city or diocese should have several Pontiffs, like one body with several heads, which would be a monster ')—a point of view which Benedict XIV (1740-1758) explained and defended (' de Synodo dioecesano,' Lib. II. cap. xii.).

Circumstances, however, alter cases, so that when Nestorians from Mesopotamia and Monophysites from Egypt, each possessing their old liturgies, desired to become reconciled with the Holy See, they were forced neither to abandon their old rites nor to become subject to the Byzantine Catholic (Melkite) Patriarch of Antioch or Alexandria. They were received with their own service books, their own language and their own customs, forming separate and distinct groups within the unity of the Catholic Church. In the same way also with the schismatics of the other rites, save in the case of the Maronites, who, apparently Monothelite up to the twelfth century, joined Rome *en masse*, leaving, at any rate since the sixteenth century, no heretical remnant behind them. Reunion schemes had been put forward both at Bari (1098) and Lyon (1274), but the nearest attempt at success was at Florence in 1439, although a synod held

at Constantinople in 1472, aided by the Turks, solemnly rejected the union. Distinction then must be made, when speaking of the Eastern Churches, between religion, patriarchate, rite, language and place. As regards religion, only those in communion with the Pope are under discussion, while, although for reasons that have been already specified there are now, for example, two Catholic patriarchs of Alexandria and three of Antioch, there is no sort of rivalry or cross-jurisdiction between them. Baghdad boasts of no fewer than four prelates, two archbishops (Latin and Syrian) and two bishops (Armenian and Chaldean). The strictest laws have been passed by Rome to prevent Latins proselytizing on behalf of their own rite (Can. 98 (2)), and, without very good reason and special permission from the Holy See, no change of rite is sanctioned (Can. 98 (3)). Each one must remain in that in which he was baptized, unless, in error or on account of the difficulty of obtaining a priest, a man has been baptized in a rite which was not his own (Can. 98 (1)). Attendance at the Mass of another rite fulfils the Sunday obligation for all Catholics, and Holy Communion may be received in any Church, even when the custom is to receive under both kinds (Code of Canon Law, 866). The Oriental patriarchs are elected by the archbishops and bishops of their own rite, in the presence of the Apostolic Delegate, one of whom, residing at Baghdad, has jurisdiction over all Mesopotamia, while another has similar powers in Syria. Then, the election being ratified by the Pope, the nominated prelate takes possession. All the Uniate bodies are now under the care of the ' Congregatio pro Ecclesia Orientali ' (Can. 257), of which the Holy Father is President, decreed by Benedict XV in his Motu Proprio ' Dei Providentis ' (May 1, 1917) to terminate the plan of Pius IX (Epiphany, 1862), whereby Eastern rites were subject to a Congregation which was itself a subdivision of Propaganda. This had been a manifestly unsatisfactory arrangement, despite the good intentions of the Pope, whose only desire was to preserve intact the ancient Oriental liturgies : ' If, then, any harm has ever been done to the rites of the East, it is not to the Holy See that it can be ascribed '—sentiments that have always animated Rome in

her dealings with her Eastern children. As regards Canon Law ('Codex Juris Canonici'), a decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda (1907) has expressly stated that the decisions of the Holy See only bind Orientals in three cases: (*a*) if matters concern faith or morals; (*b*) in affairs affecting divine or natural law (*e.g.* application of Mass for the people at least sometimes during the year); and (*c*) if the laws expressly state that they are intended to bind the Eastern Church. Different rites no more connote different religions than do the Religious Orders in the West, and at Rome in the church of St. Andrea della Valle, before the magnificent crib, an Oriental liturgy is performed on each day within the Epiphany Octave. This institution was started about the middle of last century (1836) by the Venerable Vincenzo Pallotti (1798–1850), founder of the Pious Society of Missions, in order to affirm the unity and universality of the Church of Christ and to pray for the gathering of the whole world into one fold under one Shepherd. In addition to the Byzantine there are the Armenian, Maronite, Syrian, Chaldean, Coptic, Abyssinian and Malabar rites, but for their history and ritual differences each chapter on the particular rite must be consulted.

Here, however, a word may be said as to the language used, although the particular tongue of a liturgy is comparatively unimportant, so long as it has obtained official sanction. Greek appears to have been a divine plan for the use of the Christian Church and the spread of the Gospel in primitive times, a Hellenistic dialect, found in Alexandria after the wars of Alexander the Great, and providing the texts of the Septuagint version of the Bible, as well as of the earliest liturgies. At the present day both pure Greeks and Italo-Greeks chant the Byzantine rite in this language; although the same liturgy is performed in old Slavonic by the Russians, Ruthenians, Serbs and Bulgarians; in Arabic (since the twelfth century) by the Melkites of Syria and Egypt; in modern Magyar and Rumanian (since the seventeenth century) by both Uniates and schismatics; and in Georgian in one Catholic monastery at Constantinople. The Eastern Orthodox Church allows more than fourteen languages for her liturgy, even English

being used by some Ruthenians in North America, who have been led into schism since emigration. Rome has always been solicitous for her Oriental clergy to have an intelligent knowledge of their own liturgical languages (*e.g.* Benedict XIV, April 20, 1751, enjoined the monks of St. Basil to acquire a very exact knowledge of Greek). Education is, of course, very much higher among the Catholic Orientals than among their separated brethren, but this is hardly to be wondered at when Western theological training is open to them, with all the precision and excellences of the Latin system.

The second Eastern liturgical language is Syriac, an idiom of the Hebrew tongue, said to have been spoken by Our Divine Lord Himself. Is it indeed the merest fancy to look at the Title of the Cross and to see there an inscription written in the three great liturgical languages of the world—Latin, Greek and Syriac? Now there are two Syriac dialects, the one used by Syrians and Maronites, and the other by Chaldeans and St. Thomas Christians (Malabar). All that West Syrians pronounce as *o* those in the East speak of as *a*, so that God to a Syrian is ' Alloho ' and to a Chaldean ' Allaha.' Both sections, however, have many Greek words, and there is a double method of writing the alphabet. The ancient form of Syriac, called ' Astrangelo,' similar to that used by the East Syrians, is still employed for titles and inscriptions ; while that of the West, a dialect of the ancient Church of Edessa, is termed ' Sarto ' and was the language of St. Ephrem the Deacon and the most ancient Scriptures—' Peschitto.' Liturgical Chaldean is very different from that of the days of Daniel, which resembled Hebrew.

The Armenian of the liturgy, an old form of the present tongue, differs very much from both Semitic and European languages, though similar to Persian and using some words which are said to be akin to German.

The Coptic tongue, long since obsolete save in the services of the Egyptian Church, may be reckoned the lawful offspring of the language of the Pharaohs, despite the fact that some authorities have considered it to be a language which was coined, somewhat after the fashion of Zingari, never having had any real existence. The sister Church of Abyssinia

employs a form of Ethiopic called 'Geez,' dating most probably from the fourth or fifth century.

Here, then, are two apparently contradictory principles intertwined—the retention of an ancient hieratic language, which being obsolete is unable to change through the centuries, and the use in the liturgy of a language which is living and understood by the people without previous training. Of course in primitive times there was never a thought of any specific ecclesiastical tongue, and in itself there is nothing inherently sacred about it, although from the point of view of the universality of the Church it obviously has its advantages and, since from time to time Western heretics have demanded services in a 'language understanded of the people,' a living tongue superficially sounds offensive to Latin ears. Of the twelve languages or dialects in which a Catholic liturgy is still said, three of them, Rumanian, Arabic and Magyar, are the vernacular.

Concerning place, the home of all the Uniate bodies was originally the East, but with the Italo-Greek settlement in Italy and the very large population of emigrants in North America, especially of Ruthenians, Maronites, Armenians and Melkites, the Roman patriarchate of to-day has an ever-increasing number of Eastern Catholics in her midst. No attempt is made to absorb them into the Latin rite, for where numbers do not justify a Uniate bishop, although subject to a Western ordinary, a vicar-general is always appointed to look after Oriental interests. The Julian or Old Style Calendar, which is thirteen days behind the Gregorian, is still used by some Orientals, although one group after another are adopting the reform. Whilst fondly cherishing their old liturgies, many Eastern Catholics have from motives of greater piety adopted some of our Latin devotions, without, however, slavishly imitating them in all details. Benediction is given by all the Uniates save the Russians, while the Quarant' Ore, first Fridays, scapulars, rosary and Stations of the Cross are found amongst the Armenians, Italo-Greeks and Maronites. The Stations, also, although unknown to the Ruthenians, are made by Chaldeans, Syrians and some Melkites, and the rosary is used by East and West Syrians and the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar.

In the matter of marriage of the clergy the Western disciplinary rule of celibacy appears to be gaining ground, despite the Eastern saying, 'A priest's wife is the most precious of possessions, for if she dies she can never be replaced'! In 1869 the Armenian Catholics made a rule of celibacy, which the Malabar Uniates have endorsed, to be followed in 1888 by the Syrians and ten years later by the Copts and Chaldeans. In these three last-named bodies clergy who were already married could continue in that state, while power of dispensation for ordaining married men in exceptional circumstances was left with the patriarch. All pure Greek priests are celibate, but about a quarter of the Italo-Greeks are married men, and among the Melkites their numbers are decreasing. In the two largest Oriental rites, however, the majority of secular clergy are still married—Ruthenians 96 per cent. and Rumanians 94 per cent.; but no priest with a wife can be domiciled in Canada, although it is permitted in the United States.

The *lawfulness* of these ancient Eastern liturgies rests on the consent and approbation of the Church, which can be the more readily given since they all date, in substance at any rate, from before the days of schism, although some of the Syrian Anaphoras are manifestly later. After the breaking away of any group the seceders appear to have hated novelty and clung to antiquity, recalling the Nicene motto, 'τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω' ('Let ancient customs prevail'), thereby preserving their rite more or less free from heresy, despite the introduction of some small modicum of heterodoxy, which, on their return to Catholic unity, could very easily be expunged. The *authenticity* of the various service books is derived from the constant and living use of the Church, rather than from the name of the supposed author, for some titles must be manifestly false—*e.g.* Twelve Apostles (Abyssinian liturgy) and St. John the Evangelist (Syrian Anaphora). In a sense, however, St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom may be said to have composed the liturgies which bear their names. As to St. James, we may at any rate affirm that the liturgy originated at Jerusalem and that in the 'Catecheses mystagogicae' of St. Cyril much corresponds as regards rite; while the Trullan synod, together with the common and universal

tradition, firmly adhered to the Jacobite authorship. The canonist, Theodore Balsamon, accepted St. James as the writer of the Antiochene rite, but repudiated St. Mark as the author of the original Egyptian liturgy; although his Byzantine nationality precluded any idea of impartiality, and a study of the other liturgies in Egypt seems clearly to point to St. Mark as the author of the Alexandrine type.

In considering the *antiquity* and *origin* of the Oriental liturgies it has been already shown that from a fluid Greek rite—as even in Palestine it is extremely doubtful whether there was ever a Hebrew service book—a fixed form, apparently based on the Apostolic Constitutions, came into existence in the fourth century, called after St. James, first Bishop of Jerusalem. From this prototype later centuries have evolved the other liturgies known as Antiochene. The rite of St. Mark perhaps grew from the germ brought to that country by the author of the earliest Gospel, thus making Antioch and Alexandria the first two liturgical centres. As regards the *integrity* of the rites, it is true to say that they remain for the most part substantially unaltered. Rome, especially in the last centuries, has been particularly careful to change as little as possible, save where an expression might be considered to countenance some error. Although many things have been changed unnecessarily, and more from mistaken zeal than learning, much of this has been due either to a local influence such as the Portuguese Archbishop of Goa, who very seriously mutilated the ancient rite of the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar (1599), or to the Easterns themselves, who desired to become more Latin in their service books and pressed the Holy See to acquiesce. Rome herself has endeavoured to preserve purity in the old rites—a standpoint quite clearly seen, both in the letter of Benedict XIV (March 1, 1756) for a new edition of the Greek Euchologion and in the papal purging of the Basilian monastery of Grottaferrata of such Latinizings as azyme bread, the 'Filioque' and Western vestments (1881). The restoration of the Pope's name to the diptychs in the liturgy was necessarily demanded by a return to Catholic unity, although this was no Occidental tampering, but rather a revival of the *status quo ante*.

In the matter of *liturgical texts* it is obviously easier for the Uniates, with their central authority, than for the schismatics, but even here Rome sanctions a certain latitude and permission has been obtained for some of those following the Byzantine rite to use the books of those who are separated. Until the sixteenth century only manuscript liturgies were found in the East, while their very contents were almost unknown to the West. Pope Clement XI (1700–1721) established a Congregation for the correction of the Uniate books, a work now carried on by the 'Congregatio pro Ecclesia Orientali' (1917), and previously by the subdivision of Propaganda formulated by Pius IX (1846–1878), who, shortly after its inception, in an Encyclical (April 8, 1862) addressed to the patriarchs and Eastern bishops, admonished them to bring forward whatever they might consider needed correction. As regards rubrics, although the Oriental liturgies have very many, their importance is not so great as in the West, nor are they so absolutely binding on celebrants as those of the Roman missal.

One especial value of these Eastern rites is their wonderful *dogmatic character*, which, except in such comparatively modern Offices as Trinity and Corpus Christi, is not so clearly seen in the terse and austere Roman Mass. A study of the Oriental books, all emanating, despite alterations and insertions, from a pre-schismatic era, will readily show how in primitive days all the truths now promulgated by the Roman Church were expressed in the Eastern liturgies—the 'lex credendi' was truly found in the 'lex orandi' ('Legem credendi statuat lex supplicandi'—Pope St. Celestine (422–432), 'Epist. 21, apud Constant.'). The reason for this essentially dogmatic turn of mind among the Orientals may be put down to their innate love of theology, which was so great that, for example, a fifth-century Alexandrine workman was sure to discuss the number of natures possessed by Our Divine Lord! From the East came all the great Christological heresies and the contest for sacred images (pictures), ecclesiastical hymns providing the battle-cries for orthodox and heretics alike, so that, since divine worship was the centre of life and culture for the people, the proofs of sound doctrine

were enshrined in the crowning act of all worship, the holy Liturgy.

The doctrine of the *Blessed Trinity* is most clearly shown, especially in the Byzantine Odes and Theotokion, the Syrian Anaphora of St. Xystus and in the liturgy of the East Syrians. Since the Byzantine Church may be said to have borne the brunt of the attacks against the person of Our Divine Lord, her service books are naturally filled with numberless expositions of the right belief as to the *Incarnation*. The heretical bodies, both Nestorian and Monophysite, although possessing orthodoxy before their respective schisms, have since adopted many phrases which are either ambiguous or suggestive of error and which have needed amendment when sections of these bodies returned to unity. Thus, in the Coptic confession of Communion it is said concerning the Body of Christ, ' He made it one with his divinity ' ; and all the Monophysite liturgies retain in the Trisagion the clause ' who wast crucified for us,' a watchword of the heresy since it was added by Peter the Dyer of Antioch (470–488). The Nestorian books declare that ' the natures and persons subsist in one pharsupha of one filiation.' Here two persons are spoken of, but under ' person ' Nestorians mean nature, so they say that two persons subsist in a single filiation, which they call by the name of ' pharsupha.' The same antiphons are preserved in the Chaldean liturgy, but altered to a Catholic sense : after ' His divinity is not from the substance of his mother ' the Chaldeans say ' but the natures are preserved in their own properties, nevertheless in one person, in one filiation ' ; and, again, following ' There is one divinity in three persons, and moreover one essence,' there is added ' so the filiation of the Son is in two natures, but in one person.' Throughout the East, especially amongst the Byzantines, we find allusions to the *Redemptive work* and *Resurrection of Christ* ; while the *Eucharistic doctrine* speaks in no uncertain terms concerning the Real Presence and the propitiatory Sacrifice, quite definitely conceding what the Catholic Church has since defined as *Transubstantiation*. The earliest use of the term μετουσίωσις appears to date from a Greek translation of the Profession of Faith made by Michael VIII Paleologus,

a profession which had been imposed in a Latin text with ' Transubstantiatio ' by Clement IV (1265–1268) and approved by Gregory X (1268–1276) in 1274.

No liturgy has such forceful language on the Presence of Christ in the Blessed Eucharist as that used by the Coptic priest before he makes his Communion (' The Body and Blood of Emmanuel Our God this is in truth. Amen. I believe, I believe, I believe, and I confess unto the last breath that this is the quickening flesh which thine only begotten Son Our Lord and Our God and Our Saviour Jesus Christ took of the Lady of us all, the Holy Mother of God, Saint Mary '); while the Byzantine epiclesis clearly shows the similarity of belief between East and West: ' Make the Body of Christ from this bread and the Blood from this wine, transmuting them by thy Holy Spirit.'

The Syriac Liturgy of St. James, the brother of Our Lord, says: ' In which (hour) the life-giving and Holy Spirit from high and lofty celestial regions comes, descends, falls upon this Eucharist, placed in the sanctuary, and sanctifies it.'

The question as to the exact moment of Consecration has been alluded to elsewhere, and in any case it in no way affects the Eucharistic dogma expressed in the liturgies.

The divine and supernatural character of the Church of God is everywhere clearly shown. In the Armenian Communion chant the Church is apostrophized as ' Mother of faith, ark of the holy espousals, celestial couch, habitation of thy immortal spouse who has adorned thee for ever '; and both Nestorians and Chaldeans on the first Sunday of the Sanctification (Dedication) of a church exclaim: ' Blessed art thou, O Church, because lo the feast of thy sanctification hath filled thee.' On the same day, also, the ' Khudra ' declares: ' O thou Church, full of discretion, possessor of treasures and varied wisdom, worship and confess Christ the King, thy Saviour, who hast raised up thy children, and hast made them spiritual treasures in the creation, and hast committed into their hands the keys of the heavenly treasure, and hast given them authority that whatsoever they shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.' The perpetuity of the Church of Christ is guaranteed, according to the ' Khudra ' on the third Sunday

of the Sanctification, by the testimony of the Apostolic See : ' *Rome* says that the Church shall continue from generation to generation, and shall not be overcome by kings or emperors.' Belief in the personal *primacy of St. Peter* (and his successors) appears in the liturgy and office for his feast day in the various schismatic rites. Thus, the Nestorians hail him as ' Peter, Prince of the Apostles,' and the Byzantines declare his prerogatives : ' Thou art worthily called the Rock, on which the Lord built the inviolate faith of the Church, constituting thee chief pastor of the reasoning sheep.' Again, as ' The foundation of the Church and Rock of the Faith ' (Menaion, January 16, St. Peter's Chains in ' Hesperinon '), or ' Immovable basis of dogmas,' ' Throne of the Faith,' ' sitting on the first throne of the Apostles ' (Nilles, ' Kalendarium manuale '). On June 29 the same Church sings : ' Let the Protector of Rome, the Steward of the kingdom, Rock of the faith, firm foundation stone of the Catholic Church, be celebrated in sacred hymns ' ; and, on the Commemoration of All the Apostles (June 30), the Menaion has : ' Summit and foundation of the Apostles, you left all things and followed your Master, saying : May I die with you, so as to live the life of the Blessed. You became the first Bishop of Rome ; you were the glory and honour of the greatest of all cities and fulcrum of the Church, O Peter, against which the gates of hell shall never prevail.'

Pope St. Martin, a feast observed in the West on November 12, and in the East on April 13 and September 20, has in the Menaion for the April commemoration : ' By what name shall I call thee, O Martin ! Shall I call thee the glorious ruler of the Orthodox Faith for all ? Or the sacred chief of divine dogmas, unstained by error ? . . . or the most true reprover of heresy ? . . . We know that thou wast the foundation of bishops, pillar of the Orthodox Faith, teacher of religion. . . . Thou didst adorn the divine See of Peter, and since thou from this divine Rock didst guard the Church unmoved, so now with him [St. Peter] art thou glorified.'

A Byzantine hymn in honour of St. Gregory the Great (St. Gregory Dialogus) runs : ' Most sacred Pastor, thou art the successor of the See and also of the zeal of the

chief [St. Peter], cleansing the people and bringing them to God, Successor of the throne of the prince of the choir of disciples, whence thou dost by thy teaching as with a torch enlighten the faithful, O Gregory! When the first of Churches embraced thee, she watered all the earth that is beneath the sun with divine teaching. Hail, torch of religion, who dost light up all the world with the glory of thy words! Lighthouse, who dost call back to the shore those who are tossed among the waves of error! Instrument sounded by the breath of the Holy Ghost.' On the feast of St. Leo the Great (February 18) is sung in the Byzantine Office a veritable testimony to papal supremacy: 'He himself, who now is the venerable successor of Peter and has acquired his presidency as riches.'

In the Syrian Canon of the Most Blessed Apostle St. Peter we find: 'Thou art he, who before time was, God foresaw from eternity and predestined, O most fortunate Peter, as the governor and ruler of the Church.'

That some of the Syrian Anaphoras, of which the schismatics (Jacobites) boast of no fewer than forty-three, have been ascribed to Roman Popes shows at any rate the reputation which Rome anciently held in the East, and, speaking of that named after St. Xystus, Renaudot says that one would deem it to be composed by a Maronite anxious to emphasize union, although such a view would be erroneous. On November 24 (St. Clement) the Catholic Syrians now chant in their Office: 'This is he who sits on the throne of Peter, head of the apostles, in the Roman capital and became like him [St. Peter] even in power, common pastor of the whole flock of Christ and of the whole world after Pope Cletus, who again reigned after Linus, first Bishop of Rome after Peter the Apostle.'

In the Coptic formula of absolution the words 'Thou art 'Peter are recited. Not only the Chaldean Office, but also that used by the Nestorians, has the following praise of the first Pope on June 29: 'Peter, prince of the Apostles, on whose strength the Saviour built his faithful Church. Simon Peter, who holds the keys of heaven [the heights] and hell [the depths]. Simon Cephas, to whom the Master said

" Feed my sheep and my lambs ; for to thee I will give the keys of the spiritual treasures, so that you may bind and loose all things which are on earth, and all things which are in heaven," betook himself to Rome in order to root out error and sow the doctrine of life in that city. Wise architect, builder of churches, demand from thy *magisterium* the salvation of our souls.' Another place in the same Office says : ' Head and first-born of the disciples . . . I [Christ] have appointed thee steward of the kingdom of heaven : govern and administer wisely as a prudent majordomo, distribute faithfully my spiritual treasure ' ; while further on we read : ' Blessed art thou, Simon, steward and possessor of the keys of the kingdom : holy Church hast been built upon thee, as thou art the rock of strength ! Thy Master hast placed thee in the midst of the Church as a foundation.'

In the Formula of Hormisdas (514–523), which the Greeks and the Latins signed at the fourth Council of Constantinople in 869 (eighth Catholic Ecumenical Council) and which was confirmed both at Lyon (1274) and Florence (1439), playing a great part in the Vatican Council of 1870, occur the following words : ' *Because in the Apostolic See the Catholic Religion is always kept immaculate . . . in which Communion is the whole, real and perfect solidity of the Christian Religion* . . . I promise that in future I will not say in the Holy Mysteries [Diptychs] the names of those who are banished from the Communion of the Catholic Church, *that is, who do not agree with the Apostolic See.*'

So late as the seventh and eighth centuries there were Greek Popes : Theodore I (642–649), Jerusalem Greek ; St. Agatho (678–681), Sicilian Greek ; and John V (685–686), Syrian ; while the Cretan Alexander V (1409–1410) was an Antipope set up by the Council of Pisa. In the second phase of the Iconoclastic controversy St. Theodore of the Studium (759–821) is found demanding submission to the Roman decision : ' This Church being the head of the Churches of God.' Russia, although involved in the schism from her dependence upon Constantinople, seems to have been temporarily united to the Holy See by the conversion of the ruler of Kiev, Duke Daniel Romanovich, for Innocent IV (1243–1254) in 1247 authorizes (' Epistle LXVIII ') the use by Russian

bishops and priests of fermented bread in the Sacrament of the Mass, and of all other rites which did not imply anything contrary to the Catholic faith as held by the Roman Church. A Canon of the Serbian Council of Dioclea (1199) declared that the Roman Church is 'the mother and mistress of all the Churches,' although, later, Serbia joined in the Byzantine hostility to the papacy. Before leaving this subject of the Pope one very significant fact may be noted. In 529 years, from A.D. 323 to the usurpation of Photius (852), 203 years were spent in a schism between Constantinople and Rome, but in every single case the former Church was on the wrong or heretical side and to-day the Orthodox themselves would agree that on all these occasions Rome was right!

The greatest reverence is always expressed for the *Ecumenical Councils*, which are even declared to be divinely inspired, but with the Byzantines seven are generally reckoned, with the Monophysites three and with the Nestorians only two. According to the Eastern Orthodox Calendar the Sunday after Ascension is observed as the feast of the 318 Fathers of Nicea; while to the Copt the absolution at the beginning of the liturgy is always conferred as coming from the mouths of the 318 Nicene Fathers (325), the 150 from Constantinople (381) and the 100 from Ephesus (431). To all Orientals *Ecclesiastical Tradition* and the *Doctrinal Authority of the Church* carry very great weight, and anathemas upon those who differ christologically are found in most of their service books. Daily the Coptic liturgy implores the divine punishment upon heretics and the divine blessing upon the 'Orthodox' (Monophysite). The *Cult of Mary and of the Saints* has assumed very much larger proportions in the East than in the West, at any rate so far as liturgical worship is concerned, and here the majority of the feasts of Our Lady originated. The Greeks so earned the title of '*ὑποφιλοπάρθενοι*' that Photius charged the Latins with insufficient reverence for her, since on occasions they only spoke of the 'God-bearing' as 'Holy Mary'! One Byzantine chant declares: 'Those who do not kiss thy sacred image, O God-bearing Virgin, reckon them as atheists and hand them over to hell fire'; while in every hymn the fourth strophe is dedicated to the Virgin under

the name ' Theotokion,' the Byzantine rite producing many thousands of hymns in her honour. One prayer seems even to anticipate clauses of the Litany of Loretto : ' Help of the meek, hope of the hopeless, consolation of the sad, food of the hungry, cure of the sick, safeguard of sinners, aid and refuge of all Christians.' In the Armenian Church a Marian hymn is chanted over a child on his fortieth day after baptism, when, placed on his right side on the altar step, the priest, laying his right hand on the child's head, says : ' Mother of God, door of heaven ; with a divine voice the angel declared : Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee. He who sitteth upon the Cherubim with the Father was pleased to dwell in thy womb incorruptible. Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee. He who was surrounded and watched by the flaming Seraphim, to-day was seen among men and in the arms of a terrestrial one. Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee.' Copts and Ethiopians, also, fired by the example of their hero, St. Cyril, laud the Mother of God in their liturgies, and the Nestorians, though officially denying the Ephesian doctrine of the Θεοτόκος, nevertheless style her ' the mother of the Lord of heaven and earth,' and in another place call her ' chaste, pure, holy, sanctified . . . ever Virgin, sanctified from the womb and chosen from the beginning as a refuge, home, dwelling, temple, place of rest, tomb, palace and throne for the ever living God.' It is indeed true to say that the Marian laudations of the Nestorians, despite their early schism, are second to none in their piety and fervour, for they continue : ' The mouths of men are insufficient to praise the Mother of the Lord of angels and men. . . . Thou art the fountain of life, and thy Mother is a pure garden. . . . Her pure person was clothed with a cloud of modesty and dignity. From without the angels kept her, and from within her wisdom and discretion directed her . . . she is the door spoken of by the prophet Barbozi [Ezechiel] . . . she is the sealed fountain from which the whole world have quenched their thirst. She is the untouched treasure by which all men have been enriched. This is she in whom God dwelt, and from whom sprang the Son of God. This is she, the begotten of Eve, through whom the curse of Eve is loosed. . . . This is the Virgin

from whom aged matrons may learn all piety. . . . Her infancy was spotless, and her youth immaculate. . . . The sick and afflicted called upon her name and were healed, and when she rested [died] her prayers were a tower of help to all the distressed' ('Warda,' appointed to be read on any of the festivals commemorative of the Blessed Virgin). In the Benediction to be said over a Nestorian mother at her Churching is: 'and be kept thou and thy child from all evil, through the prayers of the Virgin, who is clothed with light, the second heaven, St. Mary the Mother of Christ, our God, and through the prayers of all the saints'; while in the Burial Office for Priests we find: 'O Mary, . . . plead and supplicate for mercy upon the sinners who flee to thy prayers, that they may not be lost. Let thy prayers be to us a wall of defence in this world, and in that which is to come.'

The *corporal Assumption*, although the feast bears the title of 'κοίμησις,' is admitted by all, the Syrian Church singing (August 15): 'The heaven of heavens received the throne of thy *body*, O Mother of Light, and so thou sittest in glory with thy Son amidst the supernal beings and with them thou chantest of glory.' The Nestorians, in the 'Warda' on feasts of Our Lady, after narrating the legend of how the Jews attempted to burn the Blessed Virgin's body, continue: 'But the Virgin came forth and fled away in a cloud, and with her choirs of angels, playing on their trumpets and horns, saying "Blessed art thou, O Mary."'

Even the *Immaculate Conception* is found latent and implicit in the Eastern liturgies, although the Uniates have, since the definition of the dogma (1854), expressed this more clearly in their worship and the schismatics have been at pains to deny it (*e.g.* Synod of Constantinople, 1895). A Byzantine chant for the Conception of St. Anne (December 9), which is termed 'The child-begetting mother of the Mother of God, Anne,' bears a certain approximation to the Catholic dogma: 'For it was fitting that thou also in that should have a privilege as Mother of God, so that in the things of nature you may be above nature and in human affairs above man, but intercede, we beseech thee, O Spouse of God, for us, who in faith celebrate thy venerable conception.' By keeping this feast distinct from

the Nativity of Our Lady (September 8) even the Eastern schismatics quite clearly imply that the Conception itself is especially holy and worshipful. The feast, only introduced into the West in the twelfth century, was mentioned by St. Andrew of Crete in 675 and also by St. John Damascene (*ob.* 744) and St. Theodore of the Studium (*ob. c.* 826). It is perhaps *ad rem* to recall the words of St. Augustine, preaching on St. Cyprian : 'We should not keep his birthday even if we knew the date, because on that day he contracted original sin.' In a hymn written about the year 370 St. Ephrem Syrus makes the Church of Edessa declare : 'Thou and thy Mother are the only ones who under every aspect are entirely beautiful, since in thee, O Lord, there is no stain nor any blemish in thy Mother'—a truth even more emphatically expressed by a seventeenth-century schismatic Syrian patriarch, who gave the Jesuit Besson the following declaration : 'Ego pauper Ignatius Andreas, Patriarcha Antiochenus nationis Syrorum, confirmo hanc sententiam orthodoxam, quam explanavit P. Joseph e S.J. dominam nostram Virginem purissimam sanctam Mariam, semper liberam exstitisse et immunem a peccato originali, ut explicuerunt antiqui Sancti Patres longe plurimi, magistri Orientalis Ecclesiae.' In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries Kiev seems to have been a centre of devotion to this mystery, especially during the years 1730 to 1735, but in 1689 a Confraternity had been established for students in two sections—that for elder lads under the patronage of the Annunciation, and for the younger under the Conception. The same century, also, saw a sodality of Orthodox youth dedicated to the Immaculate Conception at Polotsk in White Russia, where it was officially approved by the bishop. Although these movements had been influenced by the Polono-Latin atmosphere they were nevertheless fiercely anti-Roman. The Orthodox Bishop of Kernitza and Kalabryta (Peloponnesus), Elias Meniates (*ob.* 1714), very definitely proclaimed this truth in his sermons, but when they were edited in 1849 by Anthimus Mazarakes, all passages relating to the Immaculate Conception were shamelessly expunged. Anthimus IV, Patriarch of Constantinople, was party to the fraud, the editor explaining his conduct by 'the

youth of the author,' ' contamination from the West ' and ' interpolations by a foreign hand ' !

The Italo-Greeks now term the Conception of St. Anne the ' Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin,' and the Synod of Lemberg, held in 1891, ordered a new Office for the Ruthenians. Formerly the doctrine was implicit with the Maronites, but now it is explicitly stated in a chant which echoes the words of the Bull ' Ineffabilis Deus.' Similar amendments may be noted amongst the Chaldeans and Catholic Syrians, for the latter sing : ' With thee alone in thy Conception, O Mary, was there joy among all the friends of God and grief to the devil.'

A serious defect in the separated Byzantine Church is the introduction of unworthy and even heretical characters as ' saints.' Emperors and patriarchs have been raised to the altars, regardless of their lives and sometimes of their orthodoxy, provided the latter had not quarrelled with Caesar. Gross Erastianism or hatred of Rome decided many of the causes. Thus, the feast of St. Constantine is observed on May 21 ; while St. Theodora (November 15), the public dancer who became Empress, always remained a Monophysite, and the memory of St. Photius (February 6) is kept green by detestation of the first Patriarch! The Abyssinian Church (schismatic) keeps the feast of ' St. Pontius Pilate ' on June 25 and errs also, by excess, in its estimate of Our Blessed Lady, since it definitely speaks of her, not only as the purest of creatures and the Mother of Him who is God, but as a divine person and the world's redeemer.

The contest for holy *Images* (Iconoclastic controversy) was fought out and won in the Byzantine Empire, so, despite the fact that even now statues are unknown except in Latinized churches, the devotion shown to icons, as they are called, is very great, and even at times excessive when gauged by Western practice. On February 19, 842, the images were finally brought back to Constantinople, and the feast of Orthodoxy is annually observed on the first Sunday in Lent to commemorate the event.

The *Cult of the Angels* is found in every Eastern Church, the Byzantines keeping several feasts of St. Michael and two

of St. Gabriel. A peculiarity of the Orientals, even Catholics, is their veneration for the *Old Testament Prophets*, who, despite their commemoration in the Roman Martyrology, are now almost entirely neglected in Latin worship outside the Carmelite Order (*cf.* church dedications in Venice, *e.g.* S. Geremia, S. Giobbe, S. Moise, S. Samuele).

Prayers for the Dead are common to all the Churches, as well as a virtual belief in *Purgatory*, although many Easterns in order to justify their schism now profess to deny it. St. John Chrysostom had said (' In Phil. hom.,' iii. 4) : ' It was not in vain the Apostles settled this by law, namely, that in the venerable and sacred mysteries we should remember the dead. For they knew that the dead have much profit and advantage therefrom. At the moment when all the people stand around, their hands lifted up, and the company of priests as well, and when that Sacred Victim is offered, how should we not appease God for them by our prayers ? ' ; while the Apostolic Constitutions (VIII. 41), also, had been quite clear on the question. Amongst the Syrians, Jacobites and Catholics alike, the word ' Schiul ' (Hebrew, *Sheol*) has been used from most ancient times to denote the place where the souls for whom we pray are resting. In the Nestorian Burial Office for Priests the people are directed to say, after the officiant has thrown earth into the grave : ' Give rest to the soul of this thy servant in the place where the righteous dwell ' (to be repeated thrice).

Thus from this short dogmatic survey it can be readily seen that the truths put forward by Rome are neither innovations nor novelties, but rather developments from that germ which is ' quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus,' for there is the certainty that God's Holy Spirit ' deducet in omnem veritatem.'

In turning to the *defects of the Oriental liturgies*, certain points stand out as emphasizing the simplicity and directness of the Roman service books, at any rate for those possessing Western minds. In the first place, the *florid and figurative Eastern style* seems to overload the rites unnecessarily, the same failing showing itself in official communications—*e.g.* letter of the Vicar of the Nestorian Patriarch to Innocent IV

(1243–1254) in 1247, and a further Nestorian letter addressed to Julius III (1549–1555) in 1552.

The great Eastern Doctors, St. John Chrysostom, St. Basil or St. Gregory Nazianzen, were never unduly verbose or full of metaphor, but later writers, adopting the Byzantine style, often abandoned directness and precision, sometimes even playing in the liturgy with the name of a saint. Thus the Byzantines have styled Our Lady the 'tongs,' inasmuch as the Seraphim used these to take the coal, which is Our Blessed Lord, from the altar. Among the East Syrians the Cherubim and Seraphim (bearing glory), since they are compared with baggage animals carrying their loads, are styled 'spiritual elephants,' 'horses,' 'mules.' In the Armenian liturgy St. Joachim and St. Anne are termed 'sheep,' because it was from them that the 'divine fleece' (Our Lady) was prepared.

A second criticism is the too easy reception among the Orientals of *apocryphal and dubious matter*, spurious Gospels and legends appearing in the liturgies side by side with the authentic and the true. According to the Byzantines, the Blessed Virgin lived in the Holy of Holies without human food and fed by the Archangel Gabriel; the Armenian Church alleges that the same heavenly visitant foretold death to Our Lady; while, according to a Nestorian account, the Pharisees wishing to burn the body of the Virgin as she lay in her tomb were themselves destroyed by the flames which came from her.

Thirdly, there is a very marked tendency in the East to retain many *Jewish or Old Testament customs*, which naturally never obtained any great hold in the West, where there were no Jewish Christian churches. For this reason Saturday assumed a quasi-festal character and the Latin fast on that day was made a very serious charge by the Orthodox, who at the time of the schisms (Photius and Caerularius) were minded to make a crisis out of every small Western divergence from the customs of Constantinople.

Following the Law of Moses, the Byzantines reckon ceremonial impurity for forty days after childbirth (until the presentation in God's house); and an unclean object falling into a well demands a purificatory benediction. East Syrians still make offerings of lambs in cemeteries, which are sacrificed

in order to obtain remission for the dead, and if the corpse of a Moslem or other infidel has been touched the person concerned becomes unclean and is temporarily shut out from the sanctuary. With the Copts and more especially the Abyssinians there are still further traces of Judaism. Circumcision is a religious rite, in addition to Baptism, and in the Coptic Church laymen, save at the lessons and Consecration, wear the tarbush ; while a portable box, the ' ark,' holds the chalice during the liturgy. Her Ethiopian sister claims for her sovereign direct descent from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, in the person of their son Menelik I, and in every church there is an ' ark,' different from that in use among the Copts and directly taken from the old ' Ark of the Covenant,' the original of which, together with the Tablets of Moses, are said to have been brought to Abyssinia and hidden at Axum, the former capital. Most of these Judaizing practices have been retained by the Uniates, since they contain nothing manifestly superstitious or false, and they are patient of a Christian interpretation. Coptic Monophysites, however, have abandoned Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament because, first, none of the manna was reserved, and secondly, the Passover was eaten in haste !

A final complaint may be made in respect of the inordinate *length of the Eastern Offices* ; while even the liturgy, until the Latin shortening process of low Mass, was often of too great a duration for the ordinary worshipper. This had the inevitable effect of making the Divine Office only apply to monks, whose time was unlimited, and often reducing the celebration of the liturgy to Saturdays, Sundays and festivals. Every Uniate rite has now a low Mass (strictly the term ' Mass ' is only correct for a Western liturgy, but most Eastern Catholics use the term quite freely), which, although departing from ancient custom, is a great aid both to frequent Communion and more genuine spirituality. This shortened form of the liturgy (and Divine Office) was sanctioned in 1755 by Benedict XIV (' Quem religionis ') in the Order of St. Basil (Italo-Greeks), for private use only, but the monks of Mezzojuso (Sicily) were expressly excepted, while the diocesan clergy tried at that time in vain to share the privilege.

Some doubt seems to exist as to how far Eastern Catholics are bound to the Office, the Sacred Congregation of Rites contenting itself with the non-committal answer, ' Servetur consuetudo.' The Ruthenian Synod of Lwow or Lemberg (1891) decreed that, even out of choir, the Office should be said ' sub gravi '—a decision already arrived at by the Syrians (1888, Synod of Scharfa, Mount Lebanon).

The Coptic Synod of Cairo (1898) appears to suppose a similar obligation for the priests and deacons of its rite, since there was a Visitation question, ' Do they daily recite the Divine Office ? '

Much of the liturgy in each rite is common to all, and indeed the essentials are necessarily one with the West, but the order and arrangement of the prayers, together with the ecclesiastical year of both fast and feast, will be found compared one with the other under the headings of the separate rites.

Having then surmounted the ignorance of so many and discovered the truth of the German proverb, ' Hinter dem Berge sind auch Leute ' (' Behind the mountains there are people to be found ! '), which may be interpreted that Catholics exist in the East with varying rites, ceremonies and organizations, who are not a whit behind the Latin or the Teuton in devotion to the Holy See, a further illusion needs to be dispelled. This alleges that the Pope tolerates these variations on sufferance, but that, given the opportunity, he would reduce all the Eastern Churches to pale copies of the Latin, and that his apparent zeal for their venerable liturgies is a case of ' reculer pour sauter le mieux.' Pontifical words and actions, however, throughout the centuries, give the lie to this calumny, which is in a far greater degree true when applied to the policy of Constantinople. St. Gregory the Great (590–604) had maintained, ' In una fide nil officit Sanctae Ecclesiae consuetudo diversa ' (' Reg. Pat.,' I. t. xli.) ; while centuries later Cardinal Bona (1609–1674) declared, ' Debet unaquaeque ecclesia custodire ritus suos, sed receptos a majoribus, longoque usu praescriptos, et legitima auctoritate approbatos ' (' De Reb. Lit.,' Lib. VI. n. 3). Byzantium attempted to claim South Italy for her patriarchate because the liturgy was

Eastern, but Rome never forbade the Oriental way of doing things ; while the Imagers who fled to Italy in the eighth and ninth centuries were received in their rite as confessors. Between the years 642 and 752 nearly all the Popes were Orientals—five Syrians (John V, Sisinnius, Constantine, Gregory III, Zacharias) and three Greeks (Theodore, Sergius, John VI). Papal pontificalia seem to have been profoundly influenced by Byzantium, for the succinctorium may be compared with the hypogonation, the fanon with the phelonion or veil of the kalumavkion, and the tiara with the head-gear itself. Seemingly worn by notabilities about the end of the seventh century, the Syrian Constantine (708–715) appears to have been the first Pope to don the tiara. The first (eighth century), eleventh (twelfth century), and fifteenth (fourteenth century) of the ' Ordines Romani ' all speak of the Easter and Pentecostal prophecies as chanted in Greek as well as in Latin ; while a similar custom once existed for the six lessons on Ember Saturday, and up to the time of Adrian I (772–795) the Epistle and Gospel were read in both languages on great feasts at Constantinople. The Roman Gospel for the Assumption recalls Byzantine tradition, where the same passage is read for all those festivals of Our Lady which have no direct reference in Holy Scripture.

While, however, East and West retained their visible ecclesiastical unity until the ninth century, the division of the Empire between Arcadius (Byzantium) and Honorius (Rome), consequent upon the death of Theodosius the Great (394), began that process of national separatism which has had the misfortune to accentuate the fact that East is East and West is West. When in 862 Photius was working for a schism, Nicholas I (858–867) wrote to him saying that there was no kind of objection to people having different rites, so long as nothing was contrary to the holy Canons (' Epist. ad Phot.', xii.). Again, at the final rupture (1053) Michael Caerularius shut up the Latin churches in Constantinople and even the chapel of the papal apocrisarius (legate), but Rome never retaliated at Grottaferrata, and, in writing to the truculent aggressor, Leo IX (1048–1054) said : ' Since both in and outside Rome many monasteries and churches of the Greeks

are found, none of them has been disturbed or hindered in the tradition of their fathers, or their customs ; but rather they are advised and encouraged to keep these ' (*cf.* Greek influence in Santa Maria Antiqua al Foro). In the following year (1054) the Latin bishop, Dominic of Gradus and Aquileia, wrote to Peter, Patriarch of Antioch, on the question of the eucharistic bread, since the Greeks were denying the validity of azyme for a true Consecration, styling it ' dry mud.' Dominic, with a wonderful insight and charity, declared : ' Because we know that the sacred mixture of fermented bread is used and lawfully observed by the most holy and Orthodox Fathers of the Eastern Churches, we faithfully approve of both customs and confirm both by a spiritual explanation '—leavened bread shows the ' substance of the Incarnate Word ' (Hypostatic Union) and unleavened ' the purity of the human flesh which it pleased the Divinity to unite with itself.' ' If, then,' Dominic continued, ' our offering of azyme bread is not the Body of Christ, we are all of us cut off from the source of life.'

The fourth Council of the Lateran (1215) assured the Greeks that Rome intended ' to cherish and honour them, maintaining their customs and rites, as much as, with the help of the Lord, we are able ' ; and Pope Honorius III (1216–1227) spoke in a similar vein to the King of Cyprus (Henry I de Lusignan, 1218–1253) concerning the Greeks reconciled to the Holy See. Writing in 1247 with a view to reunion, Basilicus, King of Lodomeria, was assured by Innocent IV (1243–1254) that there was never any intention of Latinizing : ' We admit that the bishops and priests of Russia shall be allowed to consecrate in leavened bread, according to their use, and that they shall observe their other rites which are not opposed to the Catholic faith, which the Roman Church holds.'

After the temporary healing of the Churches at Lyon (1274), Nicholas III (1277–1280) wrote in 1278 to Bartholomew, Bishop of Grosseto, the legate at Constantinople, to the effect that the united Greeks must recite the ' Filioque ' (now optional), but that otherwise they might keep their own rites—' concerning which it appears to the Apostolic See that

the Catholic faith is not offended, nor the laws of the sacred Canons disobeyed.' This was again conceded at the Council of Florence (1439) : ' So also, whether in azyme or in leavened bread, the Body of Christ is truly present ; and priests must consecrate the Body of the Lord in either, each according to the use of the Church, whether Western or Eastern.'

That these protestations were genuine, proof may be found in the Greek colonies in Italy, where sometimes, even against the wish of the Byzantines themselves, Popes have insisted upon their maintaining their own usages. It is, of course, consistent with Catholic belief that the Sovereign Pontiff has supreme power in the matter of laws concerning liturgical matters. As examples from the early Church we may cite St. Victor (*c.* 192–*c.* 201) on the date of Easter (198) ; St. Siricius (384–398) ordering Baptisms at Easter and Pentecost (385) ; St. Celestine (422–432) forbidding French priests to wear a pall (428) ; and St. Leo the Great (440–461) allowing a priest to say a second Mass on a feast day, if the church was very small (459). The Renaissance Medici Popes, Leo X (1513–1521) and Clement VII (1523–1534), both denounced those Latins who openly despised the Byzantine rite ; while in the same century (1577) Gregory XIII (1572–1585) founded the Greek College in Rome (' Pontificium Collegium Graecorum de Urbe '). This ' Collegio Greco ' was reorganized by Leo XIII (1878–1903) in 1896, with a separate seminary for the Ruthenian students (1897), since both groups had been admitted to the college from 1622 (' Collegium Greco-Ruthenum '). To encourage the Byzantine rite still further, the Pope (1897) has allowed the Benedictines in charge of the Greek College to use the Oriental liturgy during their term of office (*cf.* White Fathers at St. Anne's, Jerusalem (Melkite)). The ' Monita ad Missionarios in partibus Orientalibus,' issued by the Propaganda in 1669, explicitly speaks of the Sovereign Pontiffs as champions of the Eastern rites ' in all their integrity and their purity.'

After the formation of the Ruthenian Church at the end of the sixteenth century, both Clement VIII (1591–1605) and his successor, Paul V. (1605–1621), defended its rite and customs against the Latinizing tendencies of the civil power (Poland).

Benedict XIII (1724–1730), in approving the Synod of Zamosc (1720), inserted a clause to the effect that nothing could be allowed which would injure the Ruthenian rite. In 1742 and again in 1751 Benedict XIV (1740–1758) legislated to the same purpose, declaring on the latter occasion : ' Since the mind of the Latin Church was never to destroy the rites of the Greeks, but rather to attend to their preservation.'

For the Italo-Greeks the same Pontiff, in the Encyclical ' Etsi Persuasum ' (April 20, 1751), urged the Byzantines to have a thorough knowledge of their rite, and at the same time forbade abbots from celebrating a Latin Mass. Previous to this, ' Etsi Pastoralis ' (May 26, 1742) had stated : ' Our predecessors, the Roman pontiffs, considered it more proper to approve and permit these rites, which are in no way opposed to the Catholic faith, nor cause danger to souls, nor diminish the honour of the Church, rather than to bring them to the standard of the Roman ceremonial. . . . Nor do we allow any Latin Ordinary to molest or disturb these or any of them, and we inhibit all and any prelates or persons from blaspheming, reproving, or blaming the rites of the Greeks, which were approved in the Council of Florence or elsewhere.' Both Clement XII (1730–1740) and Pius VI (1774–1799) fostered the Byzantine rite in South Italy and Sicily ; while, coming down to recent times, Leo XIII (1878–1903) expunged Latinisms at Grottaferrata and established a college in the monastery. This was effected on April 12, 1881, by a decree of the Congregation for Eastern Rites, of which the first article was : ' In the monastery of Grottaferrata, all variations of any kind and customs to the contrary being abolished, the Greek rite be observed and restored integrally in the Divine Offices and other sacred functions.' Thus, on August 15 of that year, leavened bread was again used, together with the Byzantine vestments, and no elevation after Consecration ; while from Grottaferrata the same movement has spread in South Italy and Sicily (more extensively).

These Italo-Greeks are derived from a fusion between the original Byzantine inhabitants of ' Magna Graecia ' and later Albanian and other immigrations. Despite the efforts, often only too successful, of many of the South Italian Latin bishops,

Rome has always fostered the Byzantine rite in this corner of her patriarchate, and in the sixteenth century, when so many mediaeval missals were abandoned for the Pian rite, two Roman cardinals—William Sirlet (1514–1585) and Julius Antony Santoro (1532–1602)—stand out as the especial protectors of the Italo-Greeks. Cardinal Santoro, also, was the author (1595) of the 'Instruction' of Clement VIII (1591–1605).

During the pontificate of Paul III (1534–1549) Albanians from Sicily sent their bishop (Benedict) to protest to Rome against the accusations which were being made concerning their orthodoxy. The Pope wrote a Brief to the Sicilian bishops praising the 'Coronei' (*κόρωνη* in Peloponnesus) for their valour and fidelity to the Catholic faith, severely forbidding any bishop to interfere with the rite or annoy them because they were not Latins, at the same time renewing the former papal laws on the subject and threatening grave censures to those who disobeyed. To this, Pius IV (1559–1565) published a Constitution (February 16, 1564) to the effect that the Albanians were to obey the diocesan authority of the local bishop, 'but by this we do not mean that the Greeks themselves are to be taken from their Greek rite, or that they are to be in any way hindered by the Ordinaries or by others.' When the Fathers of the Society of Jesus ruled the Greek College in Rome severe oaths were required of the students (*ita* Urban VIII (1623–1644) and Alexander VII (1655–1667)) that they would enter no religious Order except that of the Basilians, lest, by promising students becoming Jesuits, the college and the Eastern rite for which it was founded should suffer.

For the Byzantine Catholics of Syria and Egypt, known as Melkites, Benedict XIV legislated in 'Demandatum Coelitus' (December 24, 1743), a document sent to the Melkite Patriarch of Antioch, Cyril VI, and his suffragans, which not only emphasized the purity of their own rite, but also rigorously prohibited any change: 'Concerning the rites and customs of the Greek Church in general, we decree in the first place that no one, whatever his rank may be, even patriarchal or episcopal, may innovate or introduce anything that diminishes

their complete and exact observance.' Mass was forbidden to them in Lent, as being contrary to their rite, and the custom of only one daily Mass on an altar was maintained. Where, however, the number of priests justified it several altars might be erected in one church, and the idea that vestments worn twice in a day involved a broken fast was reprobated as superstitious. Maronites, also, were straitly charged not to interfere in Melkite affairs, nor to attempt proselytizing on behalf of their rite; while even more severe penalties were threatened against unduly zealous Latin missionaries: 'Moreover, we expressly forbid all and each of the Catholic Melkites who use the Greek rite, to pass over to the Latin rite. We command severely that all missionaries, under pains named below, and under others to be inflicted according to our pleasure, shall not dare to persuade any one of these to pass from the Greek to the Latin rite, or shall even allow them to do so, if they wish it, without they have first consulted the Apostolic See.' The aforesaid 'pains' entailed deprivation of both active and passive voice in elections, as well as inability for any office or degree in their Order or Congregation. These decisions were followed up on July 26, 1755, by the Encyclical 'Allatae sunt,' addressed to missionaries in the 'East,' covering relations with all the Catholic Orientals and not merely with the Melkites. This was published, so the document runs, that 'errors opposed to the Catholic faith might be rooted out, but it has never been attempted to do any injury to the venerable Eastern rite.' Uniate priests celebrating in Latin churches were to employ their own rite, and in speaking of converts the great Pontiff goes on to say: 'We desire vehemently that their various nations should be preserved, not destroyed; that, to say all in one word, they should be Catholics, not that they should become Latins.' 'Exoptans vehementer ut omnes Catholici sint, non ut omnes Latini fiant.' In 1787 Pius VI (1774–1799) issued an Encyclical ('Catholicae Communionis') recommending the Arabic edition of the Catechism of the Council of Trent, but with the definite proviso that nothing Latin should be allowed to interfere with the Oriental rites.

For other Byzantine groups, a Greek Lyceum was founded at Athens in 1889; while two colleges (destroyed in the Great

War) were established for Bulgarians—the one at Philippopolis (Zeitenlik) in 1885 under French Lazarists, and the other by Assumptionists at Adrianople (Kara-Agatch) about 1890. In 1895 a seminary for both Greeks and Bulgars was started at Koum-Kapou, with separate chapels for these apparently irreconcilable elements, although so long ago as 1882 the Capuchin Fathers had opened St. Louis' Seminary in Constantinople (Pera) for all rites.

Pius IX (1846–1878) in his Apostolic Letter (' In suprema ad Orientales '), dated January 6, 1848, extols Eastern rites, declaring : ' We will preserve your Catholic liturgies intact, that you so rightly honour, although they differ in certain particulars from that of the Latin Church. These liturgies have been equally honoured by our predecessors, as recommended by their venerable antiquity, as well as written in languages spoken by the Apostles and the Fathers, and containing ceremonies of incomparable pomp and magnificence, suitable for maintaining and nourishing the veneration of the faithful towards the divine mysteries.' This was followed by an Allocution, delivered on December 19, 1853, when the same Pontiff continued : ' These rites must be kept and reverenced, being worthy of all respect by the antiquity of their origin, coming as they do, in great part, from the holy Fathers. Particular constitutions have forbidden those who follow these rites to abandon them without the special permission of the Supreme Pontiff. Our predecessors knew that the spotless bride of Christ presents in these external notes an admirable variety, which in no way alters her unity. The Church, spreading beyond the frontiers of States, embraces all peoples and all nations, which she unites in the profession of the same faith, in spite of diversities of customs, language and rites ; these differences being approved by the Roman Church, mother and chief of all.' Pope Leo XIII (1878–1903), following the policy of his predecessors, stated in the Consistory held on December 13, 1880 : ' At the beginning of our Pontificate we hastened to occupy ourselves with the people of the East. There, indeed, was the cradle of the salvation of the whole human race and the firstfruits of Christianity ; thence, as a mighty river, all the blessings of the Gospel came to the West.'

Three years later (1883) the Armenian College at Rome was founded, and in 1897 a similar institution was started in Cairo for the Copts. The Encyclical ' Praeclara gratulationis ' (June 29, 1894) contained the three following pertinent passages : ' First we turn a look of great affection to the East whence came salvation to the world ' ; ' For the defence of Catholic doctrines we take arguments and profits from the rites, the teaching and the practices of the Eastern Christians ' ; and ' For all their rites and practices we will provide without narrowness.' Then, later in the same year (November 30, 1894), the Pope, in publishing ' Orientalium dignitas,' declared more strongly than ever that Eastern Catholics should preserve their ancient rites intact and free from Latinizings.

For, as it points out, these Oriental liturgies witness to the Apostolicity of the Church of God, since their diversity is not only consistent with unity of faith, but they are themselves strong witnesses to that unity, adding both dignity and honour, so that it is more than ever the papal duty ' to watch carefully lest any injury should be done to them by the imprudence of ministers of the Gospel from Western lands, whom zeal for the teaching of Christ sends towards the Eastern nations.' Further, ' any Latin missionary, whether regular or secular, who by his advice or influence shall have persuaded an Eastern Christian to adopt the Latin rite, shall incur *ipso facto* suspension *a divinis*, and all other pains threatened in the Constitution " Demandatum Coelitus " ' (1743)—a penalty to be posted up in all the Latin sacristies of the East. By this same document (' Orientalium dignitas '), also, a Uniate who turns Latin, on account of the temporary absence of his own clergy, must return to his original rite when the cause of Latinization is removed ; while a woman of an Oriental rite who marries a Latin husband may return to her former usages on becoming a widow. Even if a Uniate has turned Latin by virtue of a papal rescript, he may at any time revert, and where Eastern and Western students are working together rectors must make special provision for the former. Again, on March 19, 1896 (Motu Proprio ' Auspicia rerum secunda '), Leo XIII enforced all the regulations of ' Orientalium dignitas.' On the occasion of the thirteenth centenary of the death of St. John Chrysostom, held on February 12, 1908, the Byzantine liturgy was sung by

the Melkite Patriarch, Lord Cyril VIII, in the Hall of Beatifications in the Vatican, in the presence of the sainted Pontiff, Pius X (who chanted certain blessings in Greek), and the Syrian Catholic Patriarch, Ignatius Ephrem II. The same holy Pope, in the Constitution 'Tradita ab antiquis' (September 14, 1912), granted Latins the privilege of receiving Holy Communion under both kinds when assisting at an Oriental liturgy. A Roman document (1922), however, expressly stated that Easterns *must* perform their Easter duties in churches of their own rite, although on examination by a special Commission of Cardinals, as well as by the Congregation of the Oriental Church, this measure was repealed in 1925.

In 1917 Pope Benedict XV (1914–1922) established the 'Congregatio pro Ecclesia Orientali'; while the same Holy Father (October 5, 1920) raised the Syrian deacon St. Ephrem Syrus to be a Doctor of the Universal Church and established an Ethiopian College in what has since become the Vatican State. In a letter addressed by the Apostolic See to the Ruthenian Metropolitan of Lwow or Halytch ('Il Dolore,' April 1, 1920), rite was declared to be 'Il Palladio della . . . nazionalità,' a clear statement repudiating the theory that Rome is the foe of nationality, although there is of course a right and a wrong line in this 'Philetism,' as the Byzantines call it. When in 1919 the Italo-Greek diocese of Lungro was established, the priests were definitely permitted to administer Confirmation, an Oriental custom which Rome has not always tolerated. The present Pope, Pius XI, follows the same line of action (*e.g.* 'Ecclesiam Dei,' November 12, 1923), encouraging autocephalous Oriental Churches wherever they may be found, especially developing those which are in process of formation or without native bishops (*e.g.* Russia, Abyssinia, Malabar).

This then has been the papal policy towards the East all down the centuries, and yet one still hears the same ignorant lie repeated: 'Rome is utterly intolerant of all rites and usages save the Latin, and she only pauses and pretends to approve of other customs in order that she may get them under her yoke, the better to enforce later her dull and rigid uniformity'! Even allowing that until last century Rome, while conceding the Oriental rites, clearly inferred the supposed superiority of the

Latin, yet with the election of Pius IX a new era has dawned, in which the absolute equality of all Catholic rites has been guaranteed—' Roma locuta est et causa finita est.'

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(1) ' Liturgies Eastern and Western.' F. E. Brightman, M.A. Vol. I : ' Eastern Liturgies.' Oxford : At the Clarendon Press. 1896.

(2) ' Praelectiones de Liturgiis Orientalibus habitae in Universitate Friburgensi Helvetiae a Maximiliano, Principe Saxoniae.' Tomus I, 1908 ; Tomus II, 1913. B. Herder, Friburgi Brisgoviae.

(3) ' Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio Opera et Studio Eusebii Renaudotii Parisini.' 2 Tomi. Francofurti ad Maenum Sumptibus Josephi Baer, Bibliopolae. Londini : Apud Joannem Leslie, Bibliopolam. 1847.

(4) ' The Lesser Eastern Churches.' Adrian Fortescue, Ph.D., D.D. London : Catholic Truth Society, 69 Southwark Bridge Road, S.E. 1913.

(5) ' Les Églises orientales et les Rites orientaux.' Raymond Janin. 2me édition. 5 Rue Bayard, Paris. 1926.

(6) ' Eastern Catholics.' W. L. Scott, K.C., Ottawa. London : Catholic Truth Society, 72 Victoria Street, London, S.W. 1.

(7) ' L'Uniatisme.' Irénikon Collection, Nos. 5–6. Prieuré d'Amay-sur-Meuse. Par Cyrille Karalevsky. 1927.

(8) ' Le Clergé Occidental et l'Apostolat dans l'Orient Asiatique et Gréco-Slav.' Cyrille Karalevsky. Paris : Gabriel Beauchesne, Rue de Rennes 117. 1923.

(9) *Irénikon.* Bulletin Mensuel des Moines de l'Union des Églises. Amay-Schootenhof.

(10) ' Echos d'Orient.' Revue Trimestrielle. Maison de la Bonne Presse, 5 Rue Bayard, Paris VIIIe.

(11) ' Alcuin Club Tracts.' No. 16 : ' The Uniats and their Rites.' Stephen Goselee. A. R. Mowbray & Co.

(12) ' Congrès des Œuvres Eucharistiques tenu à Jerusalem les 28, 29 et 30 Juin, 1893.' Paris : Imprimerie Paul Feron-Vrau, 5 Rue Bayard. MDCCCCVI.

(13) ' East and West in the Unity of Christ.' Rt. Rev. Mgr. D'Herbigny. Translated from the French. Catholic Truth Society, 72 Victoria Street, London, S.W. 1.

(14) ' Jésuites Missionaires : Syrie Proche Orient.' H. Charles, S.J. Gabriel Beauchesne, Éditeur, 117 Rue de Rennes, Paris. 1929.

(15) ' Les Églises séparées d'Orient.' Par le R. P. Janin. Paris : Bloud et Gay. 1930.

(16) ' La sainte Messe selon les Rites Orientaux.' Robert Lesage. Avignon : Librairie Aubanal Fils Aîné. 1930.

CHAPTER IX

BYZANTINE RITE WITH NINE VARIANTS

CHAPTER IX

BYZANTINE RITE WITH NINE VARIANTS

Of the Oriental rites, the largest number of adherents (Uniate and schismatic) is found in the Byzantine, which, but for the Nestorian and Monophysite schisms of the fifth century, would have stood alone in the Eastern world to-day, since Constantinople, from the time that she became the Imperial City, has ever shown herself intolerant of divergent rites and ceremonies, despite the fact that it was from Antioch that her type of liturgy arose.

From the fourth century a fixed rite has existed, taking the place of the former liturgical licence, which gave, in a sense, to every celebrant the right to extemporize the Eucharistic prayers, provided that certain essentials (*e.g.* words of Consecration) were present. After the Apostolic Constitutions (Clementine liturgy), for which there is no evidence of actual use, the Liturgy of St. James appeared, an Antiochene production, but originating in Jerusalem. This was abandoned, owing to its extreme length, in favour of the Liturgy of St. Basil, but Syriac versions of it are still used by some of the lesser Eastern Churches, as well as by their counterparts who have returned to Catholic unity. The Orthodox Church, however, uses it twice in the year—at Zakynthos on the feast of St. James (October 23) and at Jerusalem (since 1900) on December 31. The Liturgy of St. Basil, which professes to be the saint's rearrangement of St. James, although superseded by that of St. John Chrysostom, is still used, by Orthodox and Catholics alike, on the Sundays in Lent, Maundy Thursday, Holy Saturday, the Eves of Christmas and the Epiphany and St. Basil (January 1). On the weekdays of Lent (except Saturdays) the Liturgy of the Presanctified is celebrated, since these days are, like the Latin Good Friday,

aliturgical. This apportioning of the three liturgies was mentioned so early as the patriarchate of Nicephorus (806–815).

From about the twelfth century Constantinople had crushed all divergences of use in the Churches of Alexandria and Jerusalem, so far as they were still in communion with her, so that from at least that time the Eastern Orthodox Church has used the same liturgy with the same exceptions. A great figure in this process of liturgical centralization was Theodore IV (Balsamon) of Antioch (1185–*c.* 1214), who pursued his narrow policy from alleged motives of patriotism. By the end of the eleventh century, however, East and West had severed communion, although the suggested causes concerning the ' Filioque,' azymes, and fasting on Saturdays were no real reasons for the schism, despite the fact that Michael Caerularius had termed them ' horrible infirmities.' From the viewpoint of the Catholic Church union with the papacy is necessary for inclusion within the Church of God, although a divergence of liturgies, rites and ceremonies is fully consistent with membership in the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. The removal of the Pope's name, therefore, from the Byzantine diptychs began the schism; while its restoration (*e.g.* after the Council of Florence) brought the East back into Catholic unity. Uniates are members of a separated Eastern Church who have returned into communion with the Pope. In the case of the Orthodox—that is, of those who use the Byzantine rite in the above-mentioned liturgies—there are nine Catholic variants, since submission has been made by groups of different races at various times and under very diverse circumstances, so that, although the liturgy is substantially the same for all, the language employed, as well as minor matters concerning the Calendar and the ceremonial, vary considerably.

The *Italo-Greeks* provide a real proof of the Latin *bona fides*, when Rome asserts that she will preserve the Eastern liturgies intact, for here are Byzantines surrounded and at the mercy of the Latins. About 62,000 are found in South Italy and Sicily, with a further 20,000 who have emigrated to the United States of America. The Italo-Greeks are descended from three sources: (*a*) the community who

followed the rite from the Byzantine period of the eighth and ninth centuries, when Southern Italy was ' Magna Graecia ' ; (β) the Greek colonies of the seaports and Rome ; and (γ) the Albanian and Greek settlers who fled from the oncoming tide of Islam in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. From the first two sources the present Italo-Greeks derive very little, with the exception of the Basilian monastery of Grottaferrata, and it is probable that but for the later Albanian immigration the Byzantine rite would have vanished from Italy. Both the Moslem invasions and the Iconoclastic persecutions gradually Hellenized large tracts of Southern Italy and Sicily, although Greek influence had been apparent here from the very earliest times. In 726 Leo the Isaurian (717–741) withdrew the district from the patriarchate of Rome to that of Constantinople, without authority and on the grounds that the Byzantine rite was used. East and West still nominally formed one Church, so the Pope—Adrian I (772–795), and Nicholas I (858–867)—with great Christian forbearance acquiesced in this spoliation of his patriarchate, contenting himself with a protest against the robbing of his patrimony, and setting up Latin provinces (John XIII (965–972)) for the faithful of the Roman rite. Before the Byzantine usurpation both South Italy and Sicily had the Pope as their Metropolitan, with all bishops ordained by Rome and all attending the Roman Synod. In 1053 the crash came and schism convulsed Europe, but providentially the Norman conquest of South Italy and Sicily prevented the Greeks from joining their Eastern brethren, so that, with a few apostasies, the majority remained true to Rome.

The Normans, however, necessarily brought about a restoration of the Roman rite, which was further encouraged by the Latin hierarchy, so that by the sixteenth century this original Byzantine strain had almost disappeared, Grottaferrata remaining as a solitary example. This Basilian monastery (' Ordo Sancti Basilii ' since 1382), almost at the very gates of Rome herself, was founded by St. Nilos shortly before his death, September 26, 1004, although the church was consecrated by Pope John XXII (1316–1334). Here the ' Typicon ' was produced under St. Bartholomew, the fourth

Archimandrite (*ob. c.* 1050), which, revised by Blasius II, twenty-fifth Archimandrite (1300), is still the official book for the whole group and has formed the basis for the books published by Propaganda, the first of which, the ' Liturgicon,' appeared in 1738 under Benedict XIV (1740–1758). This last Basilian monastery on Italian soil (save the Roman residence in Via San Basilio and one house at Mezzojuso, near Palermo) has since the pontificate of Leo XIII (August 1881), who styled it ' an Oriental pearl adorning the pontifical tiara,' purged itself of every Latinism, presenting the Byzantine rite in all its purity, even to the singing of the Nicene Creed without the fateful word (' Filioque '). The Italo-Greek secular clergy now have a seminary in the monastery (1881). Julius II (1503–1513), the first Pope since primitive times to wear a beard, was Commendatory Archimandrite of Grottaferrata, so that one may reasonably wonder as to whether his connection with this Byzantine house gave him a taste for beards, although at one time a beard was considered to be synonymous with schism, since Cardinal Alain de Coetivy had suspected the faith of Bessarion (*c.* 1403–1472) on account of this adornment !

Of the Byzantine maritime colonies but few traces remain, the churches at Venice and Naples both having fallen into the hands of the schismatics, although a Greek Catholic church with a very small congregation still persists at Leghorn, and at Cargese in Corsica there are over five hundred Byzantines, descendants of the Mainotai from Boitylos, who fled from their native land in the seventeenth century and became Catholics. Here the little church of their rite has the customary iconostasis, but the three altars are furnished *more Romano*, with the Blessed Sacrament reserved in a tabernacle on the high altar. As patronal feasts, St. Spiridion (December 12) and the Koimesis (August 15) are observed, the latter day being the titular of the old church in Boitylos. In the years 1874 and 1876 about three hundred of the Cargese colony emigrated to Sidi-Mervan in the province of Constantine, where they still retain their old rite. Until the fourth century the ecclesiastical language of Rome was Greek, but although Latin superseded this there has always been a Greek-speaking population. At the present time, in addition to the Greek and

Ruthenian Colleges, which serve the churches of S. Atanasio and SS. Sergio e Bacco respectively, the Melkites (Shuwairite Basilian Congregation) have charge of the church of Sta Maria in Domnica (Navicella) on the Coelian Hill; the monks of Grottaferrata, the chapel of San Basilio, near Piazza Barberini; while the Byzantine rite is performed in San Lorenzo ai Monti for the Russian Catholics and in San Salvatore alla Coppelle for the Rumanians. The practice at a solemn papal Mass of chanting the Epistle and Gospel in Greek as well as in Latin dates from a time before the schism of 1053, and priests for this purpose are chosen from those villages in Calabria where the language is still Greek although the rite has become Latin. In the Italo-Greek churches on Sundays and feasts the Gospel is read in both Albanian and Greek.

The main source from which the Italo-Greeks of to-day are descended is the Albanian immigration of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (1467–1470 and 1566–1574), further augmented by a detachment about the year 1740. These Albanian settlers, since their original country covered the old province of Epirus, are, in some districts, still called Epirati. The chief colonies are in Calabria, Basilicata and Sicily—twenty in Italy and five in Sicily; while considerable numbers have emigrated to the United States. At Lungro a Byzantine diocese, directly subject to Rome, was formed by a decree of February 13, 1919 (also a diocesan seminary), embracing the parishes which were formerly included in the Latin dioceses of Rossano, Bisignano, Cassano and Anglona. Before this, from the eighteenth century, an ordaining bishop without jurisdiction (appointed by Clement XII, 1730–1740) lived first at San Benedetto d'Ullano, then at San Demetrio Corone, and finally at Naples. In Rome a titular Byzantine prelate was appointed in 1595 by Pope Clement VIII (1591–1605) to ordain the students of the Greek College, but some obscurity surrounds the succession until 1624, when a new Constitution was drawn up by Urban VIII (1623–1644).

The chief colony in Sicily is at Piana dei Greci; while the ordaining bishop, until such time as a Byzantine diocese is formed, resides in the Palermo Albanian seminary (since 1784), of which he is the rector. Inevitably the course of

centuries has destroyed many Byzantine districts, difficulty of language and local Latin pressure often proving too strong, but a great factor in the preservation of the Sicilian group was Fr. Guzzetta's 'Congregation of the Oratory of the Greek Rite' (1715), approved by Rome in 1725, but now unhappily extinct, although a convent and school still survive at Piana dei Greci. In many ways the Italo-Greeks are the most Latinized of the Uniate bodies, their churches containing more than one altar and few with an iconostasion (Grottaferrata, Cargese, Leghorn, Palermo, Palazzo Adriano); while their clergy, except at Grottaferrata and Rome, recite the 'Filioque' in the Creed and appear in Latin cassocks with short hair. Much, however, has been done towards purifying the rite in such matters as leavened bread and Byzantine vestments. The men belonging to this group still receive Holy Communion standing, but the women have adopted the practice of their Latin neighbours (kneeling). Music, like that of the Church of Constantinople, is enharmonic, interspersed with popular Albanian hymns, but Benediction and other Roman devotions are common amongst them. Adopting the Gregorian Calendar in 1582, they were the first Uniates to accept the reform. In the matter of feasts, the majority of them are Roman, although some are kept on both the Latin and Byzantine dates (*e.g.* St. Joseph, March 19 and (with Our Lady) December 26; All Saints, November 1 and first Sunday after Pentecost; All Souls, November 2 and Saturday before Sexagesima). The feast of the Sacred Heart is observed on the first Sunday in August. Although holy water is very frequently found in churches of this rite, it has been blessed in the Eastern manner, on the Epiphany and without salt. About 25 to 30 per cent. of the clergy have availed themselves of the Oriental privilege of marrying before ordination.

The Bull 'Etsi Pastoralis' (1742) and other enactments have legislated for this group, so that no Greek priest could become Latin without papal consent; no layman without that of the bishop; the offspring of a mixed marriage must be Latin; a Greek wife could join her husband's rite, but a Latin husband could not go over to that of his wife; and

any interchange of Holy Communion was forbidden, except in a case of grave necessity (*vide* new Canon Law, Can. 866). Every Latin bishop with Albanian colonies in his diocese was to have a Byzantine vicar-general, while a metropolitan must appoint a Greek judge, or at least an assessor, if cases concerning these subjects came up to him on appeal.

The largest Oriental group is that of the *Ruthenians*, or *Ukrainians* as some of them have wished to be called since the re-establishment of Poland. Catholics of the Byzantine rite and numbering some four and a half millions of Little Russians, the majority of them now inhabit the republic of Poland, although many Slovaks are found in North and North-West Hungary, who are Ruthenians moulded by the Czechs. The restoration of Poland had already been prophesied by the saintly Pope Pius X (1903–1914) when he established a special feast for the country under the title of 'Mary, Queen of Poland' ('Regina Regni Poloniae'), a commemoration fixed in 1924 (October 22) for May 3, in order that it might coincide with the national rejoicings on that day. The late Latin word 'Ruthenia' is used for Russia, but the term 'Rutheni' is first found in the writings of the Polish annalist, Martinus Gallus (1190). Until 1917 their commonest designation was that of 'Ruthenians,' known in the Empire as 'Little Russians,' but to further the idea of separation from Russia the term 'Ukrainians' (*U*, 'at or near,' and *krai*, 'the border') has been adopted. 'Frontier marches' give the sense of the Russian 'Okraïna'; while the Ruthenians of the twelfth century spoke of 'ai kraïni' or 'v'oukraïni,' with the implication of 'in my country,' 'in my land.' The United States of America have over 140 Ruthenian churches with half a million subjects, and a number also in Canada (a quarter of a million), although under Orthodox pressure about 10,000 of the faithful in the States went into schism, submitting to the Russian bishop at San Francisco and using the Byzantine rite in English. Some, however, have already returned to Catholic unity, and with the Russian difficulties since the Revolution (1917) there is every hope for the remainder. The American Ruthenians were legislated for by the Apostolic Letter 'Ea semper'

(September 1907), in which it was determined that only celibate candidates for the priesthood could be received, and Confirmation was not to be given by priests or to infants. This, however, was of a definitely restrictive character, and was somewhat softened by the decree 'Cum Episcopo' (August 17, 1914), and on March 1, 1929, a further decree, that of the Sacred Congregation of the Oriental Church, was passed concerning the Ruthenians domiciled in America. Emigrants belonging to this group who had settled in Canada were dealt with by a decree of Propaganda, 'Fidelibus Ruthenis' (August 18, 1913); while those in Brazil (Parana) received 'Cum sat numerosiores' (March 27, 1916). Further, if parents living in the United States differ in rite, the boys are baptized in that of the father and the girls in that of the mother, but with the Western Italo-Greeks the rite adopted is a matter of choice.

To return to the history of the Ruthenian group: it was not until the middle of the twelfth century that the Russian Church shared the schismatic position of Constantinople, and at the Council of Florence ('Laetentur Coeli,' July 6, 1439) Isidore, Metropolitan of Kiev, favoured the union and reunited his see for a generation. Again schism ensued, but the conquest of Little Russia (Ukraine) by Catholic Poland in 1569 once more brought up the question of Rome, which the decadence of the Byzantines and the zealous activities of the Society of Jesus rendered the more acute. After much discussion and the holding of many synods, the civil ruler, Sigismund III, and Pope Clement VIII (1591–1605) agreed, in the event of terminating the schism, to allow the Ruthenians full integrity of rite, together with retention of the Old Style Calendar. These concessions were bitterly resented by many of the Poles, some of whom, in agreeing to tolerate the Oriental liturgy, added the rider 'until one can inter this synagogue with honour'! The union was solemnly proclaimed in the Hall of Constantine (Vatican) in 1595, and the Pope, in his Bull 'Magnus Dominus et laudabilis,' announced the fact to the Catholic world. On February 7, 1596, the brief 'Benedictus sit Pastor ille bonus' was sent to the Ruthenian episcopate, ordering the convoking

of a synod in which a profession of Catholic faith should be recited; while the Bull 'Decet Romanum pontificem' (February 23, 1596) defined the rights of bishops and their relations to the Holy See. The official date for the union was October 8, 1596, when a synod was held at Brest Litovski (Lithuania), all the bishops concurring, with the exception of Lwow (Lemberg) and Przemysl, whose dioceses remained in schism until the end of the following century. Through this union, largely effected by the efforts of Pociey, Metropolitan of Kiev, and his successor Rutski, twelve millions were added to the Church; while the martyrdom of St. Josaphat at the hands of the schismatics (November 12, 1623) finally sealed and cemented Ruthenian Catholicism. In 1624 Pope Urban VIII (1623–1644) forbade any member of the Oriental rite from passing to the Latin without a special permit from the Holy See, but the prohibition was somewhat tardy, as many of the nobility educated in the Jesuit colleges had already changed their allegiance.

The Russian conquests, however, with their successive persecutions in 1795, 1839 and 1875, forced about seven million souls back into schism, the last remaining Uniate bishoprics on Russian soil (Minsk and Chelm (Kholm)) surviving until 1869 and 1875 respectively. Toleration was nominally conceded in 1905 when the new group of Russian Catholics took its rise, but very many of the quarter of a million who returned to the Church took the precautionary measure of turning Latin, since the Tsarist governments which harried the Byzantine Catholics appeared to be quite unperturbed by the Latin undercurrent in their own aristocratic circles (Tchaadaief, Svetchine, Gagarine, Volkonskyi, etc.). The revival of an independent Poland has necessitated a Concordat in 1925 and the publication of the Bull 'Vixdum Poloniae unitas,' fixing the number of Ruthenian eparchies at three and discouraging expansion outside the former Galicia, although neither of these pronouncements has been received very enthusiastically. The dioceses of Kholm (Russia) and Belz (Poland) received no mention.

At the present time the Ruthenian hierarchy includes an archbishop (Lwow, recognized by Rome, May 5, 1700, and

created metropolitan, September 26, 1808) and three bishops in Poland (Przemysl, Sambor and Sanok (1691); Stanislawow (1885); Luck and Zytomierz (1915)), two in Czecho-Slovakia (Munkács (1771) and Prjasev or Eperies (1818)), two in the United States (at Philadelphia for Galicians (1913) and at New York for the Ruthenians of Podcarpathia (1924)), one in Hungary (Hagdu-Dorogh (1912)), and one in Canada (Winnipeg (1912)). The Metropolitan of Lwow bears (since 1808) the title of Halicz (Halytch), as well as that of Kamenetz Podolski, and he has twice been raised to the sacred purple (1856 and 1895). The Ruthenians of Czecho-Slovakia owe their conversion to the abbot of a monastery near Munkács, who joined the Church with many of the faithful in 1649, but a fixed diocese (Munkács) was only made in 1771, with a further division (Eperies) in 1818. That part of the diocese of Munkács which still remains Hungarian is now administered by a titular bishop living at Miszkolcs; while the archdeanery of Satmar, largely Rumanian in population, was detached from Munkács in 1823 (Pius VII, June 27, 1823, 'Imposita humilitati') and incorporated in the diocese of Oradea Mare.

The single Ruthenian (and Rumanian) diocese in post-war Hungary (Hagdu-Dorogh, with residence at Nyiregyhaza) has used Greek as a liturgical language since its foundation in 1912, but now, owing to the difficulty both of learning and of understanding, the vernacular Magyar has been sanctioned, with the words of Consecration in Church Slavonic (Staro-Slav), the hieratic language of the majority of this group. The bulk of the Hungarian Ruthenians, who are not Ukrainians, are now in Ruthenia, subject to Czecho-Slovakia. In 1915 the old diocese of Luck and Zytomierz, suppressed in the eighteenth century, was re-established in the Polish provinces of Volhynia and Kiev, although there was no mention of it in the Concordat of 1925. Dating from March 1922, the Ruthenians now in the kingdom of Rumania have a Vicariate-Apostolic (Targul-Siret in Bukowina), pending the conclusion of a Concordat, when a diocese will be formed. Only about 17 per cent. of the clergy are celibates, but it is noticeable that the seminarists who make their studies at the Jesuit University of Innsbruck are more favourable towards an unmarried priesthood. Basilian monasticism, founded in

the sixteenth century by St. Josaphat (1580–1623) and John Rutski (1573–1637), in Galicia was reformed in 1882 (Debromil reform) under the influence of Leo XIII, counting, in 1927, twenty-one religious houses (' Congregatio ruthena Sanctissimi Salvatoris '). In 1905 a more strictly monastic order was founded by Mgr. Szeptyckyi, Archbishop of Lwow (Studites), in imitation of the Byzantine Studion, and in 1913 the Belgian Redemptorists formed an Oriental vice-province. The Staro-Slav (Old Slav) language, used liturgically but not conversationally by most of the Slav races, dates from the days of the Apostles Cyril and Methodius (*c.* 868), being confirmed by Pope John VIII (879), who authorized Slavonic in perpetuity for all the Offices of the Church.

Two alphabets exist—the more ancient or ' Glagolitic ' (Slav, *glago*, ' a word ' ; *glagolati*, ' to speak '), written in a kind of runic letters, and the ' Cyrillic ' or adaptation from the Greek, made by SS. Cyril and Methodius. The Ruthenians employ the former and the schismatics the latter, but most of the Slav peoples, Catholics and Orthodox, use the Cyrillic alphabet. A curious and interesting survival is found in South Croatia and Dalmatia, ancient Illyria, where some of the books of the *Latin* rite have the Glagolitic alphabet and those of the Byzantine the Cyrillic. Article IV of the Concordat between the Holy See and Jugoslavia (May 1914) specifically granted this use of the old Glagolitic liturgy, ' in those regions where the need is felt.' Opposition to the Ruthenian position, however, not only came from Orthodox Russia but also from Catholic Poland, not indeed by way of persecution but for exactly the reverse reason, since throughout the centuries she has maintained a strong Latinizing pressure on the Byzantine rite, in defiance of Rome and with the somewhat strange idea that the Roman rite was more Catholic than the venerable Oriental liturgies.

An interesting monastic venture was made on the authority of Clement VIII, soon after the union, by the founding of Ruthenian Dominican houses—chiefly in Red Russia (Eastern Galicia)—under the name of St. Hyacinth, the Northern apostle of the Order (1185–1257), but Polish protests (1612) caused the privilege to be withdrawn and the houses to be reunited to the Latin rite.

Variations from the normal Byzantine rite have been introduced in this group, although it must also be remembered that the Ruthenian union occurred before the revision of the Russian service books under the patriarch Nicon (1654), and the ancient liturgy differed in many ways from that used at Constantinople.

The religious life has received a great impetus since the war. In 1919 the Redemptorist Fathers of Stanislawow were permitted to pass over to the Oriental rite; while statistics compiled in 1921 showed that the Basilians of the reform of Debromil (approved 1909) numbered 206, with the direction of the colleges at Lwow and Rome, three missions in Brazil and Canada, and a novitiate in Montreal. Of late years the Oriental Congregation has expressed the desire that the Studites, who offer opportunities for the contemplative life, should follow the pure Byzantine rite: 'The wish of this Sacred Congregation is that the Studite monks observe the Byzantine rite in all its purity, eliminating all the alterations or innovations which have been introduced into the rite in use amongst the Ruthenians or those which were in any manner whatsoever established by the Synod of Zamosc'; but the passive resistance of both clergy and people has prevented the full application of the wishes of Rome, even in the monasteries. There are twelve houses of Basilian Sisters and four other Congregations for women.

At first the Ruthenians used their old books with the necessary restoration of the Pope's name to the diptychs, but in 1693 a special edition was brought out for them at Suprashi, although the Synod of Zamosc (1720) necessitated a still further revision (1730–1732), based, though with more exaggerated Latinisms, upon the liturgy issued at Grottaferrata in 1683. Even so late as 1891 a Westernizing Council was held for the Ruthenians of Galicia. At the present time the liturgical books are produced at Lwow. The high-water mark of Latinization ('Uniatism') was at Zamosc in 1720, when the 'Filioque' ('i ot Syna') was added to the Creed, the 'zeon' or hot water before the Communion was abolished, and emphasis was placed on the words of Institution rather than on the Epiclesis, with such outward signs as a

profound inclination, the elevation of both kinds together and the ringing of a bell. Even here, however, in the Bull ('Apostolatus officium') approving the Council, Benedict XIII (1724–1730) stresses the necessity of preserving the rite in its integrity. Other changes, also, have been made in Byzantine practice, as low Mass without incense and with the litanies curtailed and a simplification of the 'Proskomide' (omitting the full number of 'prosphorae' or even offering a single 'Agnetz' (square Greek Host)), with, since 1891, the celebrant fully vested. In a pontifical liturgy this ceremony is carried out by one of the concelebrating priests during the chanting of the first diaconal litany. The royal doors or veil are not closed after the Mass of the catechumens has begun. The missal is moved from side to side, the custom of bowing down during the singing of the 'Edinorodny Syne' ('Filius unigenitus') and at 'Vocheloviechshasia' ('Homo factus est') has been introduced, and fans ('ripidia'), since the chalice is covered, have disappeared. The equivalent of 'Domine non sum dignus' is said before Holy Communion, which the people receive kneeling and without any name. The order of the antiphons is also modified; while the 'Typica' (Ps. cii. and cxlv.) and the Beatitudes ('Blazhenni') are sung only in monastic churches. During the Creed the priest holds up the 'aer' without moving it to and fro, the chalice is offered in the Latin way, and the use of a sponge for the purification of the vessels has been discontinued, with a gradual approximation to the Roman ablutions. No deacon (permanent diaconate unknown) assists in the Ruthenian liturgy, except in large churches or at important functions; the altar vessels are left on the altar until the end; and antidoron is not given nor Holy Communion to infants. In place of the Oriental kalumavkion a round crown similar to that of a Greek bishop is worn. The dress of the secular clergy is often indistinguishable from that of the Latins, but the Basilian monk has the mandyas and remnant of a cowl. Laced albs are found in Podcarpathia; while the Latin alb has replaced the stikarion of both deacon and assistants, with, in the case of the former, the adoption of dalmatic and amice. In addition to these

alterations the Ruthenians, as well as the Rumanians, have accepted the Western custom of having a Cathedral Chapter of Canons. The Brief of Pius IX, issued on May 13, 1874, to the Metropolitan of Halytch, condemning the purification of the Ruthenian rite has seemed by some to have placed Rome's official seal upon a hybrid liturgy, but in point of fact certain Russians were attempting to purge the rite of its Latinisms in a wrong way, so it was only this attempt that was forbidden.

In some respects, however, close contact with Latins has had the effect of increasing Oriental reverence and care for holy things. Thus the Synod of Zamosc (1720), legislating concerning Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament, decreed that ' pyxes should be of precious metal, in the ciborium of the high altar, seen by all, with lights perpetually burning before, or, in poorer churches, at least on Sundays and feasts from the beginning to the end of Mass.' Much of the Ruthenian discipline has been borrowed from a Latin source, together with the pontifical and ' trebnik ' (especially Confession). The Eastern custom of concelebrating is now found only amongst the Ruthenians at Ordinations, Consecrations and certain other episcopal functions, with the inevitable result of a multiplication of altars.

The Calendar contains many Latin feasts, although some are observed on different days. Thus, Trinity is commemorated on the Monday after Pentecost, and the Seven Dolours of Our Lady when the Western Church honours the Sacred Heart. St. Josaphat, the Martyr for Catholic Unity, is a day of obligation, but a Synod of Lwow has transferred the solemnity from September 16 to November 12. In Volhynia, also, St. Pantaleon (July 27) is a universal holiday, and in Lithuania both St. Romanus (October 1) and St. David (June 26). Besides the Troparion of St. Joseph for December 26, a priest (Isidore Dolnizky) has composed a special liturgy in his honour (1909). In Galicia the Ruthenians keep twenty-four days of obligation, but for those living in Czecho-Slovakia sixteen are observed on the actual day and eight have been transferred to the succeeding Sunday. The manner of fasting, also, differs in the two districts, since

the Galicians, after the Oriental mode, identify abstinence with fasting, although the rigours of Lent have been modified, whereas the Czech Ruthenians have introduced Western reckoning. Since 1891 the saying of the Divine Office has been obligatory for all priests.

A third Byzantine group, the *Serbs* of Bosnia, entered the Catholic Church in the seventeenth century. Two dioceses were originally created for them (Svidnitza (1611), Sirmium (1688)), but, after suffering cruel vexations at the hands of the Orthodox, the faithful remnant, at the instigation of Maria Theresa, was united in the single diocese of Krijevtsi (1777). Rapprochements with the Holy See were the more readily entered into from the double yoke of oppression that afflicted these Southern Slavs—the civil dominance of Islam and the ecclesiastical hegemony of Constantinople. The chief centres of the movement for Union were the Monastery of Mahine (Montenegro), the scene of the abjuration of Bishop Mardaros (October 8, 1640); the town of Pustrovici (near Antivari), where the majority of the inhabitants submitted in June 1636; the Convent of St. George at Budimlje, near Berane (north-west of Ipek); the Monastery of the Assumption at Moracia, chosen for two successive Synods (1648 and 1654), when a delegation was sent to Pope Innocent X and one of its members, Païsi, Bishop of Budimlje, perished at the hands of the Turks; the Convent of Hopovo in the Fruska Gora (Uskotchke Gore on the borders of Croatia and Carniola); the Monasteries of Marcia (Krijevtsi), Gojmirje and Lepavina, and a little later the Convent of Zavala (Herzegovina). In these negotiations a dominant personality was Simeon Vratanja, a Serbian bishop, received into the Catholic Church at Rome in 1611 and consecrated *sub conditione* by St. Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621), since there was some doubt as to the validity of the Orders of his first Consecrator, Cosmas of Corinth. Other outstanding protagonists for the Union were three patriarchs of Ipek, John (1592–1614), Païsi (1614–1648) and Gabriel (1648–1654), who sent letters to the Pope, expressing a desire to be united to the 'Vicar of Christ'; Bishop Basil Predojevic—'vir vere Catholicus'; and Epiphanius Stefanovic, Orthodox Metropolitan

of Dalmatia, who fled into Venetian territory and abjured his schism (November 1, 1648). Prevented by old age from going to Rome in person Stefanovic wrote three letters to Innocent X (1644–1655) in which he affirmed: 'I desire to live and die in the hands of our holy Mother the Roman Catholic Church. I hope that all those who have submitted may live and die in that holy faith in which our holy Fathers lived: St. John Chrysostom, St. Basil the Great and St. Spiridion . . .' The old Church had lapsed into schism through its patriarch, but not immediately on the final breaking of relations between East and West (1053), as so late as 1199 the Serbian Synod declared that 'the most holy Roman Church is the Mother and mistress of all Churches.' St. Sabbas (Sava), the national hero, set up his metropolitan throne at Ipek in 1218, when apparently the Roman primacy was acknowledged by both Church and State, Stephen II, Prince of Serbia and father of St. Sava, maintaining: 'I always follow the footsteps of the holy Roman Church, as did my father of happy memory, and always obey the command of the Roman Church.' In 1347 the Serbian Synod declared the Church autocephalous, giving the Metropolitan of Ipek (Petch) the title of Patriarch (patriarchate abolished in 1766 and restored in 1920), but forty-two years later the fatal battle of Kossovo (1389) destroyed the national independence, subjecting the country to the rule of Islam. The Church, however, had by this time broken off relations with the Apostolic See and the Pope's name had disappeared from the diptychs, although St. Urosius, the last ruler of the Nemanei dynasty, who ruled the country from 1356 to 1371 and is commemorated in the Byzantine Calendar on December 2, appears to have been in communion with Rome.

The Uniate Serbs, originally under Austria, now form part of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Jugo-Slavia), numbering about 45,000, under the Bishop of Krijevtsi (Kreutz), suffragan to the Latin Archbishop of Zagreb, although it is estimated that 22,000 of the faithful are Ruthenians.

The liturgy is Eastern in character (Ruthenian), for the conversion of the country was mainly effected under Basil the

Macedonian (867–886), at a time when the schism between East and West was nearly consummated.

The second largest Oriental group, that of the *Rumanians* (*c.* 1,500,000), dates from 1700, but, despite its size, the union has never penetrated beyond the regions of the Ardeal (Transylvania), at that time in Hungary ; while Moldavia, Wallachia and the Bukowina have hardly been influenced at all. Speaking of the Catholics of this rite, Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of Propaganda, told the metropolitan in 1886, ' Ecclesia vestra praecellit inter omnes rituum Orientalium Ecclesias.' The Rumanian race is of Latin descent (' Rumani '), claiming its ancestry from colonists under the Emperor Trajan (98–117), but the present kingdom dates from 1878, the Catholic districts only becoming incorporated after the Treaty of Versailles (1919). The nation covers approximately Dacia Traiana and part of Dacia Aureliana (Moesia Inferior). In the eleventh century Transylvania was conquered by the Magyars, a circumstance that made possible the reconciliations of the later centuries, when the Byzantines were struggling to preserve their national rite in the midst of Latins and Calvinists. The fourth Council of the Lateran (1215) had ordered episcopal vicars to shepherd the Rumanians of these regions, but the decree was well-nigh a dead letter, and it was only after the Florentine union (1439) that two Oriental bishops were appointed—through the Franciscan St. John Capistran (1385-1456)—although the succession was not maintained. In the sixteenth century princes of Transylvania created no fewer than five schismatic dioceses, despite the most ferocious Calvinistic onslaughts, founding Alba Julia as a metropolitan see in 1599. A century later (1691) the whole territory became subject to Hapsburg rule, so that the following year (1692) the sixteenth metropolitan, Teofil Toma Szeremi (1692–1697), received a manifesto to the effect that ' all the Oriental priests who were united to Rome would enjoy the same privileges as the Latin Catholic priests.'

The first Synod of Union was signed on March 21, 1697, but the newly reconciled bishop quickly died, poisoned, it is said, by the frustrated Protestants, and his successor, Athanasius Anghel (1697–1713), was consecrated as Orthodox

' Bishop of the Ardeal.' A second attempt at union with the Catholic Church was made in 1698, but again the frustrated Calvinists sought to foment troubles, so that the final reception of the Rumanian majority was delayed.

In 1700 the metropolitan Athanasius held a general synod of the clergy of Transylvania at Alba Julia (Gyula Fehérvár), when, solemnly renewing proposals which had been agreed upon three years earlier, it was declared: ' freely and spontaneously moved thereto by the impulse of Divine Grace, we have entered upon a union with the Roman Catholic Church.' This was signed by the metropolitan, fifty-four archpriests and 1563 priests (September 5, 1700), being confirmed at Rome in the following year.

No sooner, however, had the union taken place than the bishop, on the revival of the Latin see, was compelled (Bull ' Rationi congruit ') to leave the royal town of Alba Julia in order to live in the village of Fogaras (1721), which in its turn was abandoned for Blaj (1738). In North Ardeal the ordaining bishop was only created a diocesan (Oradea Mare or Gross-Wardein) in 1777 (Pius VI in ' Indefessum personarum '), after an unbelievable series of negotiations, and no independent metropolitan archbishop was appointed until 1853 (' Ecclesiam Christi,' November 26, 1853).

During the pontificate of Clement XI (1700–1721) Cardinal Leopold Kollonich, Archbishop of Ezstergom and Primate of Hungary, applied to Rome for permission for a Jesuit to change his rite, at any rate temporarily, but the answer ' Negative ' was returned, although in 1721 John Pataki, Bishop of Fogaras, was allowed to pass to the Byzantine rite, since he had been born of Orthodox parents. The only known examples (before 1850) of Latins changing their rite date from the time of Paul V (1605–1621), when several were permitted to enter the Order of St. Basil. Indeed, the idea of turning Byzantine in order to heal the schism was compared to embracing the Mosaic Law to convert the Jews!

This depression of the Rumanian (and Ruthenian) minority by the Latin Hungarians was quite contrary to the wishes of Rome, as we have seen above in the case of the Poles and

Ruthenians ; but in spite of all the drawbacks the union has been very popular, since Church documents are often dated, not only by the year of Our Lord (' pre anul Domnului '), but also by the year of union (' pre anul de la santa Unive '). A most bitter persecution, however, was waged against the first united Catholics, with Orthodox and Calvinists joined together by a common detestation of the Holy See. On the return of the Transylvanian Rumanians to their own country after the war great was the patriotic jubilation of the Catholics, and in 1926 the Constitution declared the United Church to be ' National,' equally with the Orthodox. Of late years this happy state of affairs has been sadly marred by the harassing tactics of the schismatics, who have striven to pervert the Uniates, even threatening to seize their college at Blaj. The Orthodox patriarch, created joint regent of the kingdom before the return of Carol, even allied himself with the so-called ' Liberal ' Government in its persecution of the Catholics. Strong opposition was offered by the metropolitan, who asserted that to save the soul of his people he would willingly give his hand. A disgraceful attack on a procession at Targul-Muresh (March 18, 1928), and the defeat of the proposal that if a village wishes to change its faith all the ecclesiastical property may also be taken, have momentarily caused a lull in the storm, but it seems hardly credible that the dissidents will cease from troubling in the future.

In the ninth century Rumania was drawn into Greek jurisdiction, although the rite appears to have been Byzantine from the beginning, despite the fact of the language, the substratum of which has always remained Latin—*Dumnezeu* (*Dominus*, God), *biserica* (*basilica*, church), *cruce* (*crux*, cross), *drac* (*draco*, devil), *anger* (*angelus*, angel), *ragaciune* (*rogatio*, prayer). The present intense national sentiment is possibly due to pride as a solitary example of a Latin (neo-Latin) nation in the midst of Slavs. From the ninth to the seventeenth century (*c.* 1643) the Church language was Old Slavonic (Staro-Slav), but gradually this was changed for the vernacular Rumanian, at first printed in Slavic characters and then in Latin. The Roman alphabet appeared about the year 1825 among the Catholics, and was imitated later by the dissidents,

but until the seventeenth century Serbian was the recognized language for law and commerce.

The liturgical books for the Uniates are issued at Blaj (Blasendorf), the seat of the metropolitan, but on occasions the books of the schismatics are used, with the addition of the prayer for the Pope (*e.g.* S. Salvatore alla Coppelle, Rome). At the present time the Rumanian Catholic hierarchy consists of a metropolitan (Fogaras or Alba Julia) with three suffragans —Armenopolis, Gherla, or Szamos-Ujvar (1853, 'Ad apostolicam sedem'); Gran Varadin, Oradea Mare, or Nagy-Varad (1777); and Latu Marc or Lugos (1853, 'Apostolicum Ministerium')—all of whom since the war are in territory transferred from Hungary to Rumania, although a number of the faithful with a few priests are emigrants in the United States and Canada. By a Concordat or solemn convention with Rumania (May 10, 1927; July 7, 1929) Rome has been granted leave to erect a new diocese in the north of the country, the site of the new see to be settled by agreement and with special spiritual facilities for the Greek Ruthenian population. The Apostle of the Daco-Romans is claimed to be St. Nicetas, Bishop of Remesiana (*c.* 335–*c.* 414), the country remaining subject to the Western patriarchate, even though Oriental in rite, until at least the ninth century.

In 1186 a joint Bulgaro-Rumanian state was founded, which appears to have been at first in communion with Rome, since Innocent III (1198–1216) granted it ecclesiastical autonomy (1204). It went into schism soon after the fourth Crusade (1204), losing its civil independence after Kossovo (1389) and its religious autonomy in 1393, at which latter date the primacy of Tirnovo (Trnovo) was replaced by direct dependence upon Constantinople. In Rumania proper a national hierarchy seems first to have been set up in the fourteenth century, when Jachint, Bishop of Arges, received the title from the Ecumenical Patriarch of 'Metropolitan of Hungaro-Wallachia, Exarch of Hungary and of the Mountains' (1359), a step followed in 1401 by the recognition of the 'Metropolitan of Moldavia' ('Moldovlakia'), with residence at Suceava—transferred to Jassy in 1563. On July 5, 1439, Damian, Bishop of Suceava, signed the decrees of the Council of

Florence, but, as has been pointed out, the union was of very short duration. As a result of the Great War a schismatic patriarchate was created in 1925 (February 23); while in the previous year (October 1924) the whole Rumanian nation (Catholic and dissident) adopted the Gregorian Calendar.

The Catholic group obtained the beginnings of a training college at Blaj in 1754, but it was not until 1781 that a proper theological seminary was established. In 1875 the college at Cioplea was founded, but, since the staff were Passionists, many of the students deserted their rite and entered the Order, thus defeating the whole purpose of the house. This state of affairs, however, came to an end in 1888 when the Passionists gave up the control of the seminary. Three seminaries now exist in the country: Blaj (1781), Oradea Mare (1846), and Gherla (1857); while students of this rite are found in France and Rome. Religious life among the Catholic Rumanians is at a very elementary stage, for at the close of the Great War only one member of an Order remained! Monastic life in Transylvania had, however, been destroyed in the eighteenth century by the Emperor Joseph II (1741–1790), who sanctioned only Hungarian houses, so that subjects of the Oriental rite with religious vocations entered schismatic monasteries in Wallachia and Moldavia. Now there are five Basilian monks (Bicsad, near Satu Mare) and, in addition to these, some Assumptionist Fathers (nine) have passed over to the Oriental rite. Houses for women had completely disappeared, until in 1921 a Congregation of Sisters under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin was founded at Obreja (near Blaj). This venture was followed by some nuns of the Congregation of Our Lady of Munich, who started (1923) a school for young girls at Beius, and by five Oblates of the Assumption, who installed themselves in Transylvania, passing over to the national rite. Of the secular clergy barely 6 per cent. are celibates.

In common with Eastern Europe, the rite is the Byzantine, but in some particulars Latinizings have made headway, although in matters of discipline local Councils have prevented a departure from Oriental customs similar to that found amongst the Ruthenians. Twenty-six days of obligation are observed, and in the matter of fasting, the Synod of

Fogaras (1872) has maintained the old law in all its rigour, with power given to competent ecclesiastical authorities to grant dispensations in cases of need. Most of the clergy retain the beard; while in country districts the 'rason' is worn with wide sleeves. It may not perhaps be without interest to note that in the Pan-Orthodox Congress, held in the spring of 1923 at Constantinople, it was decided that priests could cut their hair if they wished, although since that date but few have taken advantage of this concession, and those who have done so appear to have grievously offended the faithful. Antiquity, however, shows that long hair has not always been the hall-mark of Orthodoxy, since we read of St. Epiphanius in the fourth century, who reproached certain heretics with having the appearance of 'light women,' inasmuch as they let their hair grow long and shaved their beards, contrary to the directions of the Apostolic Constitutions. In pontifical ceremonies two clerks assist vested in surplices, and bishops affect pectoral crosses and violet kalumavkia (colours vary according to dignity). The diskos, also, has given way to the Latin paten; the veil over the chalice has been replaced by the pall; azyme bread is used in some districts; a subdeacon is occasionally introduced into the liturgy, and for the litanies the deacon stands before a lectern. Even the schismatics of Transylvania (also Serbs) ring a great bell at the epiclesis. In a Council held for the Rumanians in 1872 (Tit. v. chap. iv.), the Reserved Sacrament was ordered to be renewed when the time was opportune, without any number of days being specified, whereas the Melkite Synod of Ain Traz (1835) commanded every three days at the least, and that for the Ruthenians (Zamosc, 1720) every eight or fifteen days.

Architecturally there has been an imitation of the West, shown by the abandonment of the national style in favour of the Baroque, a degeneracy found also amongst the Ruthenians of Poland, although St. George's Cathedral at Lwow bears witness to a Byzantine revival. In 1924, at the instance of the hierarchy, Pope Pius XI gave the little church of S. Salvatore alla Coppelle, near the Pantheon, for the use of the Rumanians, despite the fact that the majority of the colony in Rome are schismatics, two students forming the total number

of resident Catholic Rumanians in 1926. Here an iconostasis has been erected and the liturgy is performed according to the purest Byzantine model by the great Oriental protagonist Fr. Cyril Karelevsky (Vatican Librarian, Consulter of Oriental Congregation and Russian Committee at Rome, and Editor of *Stoudion*). At Easter national sentiment draws the dissidents to take part in their traditional worship, albeit in a Catholic church.

The fifth Byzantine group, the *Melkites*, represents the 'Orthodox' of Syria, Palestine and Egypt who have returned to communion with the Apostolic See. Their ancestors had remained faithful to the Creed of Chalcedon (451), thereby earning the name 'Melkite,' since they were of the imperialist party and 'melk' stands in Syriac for 'king' (*cf.* Greek, *βασιλικός*; Hebrew, *melek*; Arabic, *malik*). Loyalty to the Emperor, however, involved schism, both in the time of Photius (867) and in that of Caerularius (1054), so that the present Melkite Church dates only from the eighteenth century, when a part of the dissidents united with the Holy See, the Catholics retaining the name 'Melkite' to differentiate them from the 'Orthodox.' Tentative approaches to reunion were made from time to time since the eleventh century, and individual bishops have submitted; but, apart from their inclusion in the schemes at Lyon (1274) and Florence (1439), the future Melkites only began to consider the problem seriously in the seventeenth century. Peter III of Antioch (patriarch in 1053) was in communion with Rome; while for nearly a century the Florentine pact was observed by the same see, for of Joachim V (living in 1560) it could be said: 'He kept the definitions of Florence, published an encyclical in which he forbade any injurious language concerning the Pope, and proved his primacy over the whole Church, appealing to the Holy Canons of Councils.' Alexandria, also, never formally excommunicated, gradually slipped into schism, but the patriarch Samuel Kabasilas definitely submitted to Pope Clement XI (1700–1721), receiving the pall in 1713. Of the patriarchate of Jerusalem it is possible that both Sophronius V (1579–1608) and his successor Theophanes IV (1608–1646) were united to Rome.

Catholic leanings, however, so alarmed Constantinople that a warning letter, containing a list of the Latin ' heresies,' was drawn up at a synod held in 1722 and circulated round the Antiochene dioceses. Two years later (1724) the Catholic party secured the election to the throne of Antioch of Seraphim Tanas, an old student of the Propaganda, who received the name of Cyril VI (1724–1759), and from whom the Melkite Church took its rise. Thus the Catholic hierarchy, as with the Chaldeans and Malabar Christians, represents the original line reconciled. In 1728 the dissidents (about two-thirds) set up a rival patriarch in the person of Sylvester of Cyprus, who restarted the schism, remaining in communion with Constantinople. The Turks recognized both Churches, but for political purposes the Melkites were subject to the Orthodox millet until 1830, when the Armenian patriarch (Uniate) became the civil head of all the Oriental Catholics under Turkey. In 1848 the Melkites were recognized by their masters as a distinct nation, but, with the Catholics at the mercy of the schismatics for so many years, cruel persecutions were endured by those who remained loyal to Rome.

In 1744 Benedict XIV (1740–1758), in giving the pall to Cyril, issued the Bull ' Dum Nobiscum,' and in the previous year, for regulations as to the government of the Melkite Church, that of ' Demandatum Coelitus ' (December 24, 1743). Difficulties, however, arose, not only with the schismatics, but also with Latin missionaries and indigenous Maronites. To settle the former the Bull already referred to (' Demandatum Coelitus ') was promulgated ; while the charges of Cyril against the latter, to the effect that the Maronites were still Monothelite, on the strength of which some pictures of St. John Maro had been publicly destroyed, were sternly refuted by Rome in the letter ' Inter Coetera ' (1753).

In 1773 Clement XIV (1769–1774) entrusted the Melkites of Alexandria and Jerusalem to the jurisdiction of Antioch, without any title, but Pope Gregory XVI (1831–1846), as a great personal favour to Maximus III (1833–1855), granted him (1838) the titles of the two additional patriarchates. These are still retained, so that the present head of the Melkite Church styles himself ' Patriarch of Antioch, Alex-

andria, Jerusalem, and All the East,' the East representing the original Roman ' Praefectura Orientis.' On solemn occasions he is also named, with Oriental luxuriance, ' Father of fathers, Shepherd of shepherds, High Priest of high priests and Thirteenth Apostle.'

Maximus II (1760–1761) introduced the feast of Corpus Christi (' Feast of the Body of the Lord '), although the Church of Aleppo had observed it from 1737. An Office was composed after Byzantine models, with the chant sung at the Little Entrance : ' Exalt our Saviour and our God and adore his footstool, for he is Holy. Save us, O Son of God, who art the heavenly bread, since we sing to thee : Alleluia ' ; and the blessing at the end of the liturgy : ' That he who has given us his Body and his Blood for our salvation as true food and true drink.' This feast is preceded by a greater vigil of three days' duration, lasting from the Monday after All Saints (first Sunday after Pentecost) until the Thursday following, and in towns and villages predominantly Melkite (*e.g.* Zahlé) the observance of the solemnity includes an outdoor procession of the Blessed Sacrament. In the patriarchate of Agapius III (1796–1812) an anti-Catholic movement, favouring the heresies of Josephinism and Jansenism, sprang up under the leadership of Germanos Adam, Metropolitan of Baalbek, by whom a synod was held at Karkafa (1806). Rome condemned the Catechism put forward, together with the theory that Consecration was not effected by the words of Institution (1835, ' Melchitarum Catholicorum synodus '), and the Melkites submitted ; but so late as 1849 a recrudescence of the troubles occurred ; while at the Vatican Council (1870) the Melkite patriarch was ' inopportunist.'

From the year 1841 the Immaculate Conception of Our Blessed Lady (December 9) has been reckoned amongst the principal feasts in the Calendar, and the Visitation has been substituted for the festival of the Virgin of the Well (of miracles and healing), observed by the dissidents on the Friday in Easter Week ; while Melkites now keep St. Joseph on March 19. The Arabic horologion, the tenth Canon of the Council of Ain Traz (1835), and general custom all concur in giving thirty days of obligation during the year, in addition

to the Sundays. The use of the rosary is very widespread ; and Benediction is given in some eparchies, but following a ceremonial in harmony with the Byzantine rite. The Church of Aleppo, since the beginning of the eighteenth century, has practised Exposition and Benediction, with Damascus from 1836. Devotion to the Sacred Heart is growing throughout the group, but the feast day has not yet been sanctioned.

Since the hierarchic constitution was formed in 1724, at least eleven provincial Councils have been held, although all have not been recognized by the Apostolic See : Joun (1731) ; I St. Saviour (1736) ; II St. Saviour (1751) ; III St. Saviour (1756) ; IV St. Saviour (1790) ; Karkafa (1806) ; I Ain Traz (1812) ; II Ain Traz (1835) ; Jerusalem (1849) ; III Ain Traz (1909) ; and Zahlé (1926).

The first Council of Ain Traz (1812) established the earliest seminary, closed in 1899, but under Gregory Yusuf (1864–1897) the patriarchal school (Jesuit) at Beirut was opened, together with the seminary of St. Anne's, Jerusalem (1882), under the direction of the White Fathers.

The patriarch, who until recently divided his time between Damascus and Cairo, is elected by the hierarchy, a choice ratified by the Pope, from whom the Roman pallium is sought, only to be worn when buried. The bishops are chosen according to the terms of the Bull ' Reversurus ' (July 12, 1867), although improper interference in their elections on the part of the laity was vehemently condemned by the patriarch (Mgr. Cadi) so lately as 1920, and often the Pope is not informed either of the choice of bishops or of their consecration. In 1928 the official patriarchal residence was transferred to Egypt. Sees belonging to this rite are found at Tyre, Aleppo, Bosra and Hauran, Homs (Emesa) and Hama (Aparna), Sidon (with title of Deir-el-Kamar), Beirut and Gebail, Tripoli, St. John of Acre (' Archbishop of St. John of Acre, Haifa, Nazareth and All Galilee '), Paneas (Banias or Caesarea Philippi), Baalbek, Fourzol, and Zahlé and The Bequa (erected at Fourzol in 1724 and transferred to Zahlé in 1774), together with a bishop for the emigrants in North America. Of the roughly estimated number of Melkites (*c.* 150,000), about 3000 live in Europe, and of the 172 secular

priests functioning in 1911, 92 of them were celibate, serving nearly 300 centres.

The first Uniate monastic congregation was founded in the seventeenth century (1687) by Euthymios, Orthodox Metropolitan of Tyre (*ob.* 1723), a convert to Catholicism, who adapted the already existing Rule of St. Basil for his house of St. Saviour in South Lebanon, thus instituting the Salvatorian Congregation, which received papal approbation in 1743 (ten houses in 1907). Some years later a second Order of religious sprang up, taking its name (Shuwairite) from the monastery of St. John Baptist, near Shuwair (also called Baladite), not receiving confirmation until 1756, and obtaining possession of the Roman church of Sta Maria in Domnica (Navicella) from Clement XIII (1758–1769) (six houses in 1922, with seven for the Aleppines (1927)). Since 1829 a quarrel between the Shuwairites of Aleppo and those of the Lebanon has divided the Order into two parts, and in 1903 the Congregation of the Missionaries of St. Paul was founded, on the lines of the Redemptorists in the West. Each monastic congregation has its nuns following the same rule, the Holy Father confirming the religious life for women in 1763. Since the beginning of the eighteenth century religious have more and more displaced seculars in the administration of parishes ; while the White clergy have rather been employed in schools and colleges (in 1907, out of 316 religious, 220 lived outside their monasteries). Bishops of this rite are not compelled to belong to religion, although the majority of them have been drawn from the ranks of the Black clergy.

Since 1857 the Melkites have adopted the Gregorian Calendar—a step resulting in a schism which is now happily ended. The rite is similar to that of the dissidents, prayer for the Pope and some few Latinizations excepted. By the thirteenth century Constantinople had imposed her will in matters liturgical on the faithful of the ancient patriarchates of the East who still remained in communion with her, so that we find Theodosius IV (Balsamon) of Antioch (1186–1203) definitely decrying the older liturgies in favour of the imperial books, declaring that there is no mention in divine Scripture that either St. James or St. Mark founded liturgies,

' but we have God-fearing fathers, Basil and Chrysostom, nor is there any doubt that the whole world should follow them.' In 1203 Mark II of Alexandria adopted St. John Chrysostom, with the result that the more primitive rite of St. Mark became obsolete, save in the Coptic national Church, which since the fifth century had turned Monophysite. The normal language for the Melkite liturgy is Arabic (since the eighteenth century) with a few versicles and exclamations in the original Greek (*e.g.* ' *πρόσχωμεν*,' ' *σοφία*,' ' *ὀρθοί* '), but on solemn occasions the old tongue is sometimes retained throughout. The oldest Arabic manuscript dates from the twelfth century, although previous to that time the liturgy had been translated into Syriac, especially for the benefit of the country districts where Greek was unknown. The Catholic Greek-Arabic text was first published in Rome, with a later edition from Vienna (1862).

The rite as used by the Melkites is substantially pure, save for the addition of the ' Filioque ' into the Creed, but in ceremonial matters, chiefly owing to the appearance of low Mass, much Latinizing has unfortunately been introduced. In order to use the indicative form of Absolution, the Roman rite for Confession has been translated to replace the Oriental. Melkite churches in Western Europe, such as Sta Maria in Domnica (Navicella) at Rome, St. Nicholas of Myra at Marseilles, and St. Julien le Pauvre in Paris, since they were built for the Roman rite, necessarily possess many un-Eastern features, such as statues, holy water stoups, tabernacle, and six lights; but, even holding the view that such accessories are inevitable in the circumstances, they hardly call for a Latin amice and laced alb worn with epitrakelion, zone, epimanikia and phelonion, nor do they necessitate the employment of Western altar vessels and the ablutions *more Romano*, practices found in the Melkite church at Rome. In Latin countries where Oriental churches are attended by the faithful, the giving of Holy Communion in one kind and in azyme bread is probably necessary for the avoidance of scruple and doubtfulness, although the Constitution ' Tradita ab antiquis ' (September 14, 1912), which sanctioned the receiving of Absolution and Holy Communion in any rite without distinction,

has hastened the abandonment of the spoon in the latter sacrament. The sacred Species are now given with the fingers; while, as has been said above, the introduction of low Mass has brought further modifications in its train, such as the preparing of the Oblations at the Gospel horn or in the centre of the altar, the curtailing of the litanies, and the performing of the Great Entrance by making a circle with the breads in one hand and the chalice in the other. Incense is optional, and where the zeon is used the water is warmed on a spoon by the server. In some parts of Syria the practice of the separation of the sexes is so rigidly enforced that, even among Catholics, Holy Communion is only given to women *after* the liturgy, through a little door which opens in the wooden grille that separates their part of the church, or, if they come before the iconostasis, it is only after the remainder of the faithful have gone home. The ancient custom of administering Holy Communion to infants directly after baptism has been abandoned by the Melkites.

Under the heading of a seventh Byzantine group is the little community of *Georgian Catholics*, represented until recently by a single monastery at Constantinople (1861). The Russians, who obtained possession of Georgia in 1801, prohibited the hieratic language, whose alphabet is ascribed to St. Mesrob (sixth century), and forcibly united the autocephalous Church to Moscow, at the same time refusing to sanction a Uniate community. The Constantinople house was founded by Fr. Peter Carischiaranti (*ob.* 1890) for Benedictines of the Immaculate Conception, but its Constitutions were remodelled and sanctioned by the Holy See on November 21, 1925, when the numbers included seventeen priests, of whom nine were missionaries in Georgia, two lay brothers and six students. Since the Great War permission has again been given for the Byzantine rite in Georgian, but hitherto circumstances have not been very favourable for such a revival, although an Apostolic Administrator lives at Tiflis. Two houses of female religious (Sisters of the Immaculate Conception) exist, containing eighteen inmates. Georgia or Iberia (Karthalinia) was originally a daughter Church of the Antiochene patriarchate, since John, the first bishop of the

country, had been consecrated by Eustathius of Antioch (324–331), following the conversion of the king (Miriam) at the preaching of St. Nina (January 14), a refugee from the Diocletian persecution. This Nina was a reputed relative of St. George, the great martyr, whose insignia, adopted by the kings of Iberia towards the close of the sixth century, caused the name of the country to be changed to Georgia. Other authorities speak of Jorzan, a tribe of the upper valley of the Kura, from whom the Arabs received the name, or state that the old Iranian Karka later developed into Gorga. An alternative tradition gives a kind of honorific protectorate to the Church of Jerusalem, by reason of the mission sent to Georgia by Hermon, bishop of the Church of Sion, in 301, recollection of which is still found in the title of 'Iberia' which appertains to the Melkite patriarch. A Byzantine legend, however, invented in praise of Mount Athos, relates that in 44 the Blessed Virgin, accompanied by St. John and some of the disciples, set out in a boat, given by St. Lazarus of Cyprus, to bring Christianity to Iberia, but that during a great storm Our Lady heard a voice saying to her, 'Preach the Gospel in the country where the vessel will touch. Iberia will be given to Christ by other means.' The boat was then thrown by the waves on the shores of Athos, and, obedient to the heavenly voice, the little band of missionaries relinquished their Georgian quest.

In 455 Tiflis (Tbilis) became the seat of the metropolitan, in place of the more ancient Mtskhetha, and in 601 the head of a separate Church province, a state of affairs which lasted, despite the domination of Islam, until the Russian conquest at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Then the independent catholicos was deposed in favour of an exarch, a mere Russian bishop representing Georgia in the Holy Synod. In 1918 a patriarch (catholicos), residing at Tiflis, was appointed, and the holder of this title informed his chief at Constantinople (1927) of his determination to adopt the Gregorian Calendar, although, in the reply, no other designation was forthcoming than 'Catholicos.' In spite of the schism separating East and West, Georgia remained Catholic until the end of the thirteenth

century, the present Uniate group dating only from the seventeenth century, although most of the local Catholics are of the Latin or Armenian rites. From about the year 1230 until 1845 we find Western religious preaching in the country in spite of great hardships, but in 1848 all Catholics were made subject to the newly created diocese of Tiraspol, those of the Byzantine rite frequenting Latin churches, since their own services were forbidden. The feast of St. Ketewane, Queen and Martyr, who died in 1624, albeit a Catholic, is equally honoured on September 13 by the schismatics.

The national rite is a translation from the Byzantine service books made about the sixth century, in spite of the assertion put forward by Moses of Khoren to the effect that the Georgians have a liturgy derived from Armenia. In the matter of churches the Georgians favour the tops of mountains, where they can be seen rather than used, but, besides affording strategic points in the event of an invasion, this practice seems to be a survival from pagan times, since Herodotus, writing on the religious observances of the Persians (i. 131), says : ' They are wont to ascend high hills and bring offerings to Zeus there, Zeus being the name they give to the whole heavenly sphere.'

Thanks to the political interference of Russia the *Bulgarian Church* numbers only a few thousand Catholics, before the Great War chiefly residents in Turkey, but now inhabitants of the Kingdom of Bulgaria. The ancestors of the present population were Turanians from central Asia who migrated to the country in the sixth century, receiving the grace of Holy Baptism after the conversion of their prince, Bogoris, in 861. Five years later an appeal was made to the Apostolic See for a bishop, since Illyricum was at that time within the Latin patriarchate, although the first missionaries had come from Constantinople. Rome replied by sending two bishops, sanctioning the setting up of a metropolitical see at Achrida (972), but differences between East and West, after hastening the Photian schism, finally brought Bulgaria into the same isolation as Byzantium.

From the ninth to the eleventh century the country existed as a flourishing independent kingdom, with the reign

of the Tsar Simeon (893–927), the golden age of culture and the zenith of Bulgaria's military and political power. Its autocephalous Church was recognized by Pope and patriarch alike, but even after the schism and the Turkish invasion it was free from phanariot interference until 1767. At that time the Ecumenical Patriarch obtained absolute and complete control of the Church of Achrida, in much the same way as he had dominated and even destroyed the ecclesiastical independence of the Serbs, making common cause with the infidel Turks against his fellow-Orthodox! In 1860, however, the national sentiment of the Bulgarians revolted against this intolerable thraldom, making application to Rome, through the Armenian Catholic Patriarch at Constantinople, with a view to forming a Uniate Bulgarian Church, about 60,000 joining in the request. The Holy See, ever consistent in its policy towards the East, received the suggestion warmly, and on January 21, 1861, Pope Pius IX consecrated a priest named Sokolski as first vicar-apostolic of the new Church. Opposition sprang up from every Oriental quarter and even from Catholic Europe, so that Russian intrigue in the June of the same year resulted in the kidnapping of the new bishop, with his forcible detention in Kiev, terminating in apostasy.

Russia, despite the protests of the Phanar, now obtained leave from Turkey for the formation of an independent Orthodox Church of Bulgaria. By 1872 an exarch, separated from both Rome and Constantinople, ruled over the majority of the Bulgars, since only about 13,000 remained loyal to Catholic unity and most of these lived in Thrace (Adrianople) or Macedonia (Salonika), outside their actual country. After the Balkan War (1912–1913) the schismatic Bulgarians of the latter province once again turned their eyes to Rome, so that those who were under Greek or Serb domination might at any rate retain their nationality, but, as in 1860, the attempted union was frustrated by Russia. Over the Uniates two vicars-apostolic (Macedonia and Thrace) were appointed, with an archbishop resident in Constantinople (1883), but soon after the formation of this group the paucity of priests demanded that some religious of the Polish Congregation of the Resurrection (also Assumptionist Fathers) should pass over

to this rite. Seminaries for the training of Bulgar priests were founded at Zeitenlik, near Salonika (1885), and Kara-Agatch, near Adrianople (*c.* 1890); while the foundation at Koum-Kapou served for Bulgarians as well as Greeks, since separate chapels were provided for these two irreconcilable elements. The Balkan War of 1912 and the Great War (1914–1918) have, however, ruined these colleges and considerably injured the spread of the rite, although the Assumptionist House of Studies, formerly at Kara-Agatch, was transferred to Philippopolis in 1922. The Bulgarian Archbishop of Constantinople (Mgr. Miroff) having died in 1924, it is extremely doubtful whether a successor will be appointed, as now there are only a few thousand belonging to this group, and all of these inhabit the Kingdom of Bulgaria. A bishop (Mgr. Courteff), however, has been consecrated (1926) for the rite, and in Sofia nine priests serve the needs of the faithful, while there are also a Congregation of Sisters and two lay Associations.

Ruthenian books are used for the services, with low Mass without incense and other Western modifications, but the old vicariate of Macedonia was more Latinized than that of Thrace.

About 1861 the *pure Greek* community was founded at Constantinople, for which Pius X in 1912 appointed a resident bishop (Pera), since the group numbered about 3000, with a small following at Athens. The Great War necessitated the closing of the Koum-Kapou little seminary (under the Augustinian Fathers of the Assumption), so that in 1919 the secular clergy reopened a college for the priests of this rite, which was removed to Athens in 1922. Since then the Bishop of Pera has founded the first Greek Congregation of Sisters, Sisters of the Pammacaristos, under the direction of an Athenian Ursuline, who went over to the Byzantine rite at the express wish of Pope Benedict XV. The Assumptionist Fathers have charge of the great seminary of St. Leo at Cadi-Keuy (Chalcedon), where, since 1897, eight Western fathers have changed their rite. On January 30, 1923, the present Constitutions of the Augustinians of the Assumption were definitely approved under the title of 'Societas Presbyterorum ab Assumptione,' and in 1927 two fathers were of the Greek rite, eight of the Slav, and nine of the Rumanian.

The tenth and last group, the *Russian Catholics*, may perhaps be divided into two parts—those still in Russia who became Catholics of their own rite (' Catholic Old-Believers ') after the ukase of toleration (1905), over whom, despite the closing of Byzantine chapels and the expulsion of priests (1913 and 1914), Mgr. Leonid Feodoroff ruled as exarch after the Revolution (1917); and those now in Poland (November 9, 1918), who from the end of the year 1923 were received in their rite by the Latin bishops (Eastern Poland) and suffered to form independent Byzantine parishes, subject to the normal hierarchy. A house of studies for priests of this rite has been opened at Albertyn, near Vilna, and about fourteen parishes have been formed, as in most cases the conversion of the priest entails the majority of his congregation. In 1928 an auxiliary bishop was appointed for the Russians of the Kharbin district (Manchuria), changing, at the wish of the Pope, to the Byzantine rite and using St. Vladimir's Church as his cathedral. Now, under Bolshevik oppression, the Catholic shepherds have been smitten and the sheep scattered, so that at present there is no organized Church under the Soviet. Before the formation of these all-Russian groups converts preferred the Latin rite to the Ruthenian, since the ' Uniatism ' of the latter was profoundly distasteful to a race possessing a great liturgical spirit. Now Russians can become reconciled to the Apostolic See, retaining their old service books and ceremonial, without any excision, addition or adaptation, the restoration of the Pope's name to the diptychs alone excepted. In low Masses, however, necessary curtailments are found in this rite, similar to those in other Uniate liturgies, together with more careful ablutions directly after Holy Communion. In Rome the Pope has given the church of San Lorenzo ai Monti for the exclusive use of this group. The experiment in diocesan ' Bi-ritualism ' is at present in its infancy, but with no attempt at Latinizing and with the goodwill of the secular government the project has every likelihood of success.

The soul of Russia, despite the present reign of Antichrist within the former domain of the Tsars, is profoundly Christian, but until recent years Erastianism and state oppression of the grossest character have prevented a return to

the Church on any large scale, although the future may well prove fruitful when the present tyranny is made to cease. Hopes of a harvest in the years to come have been heralded by the Monks of Unity, a Byzantine community of Benedictines established at Amay in Belgium, and also by the foundation in Rome of a 'Collegium Russicum' (*Quam curam*, August 15, 1929). The mass conversion of the people, following the baptism of Prince Vladimir (989), may possibly account for the apparent lack of religious depth shown by the vast majority of Orthodox Russians. The name 'Russian' seems to have originated either from Rurik, a leader of the invading band of Swedish Norsemen, or from 'Ruotsi' (rowers), a term probably applied by the Finns to the same race, although the earliest history, the 'Chronicle' of Nestor, styles the people 'Varangians.' Russia, emerging into the light of day during the imperial reign of Michael III, the Drunkard (842–857), appears to have been influenced by Constantinople from the very first, only obtaining a native metropolitan (Hilarion of Kiev) in 1051. The schism (1053) therefore included Russia, although several rulers of Kiev appear to have been reconciled to the Apostolic See (*e.g.* Duke Daniel Romanovich), and editions of Russian Canon Law (Koronchaja), so late as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, have repeated the Nomocanon of St. Methodius, which gives the lie direct to the 28th Canon of Chalcedon (451)—that the primacy of Peter was due to the fact that Rome was the Imperial City.

Three rites are at present in use among Byzantine Catholics, allowing for the slight modifications (already cited) in some of the groups: St. John Chrysostom (normal liturgy), St. Basil (ten times), and the Presanctified (celebrated on the aliturgical days of Lent). As in the West, the vestments have been evolved from the ordinary Roman dress worn during the first three centuries, although Oriental taste and the requirements of a different rite have produced variations. A fixed colour sequence is unknown to the East, apart from white for feasts and red for fasts, with occasionally black for funerals, but the white can be changed for a combination of colours. Certainly red was the original hue for the dead, as we learn from a

letter (end twelfth century) of the Bulgarian archbishop, Demetrius Chomatenus, to Constantine Cabasilas, Metropolitan of Dyrrachium, as well as from the writings (beginning of fifteenth century) of Simeon of Thessalonica (' De sacra ordinatione,' chap. lxxxiii.). A curious Western survival is found in requiems sung by the Pope, when the Supreme Pontiff has red vestments, although his assistants have long since abandoned this colour.

The outdoor dress of the Byzantine clergy consists of the ' anterion ' or soutane, the ' couton ' (reaching as far as the knees), and the ' rason ' or ample cloak with wide sleeves.

The amice finds no place in the East, although a neckcloth is sometimes worn to keep the vestments from becoming soiled, and Latinized Churches (Ruthenian) often borrow the Western vestment. The alb (*στιχάριον*), however, of any colour or material, is in constant use, that worn by the deacon being the most ornamental and resembling a dalmatic ; while the bishop's is adorned with red and white bands (*ποταμοί*), descendants of the old Roman clavi (*cf.* dalmatic). The girdle (*ζώνη*), not worn by the deacon, consists of a narrow belt fastened by a clasp, and the stole (*ἐπιτραχήλιον*) is formed by two bands joined together with a loop for the head, although the diaconal variety (*ὠράριον*) is different, narrower than that worn by the priest, hanging from the left shoulder before and behind (fourth or fifth century), and generally inscribed with a threefold ' *ἅγιος*.' From the striking resemblance between the scarf of the priestess of Isis and this *ὠράριον*, the Greek writer Sotêriou reckons its place of origin to be Egypt (Alexandria), although its name until the twelfth century was ' *ὀθόνη* ' or ' *ὡράριον*,' the omega only then coming into use, unmindful of its Latin etymology (*os, oris*, ' mouth '). Its first Christian adaptation seems to have been as honorific insignia, distinctive of the senior deacon (archdeacon) as representing the bishop, and only later assuming a liturgical character. The Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria, as ' Pastor of pastors, Bishop of bishops, Thirteenth Apostle and Judge of the world,' has the privilege of wearing two stoles at the liturgy, the one under and the other over the sakkos (also a tiara or head-gear of red velvet). The orarion is held before the face during the chanting of the litanies,

and is used to give a sign in the course of the liturgy when a movement is to be made; while before receiving Holy Communion the deacon winds it round his body to facilitate reception (*cf.* removal of folded chasubles in Roman rite).

Clerks wear the stikarion and sometimes, as among the Melkites, the orarion also, although this latter usage is distinctly forbidden by Canon 22 of the Council of Laodicea (*c.* 360): 'It is not meet for the server to wear an orarion nor to go away from the doors.' These inferior clergy wear it as a girdle, crossing the two ends behind and bringing them over the breast, where they are tucked into the girdle. Priest and deacon alike wear embroidered cuffs in lieu of maniples, called *ἐπιμανίκια* (reserved for bishops up to the twelfth century), originating as gloves put on before touching the holy vessels. A further reminiscence of the maniple is seen in the *ἐπιγονάτιον* or lozenge of stiff stuff which hangs from the right side of the bishop's (and other dignitaries') girdle, symbolizing the sword of justice. Among the Latins the Pope alone has the privilege of wearing it. The Byzantine chasuble (*φαινόλιον, φελόνιον*), which also serves as a cope, is a great bell-shaped vestment, often cut away in front when it is made of heavy and stiff brocade (Russia), but not at the sides as in the West. Bishops since about the time of the Fall of Constantinople (1453) have substituted the sakkos (*σάκκος, cf.* dalmatic) for the older vestment, Greek prelates adding a trimming of little bells. In Russia and Hungary the phelonion hardly covers the breast, while amongst the Ruthenians it is shortened in front to the waist. Two forms of the Eastern pallium (*ὠμοφόριον*) exist, bands of silk or velvet embroidered with crosses and a lamb typifying the erring sheep. The great omophorion, removed for the Gospel, is worn after the lesson until the end of the liturgy and at Ordinations, with the small omophorion for other occasions. The Catholic patriarchs also wear the Roman pallium, within their jurisdictions, on some days in the year. The sending of the pall to Oriental bishops dates from early times, St. Gregory the Great granting it to John, Metropolitan of Corinth, and Andrew, Metropolitan of Nicopolis. In 1642, however, the Sacred Congregation of the

Propaganda deliberated as to whether it should be sent to the Ruthenian metropolitan, since the last occasion of its donation in the East had been in 1239 (Gregory IX to the Armenian patriarch). The question was again debated in the eighteenth century, when, by a decree dated July 8, 1729, and approved by Benedict XIII and Benedict XIV, it was decided that before receiving the pall the Melkite patriarch should take an oath that he would change nothing in his rite (as against the innovations of Euthymios of Tyre).

The pastoral staff (*δικανίκιον*), terminating in two branches adorned with serpents' heads (prudence), is also known as *ποιμανική*, *ράβδος*, or *πατερίσσα*. On non-ceremonial occasions the bishop carries a stick called the *χαζράνιον* (*cf.* ornate stick of Spanish bishops). Pectoral crosses and rings are often worn both by Uniates and dissidents, but they are importations from the West, since the distinctive Oriental prelatical adornment is a little oval medallion containing a relic and worn on the breast (*ἐγκόλπιον*). The black hat of the priests (*καλυμαύχιον*, once of camel's hide), resembling an inverted top-hat, takes the place of the Latin biretta (removed in the liturgy at the two Entrances, the Gospel, and from the Great Entrance until after Holy Communion), the head-gear of the inferior clergy, though similar, receiving the name of 'koufion' or 'scoufa' (*couffe*, Arab. 'basket'). The Byzantine crown or mitre has been worn by bishops since the eighteenth century, although at first (from 1453) the distinctive head-gear of the Ecumenical Patriarch (Constantinople). In the later years of the imperial regime even some priests were granted leave by the Tsar to wear the crown as a mark of especial favour. Removed during the liturgy—Proskomide, Commemorations at the Great Entrance, Pax, Creed, Anaphora and Communion—this form of mitre is directly taken from that worn by the Roman Emperor at Byzantium. As a parallel to the usage of Latin mitred abbots, the Superior of Grottaferrata has been granted the use of 'pontificalia,' although this is not according to pure Oriental custom.

Pontifical blessings are not only given with the hand-cross (an ornament not confined to the episcopate), but also with a triple candle (*τρικήριον*) held in the right hand, denoting the

Blessed Trinity, and a double candle (*δικήριον*), symbolizing the two natures of Our Lord, held in the left, although Catholic Byzantines now have a service answering to Mass 'Coram episcopo' in which these candles are not used. In any case they do not seem to be anterior to the seventh century, for St. Maximus makes no mention of them. When the bishop is pontifically present but does not celebrate, he wears the mandyas, a mantle answering to the Latin cope.

The standing on a carpet, embroidered with a two-headed eagle (*ἀετός*), for Ordinations recalls the ceremonial pomp of the old imperial Court.

The candlestick, often carried by the reader in his right hand, is known as the manualion (*μανονάλιον*), and the garment for readers and servers, consisting of a linen or cotton tunic, is the camision (*καμίσιον*).

A church of the Byzantine rite should have only one altar, standing within a sanctuary (*βῆμα*) and shut off from the rest of the church by a large screen or iconostasis (*εἰκονόστασιον*), which is pierced by three doors covered with curtains—originally a grille with curtains (fourth century). This screen has, since the iconoclastic controversy (first Edict against Icons, A.D. 726, by Leo III, the Isaurian), been faced with sacred pictures (hence its name), before which burn lamps, a large icon of Our Lord occupying the south side and a similar painting of the Blessed Virgin on the north. The early screens had many names (*e.g.* '*δίκτυα*,' '*χαγκέλλοι*,' '*στῆθεα*,' '*διάστυλα*,' '*τέμπλον*'), but *εἰκονόστασιον* seems first to have been the support or pedestal in the palace apartment on which the picture of Our Lord was suspended on Christmas Eve. According to Brockhaus, the Russians applied the term to both wall and pictures, so that it is to them that we owe the supremacy of the iconostasis such as we find it to-day, and the first compact screen in wood, faced with holy pictures, may very well have originated in the Novgorod district in the time of Andrew Roubliew (end of fourteenth century or beginning of fifteenth). To celebrate the triumph of the true faith concerning the Communion of Saints, the first Sunday in Lent is observed with much splendour as 'Orthodox Sunday.' The typical icon portrays a description of theological ideas rather than a realistic likeness, for the Oriental

picture of Our Lady shows her as ' Theotokos,' Queen of Heaven and Mediatrix, rather than as a human Mother, although of recent years more modern conceptions have been introduced from the West. Holy Russia provides more than two hundred miraculous icons of the Blessed Virgin, but there are four chief Byzantine types : the *Orante*, found in the Blachernae at Constantinople, Ravenna, and the ' Indestructible Wall ' in the Cathedral of St. Sophia, Kiev ; *Deesis*, in the church of Chalcoprateia at Constantinople, and St. Mary of the Girdle in the Ara Coeli at Rome ; *Hodegetria* at Mount Athos, Our Lady of Smolensk, and Our Lady of Czenstokhovo (Poland) ; and *Kyriotissa* or *Nicopea* (Our Lady of Victories), a type known in Russia as *Petcherskaya*, and similar to Our Lady of Panagios, found in St. Mark's, Venice. The Byzantine icon underwent its first vital transformation on Russian soil in the fourteenth century, but by the fifteenth the national style achieved its consummation in the works of Andrew Roubliew. The Stroganov School of the end of the sixteenth century attempted a renaissance, after a period in which the simple clarity of the earlier work had been obscured by what was complicated and involved. This revival, becoming more widely diffused, resulted in the appearance of yet more numerous guilds (Moscow, Yaroslavl, Northern, Pomorye), which lasted into the nineteenth century. Antichrist, ruling a country turned into a hell, can hardly be described as a suitable *milieu* for the growth of religious art, but, despite the hundreds of thousands of icons wantonly destroyed by the Bolsheviks, care is being taken of those which possess monetary value, even to the point of cleaning and repairing old examples which repainting and regilding, carried out in accordance with an old ordinance, have defaced. Sometimes topographical considerations affected the colours portrayed in the icons, borrowing from the landscapes of particular localities. Thus, the rosy, lilac and light blue shades found at Ferapontov, in the fresco paintings of Dionysius, are still to be seen on the shores of the neighbouring lake, and the marvellous green, predominating in the icons of Pskov, appears on the banks of the river Velikaya. Within the screen stands the square wooden altar, often under a canopy or

ciborium (in general use at Constantinople from the sixth century), with the sacristy or diakonicon to the right, where the zeon is heated, and on the left the prothesis or table of preparation, at which the sacred elements are prepared (Proskomide) and the Blessed Sacrament is consumed after Communion. The interior arrangements of Sta Maria Cosmedin, at Rome, and Torcello Cathedral give some idea of a Byzantine church before the defeat of the iconoclasts.

The altar is adorned with crucifix (in accordance with Oriental custom, the figure should not be in relief) and lights (two, four or six), with a tabernacle or artophorion, sometimes in the form of a dove (*e.g.* Melkite church of St. Julien le Pauvre, Paris), for the reserved Sacrament, since Canon 42 of the sixth Ecumenical Council expressly orders reservation in every Orthodox church. The sacred Species are renewed only once a year (Maundy Thursday), when the Holy Bread is intincted with the chalice. The seven-branched candlestick, occasionally found behind the altar, typifies the seven gifts of God the Holy Spirit. Altar stone and corporal are combined in the consecrated antimension (*ἀντιμήνσιον*), a square piece of linen ornamented with a design, in which relics have been sewn up, although a simple corporal (*εἰλητόν*) is also used as a protection. The first historical reference to the term ' antimension ' (Russian, *antimins*) dates from about the eighth century, Canon 7 of the second Council of Nicaea (A.D. 787) asserting, ' according to ancient custom, which we should follow, the Holy Sacrifice should only be offered on an altar consecrated by placing the relics of the saints or of martyrs therein ' ; but witness of its existence goes back at least to the fifth, with invariable consecration on it since the fifteenth. Its present size (*c.* 10 inches wide and 13 to 14 inches long) appears to have been in use since the seventh century, although wooden antimensia were known to both Syrians and Byzantines (*e.g.* Theodore of the Studium, 759–821 ; Patriarch Nil Kerameus, 1380–1388), and an example is still extant in the monastery of Kykkos, bearing the name of its consecrator, Nicephorus, Archbishop of Cyprus and Nea Justiniana (1653). Regulations for Catholic Orientals permit the use of an altar stone in cases of necessity, but a Latin

priest may not celebrate on an antimension in a church of his own rite, although he may do so in a Byzantine church (Benedict XIV, ' Impositio nobis ').

The Byzantine paten (δίσκος), larger and deeper than the Western, is never placed on the chalice (ποτήριον), but over it stands the asterisk (ἀστερίσκος), a cross of bent metal with a small pendant star, to prevent the veil from disarranging the breads. Although the euchologia make no mention of the asterisk before the end of the fourteenth century, it is known to have been in use from at least the eleventh. A somewhat similar ornament, though with twelve rays inscribed with the names of the Apostles, is used at a papal high Mass when the deacon brings the Host to the Pope for his Communion at the throne. The monstrance is only found amongst the Melkites. Both chalice and paten have veils, with a third enveloping them both (ἀήρ, νεφέλη). It is symbolically said of this composite veil that, as the air surrounds the earth, so this large veil surrounds the Holy Gifts, and, further, it is written that ' There came a cloud (νεφέλη) and overshadowed them.' According to St. Germanus, the veil of the chalice symbolizes the sacred sindon in which the body of Our Lord was wrapped ; the veil of the diskos, the linen head-covering ; and the aer, the stone rolled before the door of the sepulchre.

The holy vessels must be consecrated with chrism (for Ruthenians, Council held in 1891), and be made of gold or silver-gilt, although copper-gilt is now tolerated in poor churches. This rite, also, commemorating the Passion, has the holy lance (λόγχη) or small knife, with which portions of the holy loaf are cut out in the Proskomide (at least from the eighth century), and the spoon (λαβίς), in which Holy Communion is given to the laity, a custom said to date from the time of St. John Chrysostom (*cf.* Sozomen, ' Hist.,' Book IV. chap. v., and a very ancient diptych, representing the Abbot St. Zosimus giving Communion to St. Mary of Egypt (*ob. c.* 421)). In origin the spoon is probably Syrian, although up to the end of the fourteenth century manuscripts for the Ordination of Deacons prescribe that they give Holy Communion as in the primitive Church. Other accessories

include the sponge (*μοῦσα*), whereby the paten is cleansed (*cf.* St. John Chrysostom), and the ripidia (*ῥιπίδια*) or hexapteruga (*ἑξαπτέρυγα*), two fans which deacons carry in processions and which, in place of the aer, are waved over the Blessed Sacrament, consisting of flat pieces of metal bearing a six-winged seraph with handles attached. These fans may be compared to the papal ostrich-feather flabella, but in the East they are the especial ornaments of the diaconate, given in ordination. John Moschus refers to them in the sixth century under the name of '*φκόλιος*' (*cf.* Cyril of Scythopolis, *c.* 555, in 'Vita S. Euthymii').

Incense and portable lights are invariable accompaniments to the liturgy, except in the low Mass introduced by the Uniates. In some districts the Latin practice of ringing a handbell now prevails, but the hitting of the semantron, or board suspended near the church door, has almost everywhere been abandoned.

As regards music, no instruments are tolerated in the churches, and the enharmonic plainsong in vogue among the Byzantines has been ascribed to St. John Damascene (*ob.* 744), although figured music is found amongst the Slavic peoples, especially in Russia.

The Melkites in 1857 adopted the Gregorian Calendar, but the greater part of the Catholics of this rite have, until recently, continued to follow the Julian Style, although signs are not wanting that the newer method of reckoning will ultimately prevail throughout the East. In 1924 no fewer than five of the autocephalous (schismatic) Churches (Constantinople, Athens, Cyprus, Poland, Rumania) abandoned the Old Style, Georgia (1927), Alexandria (1928)—with the exception of Russian nationals and the Orthodox in Abyssinia—and Antioch (1929) following their lead in the course of a few years.

The liturgical year begins on September 1, the feast of St. Simon Stylites, which is termed 'the beginning of the Indict, that is of the new year,' a day which commemorates the start of Our Lord's public ministry in the synagogue at Nazareth. Christmas is ushered in by a fast of forty days (November 15 to December 24), with what have been termed

three other ' Lents ' (*τεσσαρακοσταί*) during the year, although in reality all do not last so long—*e.g.* Lent, properly so called, from the Monday after the sixth Sunday before Easter (Quinquagesima); the Fast of the Apostles, from the Monday after All Saints (first Sunday after Pentecost) until June 28; and the Fast of the Theotokos, from August 1 to the 14th. The Lent of the Apostles certainly existed in the sixth century, and by the year 700 three fasts were already observed, although that of the Assumption only originated between the death of St. Theodore of the Studium (821) and A.D. 920. The reply of Pope Nicholas I to the Bulgarians (866) speaks of all the four fasts as being kept in his own Church. August 29, the Decollation of St. John Baptist, is a strict fast, because, as St. Theodore of the Studium pointed out, it is to be a protest against the luxurious banquet of the impious Herod; while the Exaltation of the Holy Cross is also a fast or abstinence, comparing the subject-matter of the commemoration with Good Friday. The old Jewish law which forbade the partaking either of blood or of things strangled still persists in the East—customs which Councils have renewed and which Catholics observe with equal fidelity. Many animals, also, prohibited by the Mosaic law as unclean are avoided by the Byzantine faithful. No fasting takes place on Sundays and Saturdays (*cf.* Church of Milan), but Oriental rigorism as regards abstention from food and drink is very excessive, although, through the wisdom of the Holy See, some mitigations have been sanctioned to Catholics. Lent is prepared for by observing abstinence after the seventh Sunday before Easter (Sexagesima), which is called the ' Sunday of Meatlessness ' (' *τῆς ἀποκρέω* ').

The whole week following rejoices in the name of ' Cheese Week ' (' *τῆς τυρινῆς* '), since the required diet specifically allows lacticinia. The separated Byzantines seem to find great cause for annoyance in the fact that the Latins begin Lent two days later and the Armenians considerably earlier, and a rubric for the tenth week before Easter (week before Septuagesima) runs: ' It should be known that the horrid Armenians keep their abominable fast [Fast of Ninevites], which they call Artzeburion [according to a Byzantine legend

about a diabolical dog called Artzebur], three or four times during this week; but we eat cheese and eggs every day, thereby refuting their dogma and heresy!'

Catholic Byzantines now celebrate Mass (Presanctified) on the Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays in Lent, but the dissidents still have the Presanctified only on the Wednesdays and Fridays and the first three days of Holy Week. Since, however, pericopes are wanting for these extra days, the lections are often taken from the saint who is commemorated. According to Canon 57 of the Synod of Laodicea (fourth century), no mention of saints must be made during Lent, except on the non-fasting days, although Trullo (692) sanctioned the Annunciation in Canon 52. At the present time offices of saints are sung (without a feast) and commemorations are made of St. Charalampus (February 10), the Finding of the Head of St. John Baptist (February 24), and the Forty Martyrs (March 9). From the days of St. John Chrysostom the third Sunday in Lent has been 'Of the Adoration of the Cross,' with memorials of the same on the Monday, Wednesday and Friday following; while from this Office the Roman Mass of the Presanctified has taken many of its features, and the fixing of the stational Mass at the Sessorian Basilica of Santa Croce on the fourth Sunday in Lent had a very real connection with Byzantine usage. Two noteworthy Saturdays fall in Lent—the 'Saturday of the Akathistus' (without sitting) before the fifth Sunday, when a hymn to Our Lady is solemnly sung, and the 'Saturday of Lazarus' before Palm Sunday.

The Sunday between December 11 and December 18 is kept as the festival of the 'Ancestors of the Messiah'; that immediately before Christmas, the 'Just of the Ancient Law'; and that following, the 'Relatives of Our Lord' (St. Joseph, St. James, the Lord's brother, King David). The Epiphany concentrates on the Baptism of Christ, being known as the 'Feast of Holy Lights' ('*τὰ ἅγια φῶτα*'); and the Purification (February 2) looks rather to the meeting between Our Lord and the aged Simeon'—'Holy Meeting' ('*ὑπαπάντη*'). Most Sundays are named from the subject of the liturgical Gospel—*e.g.* 'Sunday of the Prodigal Son' (Septuagesima).

After All Saints (first Sunday after Pentecost) the season is

divided into the 'period of Matthew' and the 'period of Luke,' according to the Gospel read (St. Mark before Lent and St. John in Eastertide).

The Byzantine Calendar, as regards days of observance, refers to the local Church of Constantinople in much the same way as the Latin Calendar refers to that of Rome—*e.g.* July 2 recalls the Preservation of the Robe of the Mother of God ('ἡ παναγία θεοτόκος') at the Blachernae (old Imperial Palace, Constantinople). 'Synaxis' is the name given to a feast held on the day following a greater feast, to commemorate those who had a share in the event—*e.g.* December 26, Synaxis of Our Lady (Flight of Our Lady into Egypt), the equivalent of the Western feast of the Holy Family (first Sunday after Epiphany); January 7, Synaxis of St. John Baptist; June 30, Synaxis of the Twelve Apostles. Two classes of vigils exist—the greater, lasting for some days (Christmas five days, Epiphany four days, Corpus Christi three days (Melkites)), and the lesser, lasting only one day (ten in number). Because the Byzantine Church has neither concurrence of several octaves nor of octave and vigil, the number of days in an octave varies; while the classification of feasts provides for three classes of greater feasts and two of lesser, or an alternative method of greater, middle and lesser. The Assumption, under the title of 'κοίμησις' or 'Falling Asleep' (August 15), is observed as a greater feast, and the Immaculate Conception, as the 'Child-bearing of the Mother of the Mother of God, St. Anne,' is kept on December 9. The faithful departed have commemorations on the Saturdays before Meatless Sunday (Sexagesima) and Pentecost, and All Saints' Day, since at least the time of St. John Chrysostom, has fallen on the Sunday after Pentecost. Saints Constantine and Helena, as well as St. Thecla, are liturgically proclaimed to be 'equal to the Apostles' ('ἰσαπόστολοι'); while a further Byzantine peculiarity is the appearance in the Calendar of so many Old Testament names (Moses, David, Job, Prophets, etc.). Even the schismatics revere St. Anastasius, 'holy martyr of Rome,' St. Clement, St. Leo and St. Martin, but, despite this acknowledgment of the debt owed to the Eternal City, some of the Troparia too favourable to the Pope have been altered, together with the inclusion of

such ' saints ' as Mark of Ephesus (January 19) and Photius (February 6), as well as of members of the Imperial family, whose sole claim to fame lay either in their worldly importance or in their opposition to the ' horns of Roman pride.'

As in the Latin Church before the advent of the ' missalia plenaria,' the East still issues books for people rather than for services, so that priest, deacon, reader, etc., all have their own books for the performance of their respective duties. Eleven chief books exist, but the euchologion or sacramentary contains the prayers for the use of the priest. The typicon gives the rules for the due recitation of the offices and the performance of ceremonies, and formerly each principal Church issued its own typicon, somewhat after the manner of the episcopal ' jus liturgicum ' of the Middle Ages. Since 1909 (Synod of Ain Traz), however, the publication of the Archimandrite Cyril Rezq is now the only authorized ceremonial guide for the Melkite group. The Ruthenians under Latin influence have what corresponds to a missal, the ' liturgicon ' or ' sluschebnik.'

The Byzantine liturgies all emanate from the Greek Liturgy of St. James, a rite dating from at least the fourth century and one which Canon 22 of the Quinisextum Council (II Trullo, 692) ascribes to St. James, brother of Our Lord. The accuracy of this suggested authorship may reasonably be questioned, but St. Cyril of Jerusalem 348) seems to have been cognizant of the liturgy, and it was certainly used in Antioch when St. John Chrysostom was preaching there (370–397), since constant allusions and quotations are found in his ' Homilies.' Reference to Jacobite (*i.e.* James) origin is certainly intended in the Consecratory prayer : ' breaking bread he gave it to *us*, his disciples,' and ' he gave the chalice to *us*, his apostles,' which, according to Assemani, is the correct wording.

As with all liturgies, many additions have found their way into the rite—*e.g.* the preparation of the elements as an elaborate service at the prothesis, despite the fact that, according to the early texts, the Offertory takes place after the expulsion of the catechumens, when the Cherubic hymn is sung. In two pre-anaphoral versions of the Syriac St. James

the elements are prepared and put on the altar *before* the liturgy of the catechumens. Although the form is Antiochene, the place of origin appears to be Jerusalem, for one of the prayers for the catechumens says, ' Lift up the horn of the Christians by the power of the venerable and life-giving Cross '—a local addition subsequent to the discovery of the true Cross. Again, in the first supplication after the epiclesis, there is : ' Who didst descend upon Thy holy Apostles in the form of fiery tongues in the Cenacle of the holy and glorious Sion on the blessed day of Pentecost.'

No mention is made of an iconostasis nor of the custom of pouring hot water into the chalice before Communion (zeon) ; but the fact that St. Jerome (*ob.* 420) cites ' who alone is sinless ' as a liturgical form seems to point to a date anterior to the Monophysite schism, and the two Marian hymns sung after the post-consecratory diptychs appear to be directed against the heresy of Nestorius. At the present time the Greek Liturgy of St. James is only used twice in the year and in two places (by schismatics), but both Syrians and Maronites still employ, though considerably altered, its Syriac form. As in every part of the Church, a constant shortening of liturgies has been noticeable since their codification in the fourth century. St. James was soon found to be too long for the average worshipper—St. Basil, Exarch of Caesarea (*c.* 329–379), undertaking, according to a continuous tradition, to produce a revised liturgy, of which Peter the Deacon, writing to Fulgentius, an African bishop (*c.* 520), could say, ' Wherefore also the blessed Basil, Bishop of Caesarea, in the prayer of the holy Altar which is used throughout nearly all the East.' Basil himself speaks of his liturgical authorship in three of his ' Epistles ' (61, 68, 161), and St. Amphilochus, Bishop of Iconium, declares that his friend and contemporary composed a liturgy ' by order of the Lord ' ; while St. Proclus, a successor of St. John Chrysostom in the Ecumenical Patriarchate, is alleged to have written : ' The great doctor, seeing that the length of the Liturgies of St. James and St. Clement caused weariness to the people, re-edited them in a shorter form and gave it to the Church to be celebrated there ' (' De liturgiae divinae traditione ').

This rite is still used in the Byzantine Church (Catholic and dissident) on ten days in the year, but the normal liturgy is a revision which professes (at any rate since the time of the pseudo-Proclus) to have St. John Chrysostom (*c.* 347–407) for its author. Its earliest extant manuscript dates only from the eighth century (the primitive text begins with ' Peace to all ' and the lessons), but the Anaphora conforms to that found in the ' Homilies ' of the saint. The *Presanctified rite*, the longest of the three (at least one and a half hours) and used on the aliturgical days of Lent, is largely taken from St. John Chrysostom and therefore of a subsequent date. The earliest manuscripts are of the eighth or ninth century, but a Presanctified ceremony is mentioned in the Council of Laodicea (Can. 49, *c.* 363). The Gregorian legend speaks of Gregory (Gregory Dialogus), when papal apocrisarius (legate) at Constantinople, advocating this rite, since he saw the Byzantines deprived of Holy Communion on so many days of the Lenten season, although he himself declared that he knew no Greek ! Consistent with the policy of ascribing all liturgies to some saintly hand, St. Epiphanius of Salamis (*c.* 310–403) has also been named as the author ; and a passage found in the works of St. Sophronius of Jerusalem appears to corroborate this. Certainly Benedict XIV in his two bulls to the Melkite Patriarch (1743) implies that the rite dates from his time (*ita*, Cardinal Bona and Leo Allatius) ; while early manuscripts of the writings of St. Epiphanius speak of ' the Divine Liturgy of our holy Priest, the great Epiphanius, Archbishop of Cyprus.' Its use was enjoined by the Paschal Chronicle of 645, as well as by the 52nd Canon of the second Council in Trullo (692). The conservative East still retains the one-time universal practice of *concelebration*, although the Ruthenians now confine it to pontifical functions. It may, however, be justly observed that the non-Catholic Byzantines have abandoned the genuine concelebration, for only one priest consecrates, although all say the prayers and sing in turn the ekphonesis, whereas those who have returned to unity chant together the words of Institution and the ' *τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφέρομεν κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα*,' and all say the epiclesis. Rome herself has officially declared

(Benedict XIV in 'Demandatum Coelitus,' December 24, 1743) that *every* priest truly consecrates, and that if he is vested and recites all the necessary words each may lawfully receive an 'honorarium.' The same Pope (Benedict XIV), also, writing in 'Allatae sunt' (July 26, 1755), says: 'Porro, ubicumque ea consuetudo inter Graecos et Orientales viget, non modo approbatur, sed etiam custodiri praecipitur.' In concelebration the hebdomadary priest performs the prothesis ceremonies.

Since the normal liturgy is that of St. John Chrysostom, it will perhaps be advisable to treat of it at some length, and then briefly to give the differences in the others.

After preparatory prayers and a general kissing of icons, the priest and deacon vest in the diakonicon, using the prescribed form (since twelfth century). In a pontifical liturgy the bishop, after blessing with the dikirion and trikirion, receives his vestments at the throne, where each in turn is censed by the deacon before being put on, with the proper prayer chanted. The ceremony of the *Proskomide*, or preparing of the sacred elements at the prothesis, dates, possibly, as far back as the eighth century, although its origin is obscure. In the version of the liturgy written by Leo Thuscus (twelfth century) the prayers at this Office are simpler than those found in the present service books, although it seems probable that at one time these ceremonies were optional (*cf.* Roman preparatory and Offertory prayers), becoming fixed in the fourteenth century. Preparation of the gifts, however, before the commencement of the actual liturgy, is found amongst the Nestorians, as well as the Monophysites. At one time the deacon performed the Proskomide, with the priest giving his blessing at the end, but now the celebrant does this, the phelonion folded over his shoulders.

Catholic Byzantines often use the Gospel horn of the altar as the prothesis for low Mass, a device to which even schismatics resort in the case of small wayside chapels. The preparatory ceremony symbolizes the birth and hidden life of Our Lord, and the priest is representing St. John Baptist, so that, since the bishop stands as 'alter Christus,' the Proskomide is performed by a priest in a pontifical rite, although the prayers

at the veiling of the diskos and poterion are said by the bishop at the actual Offertory after the Great Entrance. Arrived at the prothesis, adorned with white cloth and two candles, the priest washes his hands as he recites Psalm xxv. (' lavabo '). The bread is a round leavened loaf (5 inches by 2 inches), in the centre of which is a part called the ' Holy Lamb,' where a cross (' seal ') is marked between the letters ' IC XC NI KA ' (' *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ*,' ' Jesus Christ brings victory '). In the futile controversy waged by Constantinople against the Latins concerning azyme bread the Byzantines, amongst other arguments, declared that leaven symbolizes Christ's soul, and that, since Rome does not use this, she therefore is Apollinarist ! With the Russian dissidents the bread is made by the deacon's wife for a livelihood.

Over this bread the priest three times makes the sign of the cross (Nicephorus of Constantinople (806–815) forbids the signing of the gifts in the sacristy), saying ' In remembrance of Our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ.' Then with the lance he makes an incision in the right side of the ' Lamb ' as he says ' He was led as a sheep to the slaughter ' ; in the left, ' And as a blameless lamb dumb before his shearers, so he opened not his mouth ' ; in the upper part, ' In his humiliation his judgment was taken away ' ; and in the lower, ' And who shall declare his generation ? ' The mystical theory of the ' lamb slain ' was referred to by St. Germanus in the seventh century, but its interpolation here probably dates from the twelfth (*Μυστικὴ Θεωρία*).

At each incision the deacon, who in the Oriental rites plays so important a part, holding his orarion in his hand, says ' Let us make our supplications to the Lord. Sir, take up.' The priest responds by lifting up the ' Lamb ' with the lance as he exclaims ' For his life is taken away from the earth ' ; and then, placing it face downwards on the diskos, he cuts it crosswise, with : ' The Lamb of God is sacrificed, which taketh away the sin of the world, for the life and salvation of the world.' The turning over of the bread is said to designate the complete helplessness of the Lamb, although its real object is probably the practical one of cutting where it is the

softest. Once more reversing the bread, and the deacon saying ' Sir, stab,' the priest pierces it on the right side, with the words ' One of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came thereout blood and water ; and he that saw it bare record, and his record is true ' (twelfth century).

The deacon makes the chalice, having called upon the celebrant to ' bless the holy union,' while the priest proceeds to detach small particles (prosphora) from the holy loaf, placing them in order on the diskos with appropriate prayers. The first is : ' In honour and memory of the most excellent and glorious Lady, the Mother of God and Ever-Virgin Mary, by whose intercessions receive, O Lord, this Sacrifice to the heavenly altar,' with nine others in commemoration of the saints. Then, further particles are detached for the hierarchy and for those for whom the priest wishes to pray, both living and dead. The custom of the deacon offering particles, although found amongst the Melkites, was expressly condemned by Simeon of Thessalonica as an innovation, since ' the deacons must not offer portions ; for they have not the grace of offering to God ' (*cf.* Arcudius in ' De Concordia,' sixteenth century). The priest, having with a sponge (given up by Ruthenians) settled the breads on the diskos, recites the prayer of incense : ' We offer to thee incense, O Christ our God, for a savour of a spiritual perfume : receive it unto thy heavenly altar, and send down in its stead the grace of thy most Holy Spirit ' (*cf.* ' Supplices te rogamus '), the deacon here, as throughout the liturgy (before a prayer), inviting attention and supplication. The asterisk before being placed over the diskos is censed, as are both the small veils, the aer and the whole prothesis (St. Germanus of Constantinople speaks of incense at this place). The prayer of prothesis which follows comes (verbatim) from the Liturgy of St. James, where it is said at the altar Offertory in the rite itself : ' O God, our God, who didst send forth the Heavenly Bread, the nourishment of the whole world, Our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, as a Saviour and Redeemer and Benefactor, blessing and hallowing us : thyself bless this Oblation, and receive it to thy heavenly altar : remember, of thy goodness and love to men, them that offered it ; and keep us without

condemnation in the celebration of thy Holy Mysteries. For blessed and hallowed is thy holy and glorious Name, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen' (found in the eighth century, but much more ancient in origin). Dionysius the Areopagite speaks of the prayer ('εὐχὴ τῆς προσκομιδῆς'), which is said by the bishop at the moment when the oblations are placed upon the altar. The priest then gives the dismissal (ἀπόλυσις): 'Glory be to thee, O Christ, our God and Hope: glory be to thee'; to which the deacon replies: 'Glory be to the Father,' etc., 'Kyrie Eleison' thrice, and 'Sir, give the blessing.' The celebrant continues: 'Christ, that arose from the dead' (Sundays), or 'Christ, our true God, have pity upon us and save us, through the intercession of his spotless Mother, and our holy Father John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople (St. Basil the Great, of Caesarea in Cappadocia), and all Saints, for thou art good and a lover of men' (every Byzantine dismissal has a blessing).

This done, the deacon (or priest) censes the prothesis, the altar, the church, and the altar once again (with the priest), reciting a troparion of Our Lord after death and the fiftieth Psalm.

The priest and deacon, making three reverences before the altar, say a prayer (containing the first verse of the 'Gloria in Excelsis' or Great Doxology; *cf.* ὄρθρος), the former saluting the Gospels and the latter the altar; while the deacon, holding up the orarion with three fingers of his right hand, reminds the priest that 'It is time to sacrifice to the Lord.'

Before the commencement of the liturgy a dialogue for a blessing takes place: *Deacon*, 'Holy Sir, give the blessing.' *Priest*, 'Blessed be our God always, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.' *D.* 'Holy Sir, pray for me.' *P.* 'The Lord make straight thy goings and every good work.' *D.* 'Holy Sir, remember me.' *P.* 'The Lord our God remember thee in his kingdom, always, now and ever, and to ages of ages.' *D.* 'Amen.'

This last form of prayer represents the typical Byzantine method of praying for anyone. Here it ends the preparation, for the deacon immediately goes to his customary place before

the holy doors of the iconostasis (MS. of tenth century says the ambo), where, having made three reverences (*μεγάλη μετάνοια*), the priest, holding the Gospel book, gives the blessing ('Blessed be the kingdom of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, world without end'), and the liturgy begins (in MS. of eighth century).

Since the sacred ministers are already at the altar, the Byzantine rite has no Introit here, but the deacon proceeds with a litany for all sorts and conditions of men (Great Synapte), similar to those still found in the Ambrosian missal on the first five Sundays in Lent. The refrain of 'Kyrie Eleison' ('Góspody pomíluy' in Staro-Slav) at the end of each petition, when the deacon crosses himself, seems to have originated in the Antiochene rite about the fourth century, the Russians repeating it three times, but the Greeks only once, since the tendency of the latter is to shorten the service. These diaconal supplications, which form a long series of invocations interspersed with responses from the people, appear many times in the Byzantine rite, running through the liturgy as a thread. The deacon first asks that prayer may be made 'in peace,' since without it nothing spiritual can bear fruit, the term 'Irenika' (*εἰρηνικὰ*) being sometimes applied to the whole litany. The priest then sums up in a collect, where he prays that the church in which the Sacrifice is being celebrated may be filled with glory and blessing, chanting the final ascription as an ekphonesis. In pontifical liturgies, according to the Ruthenian rite, two concelebrating priests recite these prayers from altar lecterns. In the meanwhile the first anthem is sung, consisting of Psalm cii. (in practice generally only a few verses) or, on certain feasts, of a special antiphon introducing a method of singing ascribed to the Greek monk Diodorus about the year 350. The name 'Typika' (*τυπικά*), strictly an office between Sext and None (*cf.* 'Missa Sicca') comprising Psalms cii. and cxlv. and the Beatitudes, has been given to the chants sung here on Sundays and greater Saints' days. The deacon, who during this first chant has been standing in front of the icon of Our Lady, facing that of Our Lord, returns before the royal doors for the Second Litany or Little

Synapte, where he remembers the Blessed Virgin (invoked twenty times in the liturgy) and the saints. The prayer which follows, during which the deacon again stands before the icon of Our Lady, the choir singing Psalm cxlv. (or a special anthem), calls for God's blessing upon the assembled congregation.

After the second anthem the great dogmatic chant of the 'Monogones' ('*Ὁ Μονογενὴς Υἱὸς*') is sung :

> 'O Only-begotten Son and Word of God,
> In the beginning immortal,
> Vouchsafing for our salvation
> To take flesh of the Holy Mother of God,
> And Ever-Virgin Mary ;
> Becoming Man, Thyself unchangeable ;
> Thou who wast crucified,
> O Christ our God,
> And by death didst trample upon death,
> Being one of the Holy Trinity,
> Glorified with the Father,
> And with the Holy Spirit,
> Save us ! '

—a hymn introduced into the liturgy in the reign of the Emperor Justinian (527–565) and consequently ascribed to him, although probably a product of Severus of Antioch (512–536). In a pontifical liturgy the bishop, having removed his crown, stands at the throne, facing the altar. A third litany follows with the corresponding prayer, that the supplications of the faithful may be heard, a translation of which has found its way into the Anglican Prayer Book. The response 'To thee, O Lord' ('*Σοὶ Κύριε*' or 'Tebéy Góspody'), implies the words 'be honour.' The third anthem often takes the form of the Beatitudes (*μακαρισμοί*), farced with troparia proper to the day. In the Byzantine Church the system of hymnography known as the Canon has nine chants or Odes, composed of a number of strophes called troparia. In the fourth century the liturgy began with the Little Entrance, but Canon 17 of the Council of Laodicea (363) would seem to show that at least in some churches the chanting

of psalms had already been introduced; while from 518 the synaxis or office preceding the liturgy took the form of extracts from the Psalter, and by the eleventh century the antiphons were substantially the same as to-day (cf. *Yotzer* in Jewish synagogue).

During the singing of the Gloria of the Beatitudes or the third antiphon the priest gives the book of the Gospels to the deacon, preparatory to making the Little Entrance—a ceremony of considerable pomp, signifying the coming of the Messiah into the world to preach the Good News. The Gospel book, as representing Christ Himself, is always an object of great splendour and magnificence; while the *μικρὰ εἴσοδος* (fifth century), in which lights and ripidia are carried, forms the first spectacular function in the liturgy, when a procession is made through the door of the prothesis (north) into the body of the church (*cf.* 'Ordo Romanus' for stational Mass in Rome).

Arrived before the holy doors (the rubrics often put '*βασιλικαί πύλαι*,' although the term 'royal door' strictly denotes the door from the narthex into the nave through which the Emperor passed, a confusion arising in the fifth and sixth centuries, when the monarch arrogated to himself the right of entry into the *βῆμα*), the celebrant, at the request of the deacon, says the prayer of the Little Entrance: 'O Lord and Master, one God, who hast established in the heavens the orders and armies of angels and archangels to serve thy majesty, grant that with us the holy angels may enter, who with us serve and glorify thy goodness. For to thee is due all glory, honour, and worship, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, now and for ever, world without end. Amen' (at least from eighth century; *cf.* first prayer in Roman rite of Extreme Unction).

'Sir,' continues the deacon, 'bless the holy Entrance'; and the response comes, 'Blessed be the Entrance of thy Saints, now and for ever, world without end. Amen.'

The priest kisses the Gospel book, which the deacon elevates as he chants 'Wisdom! Stand upright!' the choir replying 'O come, let us worship and fall down before Christ. O Son of God, who didst rise from the dead [varies according

to the day], save us who sing to thee. Alleluia ' (' Wisdom,' since here is the true wisdom brought by Christ—Eternal Wisdom—with the command of ' Stand upright,' in respect for the Holy Gospel). As the procession moves into the sanctuary the troparion or short anthem of the day, called the εἰσοδικόν and answering to the Roman Introit, is sung. In a pontifical liturgy the bishop remains outside the iconostasis until this moment, since in early days his reception at the church door occurred at this point. The deacon exclaiming ' Bless, Sir, the time of the Trisagion,' the celebrant answers ' For thou, our God, art holy, and unto thee do we ascribe glory, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, now and ever ' ; to which the deacon replies ' World without end ' (eighth century). While the choir chants the Trisagion twice (as far as ' Glory be to the Father '), the priest recites a prayer (called the ' prayer of the Trisagion ' in ' Codex Barberini,' eighth century), together with the Trisagion for the third time. Then the choir continues : ' Glory be to the Father . . . Holy and Immortal, have mercy on us.' The priest and deacon three times bow before the altar, again repeating the Trisagion (low voice), and the deacon, holding his orarion, says in a loud voice, ' Power ' (' δύναμις '), to which the choir once more responds with the Trisagion. ' Dynamis ' appears to be a word of encouragement to the choir, either for the chant to be reiterated or for the volume of sound to be increased. The chant, dating from the middle of the fourth century (St. Caesarius, brother of St. Gregory of Nazianzen), is found in the Acta of Chalcedon (451) : ' Holy God, Holy and Mighty, Holy and Immortal, have mercy on us [three times]. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, now and ever, world without end. Amen. Holy and Immortal, have mercy on us. Holy God, Holy and Mighty, Holy and Immortal, have mercy on us.' The Trisagion (Aius) was in the old Gallican liturgy from at least the sixth century (*cf.* Roman Mass of the Presanctified), but the legend attaching its origin to the earthquake in Constantinople (446), when Theodosius (II) the Younger (408–450) ruled the State and St. Proclus (434–437) the Church, although quoted by St. John Damascene, appears to have but

little evidence to support it. The many repetitions of this chant in the course of the liturgy have an interesting parallel reference in the Rite of Gaul, where the Council of Vaison (Canon 3, 529), after ordering it to be said at every Mass, continues: 'quia tam sancta et tam dulcis et desiderabilis vox, etiamsi die noctuque possit dici, fastidium non possit generare.' At Christmas (for no very clear reason), Epiphany, Lazarus Saturday and Pentecost the Trisagion is replaced by a reference to Baptism: 'All who have been baptized in Christ have put on Christ. Alleluia'; while commemorations of the Holy Cross have 'O Lord, we adore thy Cross, and glorify thy resurrection.'

In a pontifical liturgy, whilst the Trisagion is being sung, the bishop traces a cross upon the Gospel book with the trikirion and the dikirion, giving his blessing, east, south, west and north, and holding the two candles with arms crossed.

The Trisagion finished, the deacon says 'Sir, command' (*cf.* 'Jube, Domine benedicere'), to which the priest, moving towards the seat in the apse, answers 'Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord'; while, responding to 'Bless, sir, the throne above,' the celebrant replies 'Blessed art thou upon the throne of thy glory who sittest above the Cherubim. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end.'

Before the Epistle, which is read facing the altar outside the doors of the iconostasis by a lector (abbesses have this privilege amongst the schismatics), the deacon exclaims 'Let us attend' (*cf.* St. John Chrysostom), and the priest gives his blessing with 'Peace be with all.' Then, once again 'Wisdom' is chanted by the deacon, who during the Epistle (the censing takes place *after* the lection at a pontifical liturgy) proceeds to cense the whole church, since grace and benefits proceed from the Word of God. The celebrant sits down, as Christ takes the highest position on the throne. This censing is referred to in the *Μυστικὴ Θεωρία* (twelfth century), but it had been already mentioned by St. Germanus (seventh century).

In a pontifical liturgy the deacon, before the Epistle, says 'Lord, save the pious,' an acclamation repeated several times,

to which is added ' and hear us.' A memorial is then made of the chief bishop, ' long life ' being chanted at the end.

If there should be a concurrence of feast and Sunday, Catholics often have two Epistles (and two Gospels) under one heading, but the dissidents use the Epistle from one and the Gospel from the other.

So early as the time of St. John Chrysostom the Acts of the Apostles were read during Paschal-tide, for the golden-mouthed Doctor has left us a long homily explaining the reasons for this choice, at the same time mentioning three lessons. These by the ninth century had been reduced to two, although in the ' Missae Catechumenorum,' which are incorporated in Sext and Vespers in Lent, Old Testament lessons are still read. Books II. and VIII. of the Apostolic Constitutions seem to contemplate at least five lessons. The Byzantine equivalent of the Gradual consists of two parts, the ' Prokeimenon ' (' of preceding part ') before the Epistle and the ' Alleluia ' (thrice) after, the former consisting of a verse from the Psalms. Amongst the Orientals ' Alleluia ' is sung throughout the year, even at funerals, and the restriction of it by the Latins to joyful occasions was made a ' crisis ' at the time of the schism (1054). During the Alleluiatic Chant, after the reader has been blessed with ' Peace be unto thee,' the priest says secretly the prayer ' Lighten our hearts, O Lord and lover of men.' Normally, the Gospel is sung, as in the West, by the deacon, but in very solemn pontifical functions the bishop sometimes performs this duty, a practice mentioned by Sozomen as existing in Constantinople on Easter Day, Alexandria appointing the archdeacon. The lessons in the Byzantine Church are read in continuous order, the Sundays receiving their names from the Gospel. Before the Gospel in a pontifical liturgy the bishop takes off the great omophorion, putting on the lesser (of later date) and holding his crown, since he is looked upon as standing in the very presence of Christ. The blessing before the Gospel—' May God, by the prayers of the holy and glorious Apostle and Evangelist *N.*, give unto thee the word with much power, for the fulfilment of the Gospel of his beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord '—terminated, the celebrant says ' Wisdom ! Stand upright ! Let us hear the

Holy Gospel. Peace be unto you'; to which the choir responds, 'And with thy spirit.' Both before and after this lesson, 'Glory to thee, O Lord. Glory to thee' is sung; while before the first occasion the priest again warns the congregation to pay great attention (*πρόσχωμεν*)—*cf.* Rome down to the seventh or eighth century.

The Gospel is sung, where possible, from an ambo (Council of Laodicea, *c.* 343), very slowly and very solemnly, and with portable lights. At its conclusion the deacon takes the book for the celebrant to kiss, being blessed with the words 'Peace to thee who hast announced the Gospel.' In Russia the space before the screen (solea) takes the place of the more primitive ambo.

Candles were spoken of by St. Jerome (*ob.* 420) as being, not for the purpose of giving light, 'sed ad signum laetitiae demonstrandum,' and from the 'Peregrinatio Sylviae' it is certain that incense was used in the Church of Jerusalem in the fourth century before the reading of the Resurrection Gospel on the Sunday vigil. St. John Damascene (*c.* 676–*c.* 744) bears witness to the honours paid to the Gospels in his day and, according to St. John Chrysostom, washing was prescribed before touching the book.

The doors of the iconostasis being closed, the deacon returns to his customary place for a fourth litany (*ἐκτενή, εκτένεια*), similar in style to those already cited, taking the form of diptychs and ending with a prayer summing up the petitions. This 'Ektene' may have its clauses augmented at requiems and other times, thus possibly providing its special name ('continued' or 'stretched'), but it appears to have been shortened about the fourteenth century. The phrase, 'Again, we pray for those who bring forth fruit,' recalls the early ages (until the seventh century) of the Church, when the faithful brought their offerings in kind (*καρποφορούντες*), although an alternative suggests the benefactors of the local church. The prayer 'O Lord our God, accept this earnest prayer from thy servants,' etc., is known as the prayer of 'intense supplication' (at least from the eighth century). This is immediately followed by the Litany of the Catechumens (said silently by the Greeks), in which prayer is made for the

spiritual enlightenment of those who are still unbaptized, an interesting survival from the days when the civilized world was still mainly pagan (at least anterior to the seventh century). At the petition, 'That he may instruct them with the word of truth,' the priest signs the altar with the Gospel book. The litany ends with the order, 'Ye Catechumens, bow your heads unto the Lord,' to which the choir replies 'To thee, Lord.' The concluding prayer of the celebrant—'O Lord our God, that dwellest on high yet hast respect unto the lowly, who didst send forth the salvation of mankind, even thine Only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, look down upon thy servants the Catechumens, who have bowed their necks unto thee. Make them worthy in due season of the laver of regeneration, of the forgiveness of sins, of the robe of immortality; unite them to thy Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, and number them with thine whole flock'—breaks out into the ekphonesis: 'That they also with us may glorify thy all-honourable and glorious Name, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, world without end.' The phrase 'bowed their necks,' familiar to the Fathers, especially in reference to the energumens and penitents, infers a great antiquity for this prayer. This preliminary part of the liturgy seems to have been open to anyone, and the fourth Council of Carthage (Can. 64) forbids a bishop from excluding the 'man in the street': 'Ut Episcopus nullum prohibeat ingredi ecclesiam et audire verbum Dei sive gentilem, sive haereticum, sive Judaeum, usque ad missam catechumenorum.' At the unfolding of the corporal the deacon orders the dismissal in no uncertain terms: 'Let all the Catechumens depart! Catechumens depart! Let all the Catechumens depart! Let not any of the Catechumens remain!' According to the Apostolic Constitutions (VIII. 6–9), four classes were in turn prayed for and asked to leave the church—catechumens, energumens, illuminandi and penitents. At the present time there is a strong tendency to omit the prayers for the catechumens on ordinary occasions (*cf.* Rome in the sixth century).

Presuming the presence of only those who are baptized and in a state of grace, the deacon, in his customary place

before the royal doors, continues: 'Let all of us who are faithful, again and again in peace, make our supplications unto the Lord,' together with 'Assist, save, pity, and defend us, O God, by Thy grace,' and the mystic word 'Wisdom!' which precedes both the prayers of the faithful. The celebrant sums up in a prayer with ekphonesis in which he asks that those who offer the Sacrifice may be made worthy. After further diaconal prayers in litany form a second collect follows similar to the first. Originally there was a third prayer of the faithful, but it had disappeared so early as the eighth century ('Codex Barberini').

The Great Entrance (*μεγάλη εἴσοδος*), heralded in by the first part of the Cherubic hymn (*χερουβικόν*), forms not only the central portion of the Byzantine liturgy, but also the most spectacular and picturesque ceremony, recalling the triumphal processions of the Eastern emperors, and very possibly the creation of the Church of Jerusalem about the middle of the sixth century (as now from fourteenth century). The matter of the Sacrifice is brought with much pomp and splendour from the prothesis to the altar, or in the Liturgy of the Presanctified it is the Blessed Sacrament which is thus borne aloft. In the former case much controversy has turned on the fact that the faithful appear to worship the unconsecrated elements and that they are described in the Cherubikon as 'the King of all things,' sometimes, as amongst the Ruthenians, with a bell ringing to command especial attention. There is, however, no misapprehension on the part of the Orientals, this being a dramatic anticipation of the Consecration, which the corresponding Antiochene *σιγησάτω* substantiates, 'the King of Kings, Christ our God came.' The theory put forward recently by Dom Moreau ('Les Liturgies Eucharistiques'), to the effect that the wording suggests that this entry originated (before the fifth century) in a procession of the 'Fermentum,' sounds ingenious, but anticipation had none of the objections in the early Church which a logical and Occidental theology has since found against it. The whole ceremony is of later date than the reputed author of the liturgy, and the hymn is ascribed to the time of the Emperor Justinian II (565–578). Dionysius the

Areopagite in one of his works cites both entrance and hymn, and, although the text of the latter is unfortunately not given, the quotation is useful as helping to supply a date. The writer of the 'Areopagitica' seems from internal evidence to have published it subsequent to the Council of Chalcedon (451) (*cf.* Christological terminology), the insertion of the Creed into the liturgy (*c.* 476), and the publication of the 'Henoticon' of Zeno (482), a compromising formula drawn up with the idea of establishing an alliance between Orthodoxy and Monophysitism, so that everything tends to suggest the last years of the fifth century as the earliest possible date. The Patriarch of Constantinople, St. Eutychius, a contemporary of St. Germanus of Paris (*ob.* 576), strongly opposed the introduction of the Great Entrance into the ordinary liturgy ('Sermo de Paschate SS. Eucharistica,' 8), but John the Faster cited it in the 'Ordo' of Constantinople in 582. The Cherubikon, very solemn with an elaborate chant, is sung in two parts—the one up to the time of the actual procession: 'Let us, who in a mystery represent the Cherubim, and sing to the life-giving Trinity the thrice-holy hymn, at this time lay aside all worldly cares'; and the other as the sacred gifts are borne into the sanctuary: 'To receive the King of all, invisibly escorted by the angelic orders. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia' (*cf.* 'Sonus' (Numbers x. 10) and 'Laudes' (triple, as they answer to the three states of the world: before the Mosaic law, under that law and under the law of grace) in Rite of Gaul).

In St. Basil's liturgy on Maundy Thursday a different hymn is sung: 'Of thy mystic Supper' (*τοῦ δείπνου σου τοῦ μυστικοῦ*); while on Holy Saturday the variant (introduced in the reign of Justinian) is: 'Let all mortal flesh keep silence' (*Σιγησάτω πᾶσα σάρξ*; *cf.* St. James), where the word for Christ's entrance is literally 'on lances,' thus recalling the old Roman custom at a triumph. As the first part of the hymn is being sung the celebrant (the deacon according to the rubrics) censes the altar, icons, etc., saying meanwhile Psalm l. The 'Euchologion' of Venice (1851) states that the *deacon* should offer the incense and that a contrary usage is a 'new custom,' but the 'Hieraticon' of Constantinople (1895) expressly enjoins the 'novelty.' It was from the East, where

censing is carried out by more important functionaries than in the West, that the Oriental Pope Sergius I (687–701) introduced into his ceremonial for the Good Friday liturgy the custom of the Supreme Pontiff himself swinging the thurible before a relic of the true Cross (carried by a deacon). The secret prayer (not in MSS. of eighth and ninth centuries), 'None is worthy,' occasioned a great controversy at Constantinople in the twelfth century, owing to the words 'For thou thyself dost offer and art offered, dost receive and art received, Christ our God,' since a deacon (*c.* 1155) maintained that the passage must be wrong, as the Sacrifice is not offered to the Son, but to the Father and the Holy Spirit. A Council held in Byzantium, January 26, 1156, under the Patriarch Luke Chrysoberges, decreed that the misgivings were unfounded, and Soterichus Panteugenus, Patriarch-elect of Antioch, who held this new idea, was declared unworthy of office. After a threefold repetition of the Cherubikon, both priest and deacon (at a pontifical liturgy the celebrant only meets the procession entering the royal doors—a relic of the primitive place for the preparation of the elements) go to the prothesis, where, having three times censed the Oblations, the priest places the aer over the deacon's shoulder as he says 'Lift up your hands in the sanctuary and bless the Lord.' Then, with the veiled paten in his hands (on his head among the schismatics) and the censer hanging behind his right shoulder, the deacon advances through the north door, preceded by two taperers and followed by the priest carrying the chalice. If other ecclesiastics are present each carries some instrument connected with the liturgy. The rite used by the Melkites orders the priest to chant as he walks: 'May the Lord God remember us all in his kingdom, always, and for ever.' Arrived before the royal doors, solemn intercessions are made for the rulers of the country (reminiscent of the old place of the diptychs), and the procession enters the sanctuary, the deacon saying 'May the Lord God remember thy priesthood in his kingdom'; to which the priest replies 'May the Lord God remember thy diaconate in his kingdom, now and for ever, world without end.' The royal doors being closed and the veil drawn, the celebrant places the holy vessels on the altar, removing the

small veils and covering both with the aer, which has been censed as the deacon held it, praying the while in the words of the troparia for Holy Saturday, concerning the deposition from the Cross and the entombment, since these mysteries are symbolically re-enacted. A most striking parallel is found in the enactments of the Council of Rouen (650), where the first Canon directs: 'Ut tempore quo Evangelium legitur, finitoque offertorio, super oblationem incensum, in mortem videlicet redemptoris nostri, ponatur, decrevimus.'

As in the West, the Oblations are censed (thrice) when they have been put on the altar, the priest reciting two verses of Psalm l. (19, 20), but in pontifical ceremonies this is done by the bishop, while the sacred gifts are still held by those who have carried them. In these latter, also, the bishop here blesses with the trikirion, while the choir sings 'For many years, Lord.' The dialogue which follows between celebrant and deacon is reminiscent of the 'Orate fratres' in the Roman rite: *Priest*, 'Remember me, brother and fellow-minister.' *Deacon*, 'The Lord God remember thy priesthood in his kingdom. Holy Sir, pray for me.' *P.* 'The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee.' *D.* 'The same Spirit shall be fellow-minister with us, all the days of our life. Holy Sir, remember me.' *P.* 'The Lord God remember thee in his kingdom, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end.' *D.* 'Amen.' The drawing of the veil was not a primitive practice, but the rôle of 'mediator' is one which is especially applicable to the Byzantine celebrant, and as Moses went into a cloud to be with God, so in this liturgy the priest withdraws to offer sacrifice. Then the deacon, standing in his usual place, chants yet another litany (replaced diptychs from end of eighth century), with the responses 'Kyrie Eleison' and 'Grant us, Lord,' the priest in the meanwhile reciting the Offertory prayer, which, true to type, ends with an ekphonesis.

As the priest, with the royal doors open, blesses the people he says 'Peace be unto you,' eliciting the customary reply, 'And with thy spirit.' The 'pax' (ἀσπασμός), which occurs in this place (harmonizing with St. Matt. v. 23, 24,

and St. Justin Martyr, though removed from an earlier point in the service), is now, except in a pontifical liturgy, reduced to the merest formality. The deacon says 'Let us love one another, that we may with one mind confess,' and the choir answers 'Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the Consubstantial and Undivided Trinity'; while the priest, thrice kissing the aer which covers the Oblations, exclaims 'I will love thee, O Lord, my strength: the Lord is my protection and my refuge,' the deacon (in his place) simultaneously kissing his stole in the form of a cross. When a bishop is present the priests kiss the altar, hand and right shoulder of the celebrant, and the deacons the shoulders of their fellows, as they say 'Christ is among us, He is and will be.' A rubric in the Apostolic Constitutions (St. Clement), although there is no definite evidence of its actual use as a liturgy, shows how far the kiss of peace has departed from primitive practice: 'And let the clergy kiss the bishop; and of the laity, the men the men, and the women the women. And let the children stand by the bema. And let a deacon preside over them, that they may not be disorderly. And let other deacons walk about and observe the men and the women that there may be no disturbance, and that no one nod, or whisper, or wink.'

Following the 'pax,' the cry of the deacon to a hypothetical ostiarius, 'The doors! The doors! In wisdom let us attend,' is a relic of the early days of Christianity (*cf.* St. John Chrysostom, 'Homilies,' 71 (72) on St. Matt.) and of the rigid observance of the 'disciplina arcani,' when the doors were zealously guarded lest unbelievers should enter and hear the Creed, or be present during the most sacred of all times, the Anaphora. Now, however, the injunction is only productive of the closing of the doors of the iconostasis which had been opened for the 'pax.' St. Germanus (*ob.* 576) in his description of the Gallican rite makes the order symbolical, interpreting 'doors' as the doors of the soul or the senses. Most Oriental rites place the Creed in proximity to the 'pax,' although apparently this has not always been the invariable rule, since John of Biclarum states that Justinian II (565–578) ordered it to be said before the 'Pater noster' (*cf.* Mozarabic rite). Tradition affirms (Theodore the

Reader) that the Creed was first inserted into the liturgy in the Antiochene patriarchate through the influence of Peter the Dyer (470–488), and that it spread to Constantinople under Timothy I (511–518), affording a test of 'orthodoxy,' although both of these innovations were hostile to the Council of Chalcedon (451), since one of the planks in the Monophysite platform was the abrogation of every formulary later than the Nicene-Constantinopolitan. When, however, the true faith triumphed, the Creed was retained. Formerly all the faithful joined in both the profession of faith and the 'Pater noster,' but now the actual recitation of the Creed is often left to a reader. In pre-revolutionary Russia the great bell of the tower of the Kremlin (Moscow) sounded the whole time that the words were being chanted, and it was repeated aloud by the Tsars when they were crowned. Russian clergy, also, sometimes kissed each other, as a reminder that Orthodox faith should never be separated from Apostolic charity. The priest waves the aer over the oblations during its recital, typifying both the descent of the Holy Spirit and the earthquake on Good Friday, but in a pontifical liturgy the celebrant inclines over the holy gifts as the veil is waved by two concelebrants, rising at the words 'He ascended into heaven' and kissing the cross embroidered on the aer (*cf.* raising of the veil over the oblata at the diptychs of the dead, to symbolize the resurrection at the last day, in Gallican rite). The fateful clause 'καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ' has been officially adopted by the Melkites, Ruthenians and Italo-Greeks, but by the other Byzantine groups it is omitted except, as Benedict XIV pointed out, in those places where its absence might cause scandal. The doctrine underlying 'Filioque' is naturally adhered to by all the Oriental Catholics. In the sixth century the diptychs for the living and dead were found between the 'pax' and the Preface, in connection with the Offertory, a position corroborated by Dionysius the Areopagite, but disappearing from this place in a later century.

The Anaphora or Canon (ἀναφέρειν, 'to offer up'; *cf.* 'Oblatio') begins with the deacon exclaiming 'Stand we well: stand we with fear: let us attend to offer in peace the holy oblation'; to which the choir responds 'The mercy

of peace, the sacrifice of praise.' In reply to the celebrant's salutation in the words of 2 Cor. xiii. 13 ('The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ,' etc), the choir sings 'And with thy spirit.' In a pontifical liturgy the bishop blesses at 'The grace . . .' and 'Lift up your hearts' with the trikirion (left hand) and the dikirion (right hand). The Sursum Corda follows, as in the Roman liturgy, but in addition to 'It is meet and right' there is sometimes added 'to worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the Consubstantial and Undivided Trinity.' Then, the doors, which had been opened at 'Stand we well,' being shut, the celebrant proceeds with the invariable Preface, as the deacon waves the ripidion (where it is in use) over the oblations, to signify the Angels and Cherubim around the altar.

The whole action, from the opening versicles to the invocation, is one continuous stream of devotion and a paean of thanksgiving, only passing into a prayer at the end (invocation). Successive commemorations are made of creation, the promise of redemption after the fall and the preparation for redemption in the law and the prophets, evolving into the advent of Christ in His Incarnation, Passion (Consecration), Resurrection and Ascension ('Great Oblation' of the Eucharistic Sacrifice). In conclusion, at the Memorial of the descent of the Holy Spirit (epiclesis), prayer is made that the offered elements may become the Body and Blood of Christ, since, as has been already pointed out, the whole prayer is represented as occupying a single moment of time. Mention of the angels and the hymn of the 'Tersanctus' have been interpolated at an early point of the thanksgiving. The celebrant, returning to the altar and beginning the first prayer of the Anaphora, says silently (in the sixth century a loud voice was enjoined for all the Canon): 'It is meet and right to hymn thee, to bless thee, to praise thee, to give thanks to thee, to worship thee, in every part of thy dominion. For thou art God, ineffable, inconceivable, invisible, incomprehensible, the same from everlasting to everlasting; thou and thine Only-begotten Son and the Holy Ghost. For thou broughtest us forth from nothing, and when we were fallen didst raise us up again and leave

nothing undone to bring us to heaven and to bestow on us thy kingdom which is to come. For all these things we give thanks to thee, and to thine Only-begotten Son and to the Holy Ghost, for thy benefits which we know and which we know not, manifest and concealed. We give thee thanks also for the ministry which thou hast vouchsafed to receive at our hands, although there stand by thee thousands of Archangels and ten thousands of Angels, the Cherubim and the Seraphim that have six wings and are full of eyes and soar aloft'; then, breaking out in an ekphonesis, he exclaims 'exulting, singing, proclaiming, chanting the triumphal hymn,' the choir responding with the Sanctus and Benedictus.

At the former Catholics often have a bell, and here the deacon takes the asterisk from the paten and lays it on one side, after he has made a cross and kissed it to proclaim that the glory of God is sung in the four quarters of the globe. In a pontifical liturgy the concelebrants and the deacons stand on the predella during the Anaphora, the trikirion resting on the altar at its north end and the dikirion at its south. A paraphrase of the Sanctus immediately precedes the Consecration: 'We also with these blessed powers, O Lord and Lover of men, cry and say, Holy art thou and All-holy, thou and thine Only-begotten Son and the Holy Ghost. Holy art thou and All-holy, and great is the majesty of thy glory.' The words of Institution, which in the 'Euchologion' printed for Catholics are in capitals, are introduced by: 'Who didst so love the world as to give thine Only-begotten Son, that whoso believeth in him might not perish, but have everlasting life: who having come and fulfilled for us all the dispensation, in the night that he was betrayed, or rather, surrendered himself for the life of the world, took bread into his holy and pure and spotless hands, and gave thanks and brake, and gave to his holy disciples and apostles, saying:' (then, raising his voice, the celebrant continues) 'Take, eat: this is my Body which is broken for you for the remission of sins,' and the choir chants 'Amen.' For the chalice he proceeds secretly: 'Likewise after supper he took the cup, saying:'—to which he audibly adds: 'Drink ye all of this: for this is my Blood

of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins,' the choir again responding ' Amen.' After each consecration Uniates make a prostration, but the schismatics, since they now claim—largely in opposition to the Catholic view—that the change in the elements is not effected until the epiclesis, merely point to the oblata at the words of Institution, adding the following rubric as a footnote : that the words are ' only recited historically (by way of narration, διγήσις), and therefore it is superfluous and contrary to the right mind of the Eastern Church of Christ to show the bread and wine to the people at this point '—a needlessly offensive observation, since each rite has its own distinctive customs, which do not necessitate the hostile criticism of others.

The audible ' Amen ' after each consecration, found in the Oriental liturgies (*cf.* Mozarabic), may, according to a Syrian explanation, have a threefold object : (1) the expression of the desire that the Sacrament may be truly for the remission of sins and for life eternal ; (2) the assertion of the truth of Transubstantiation and of Christ's presence ; and (3) faith in the efficacy of the words of Our Lord.

The anamnesis follows the words of Institution : ' Therefore being mindful of this saving precept and all those things which he hath done for us, the cross, the grave, the resurrection after three days, the ascension into heaven, and the sitting down at thy right hand, and the second and glorious coming again,' [as an ekphonesis] ' thine own, out of thine own, we offer to thee, entirely and for all things ' (*cf.* ' Unde et memores,' 1 Paral. xxix. 14, and the ' De Poenitentia ' of St. Ephrem—' Praebe Deo non tua, ut tibi det quae sunt sua ') ; to which the choir answers ' We hymn thee, we bless thee, we give thanks to thee, O Lord, and we pray to thee, our God.' This amplification of 1 Cor. xi. 26 (' Quotiescumque enim manducabitis panem hunc, et calicem bibetis : mortem Domini annunciabitis donec veniat '), found in so many of the Oriental liturgies, appears also in the Ambrosian and Mozarabic rites. At the words ' thine own,' etc., a concelebrating priest or deacon raises the holy gifts, at the same time making a cross with them over the corporal ;

while the priest continues : ' Moreover we offer to thee this reasonable and unbloody service, and we entreat and pray and beseech, send down thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these gifts set before thee.'

The troparia and versicles (twelfth century) sometimes found between the Consecration and the invocation, although to the Holy Spirit, interrupt the course of the Anaphora and appear neither in the most ancient manuscripts nor in the latest service books. The epiclesis takes the form of a dialogue between priest and deacon (twelfth century) : *Deacon*, ' Bless, Sir, the holy Bread.' *Priest* (making a cross), ' And make this Bread the precious Body of thy Christ.' *D.* ' Amen. Bless, Sir, the holy Cup.' *P.* (making a cross), ' And that which is in this Cup, the precious Blood of thy Christ.' *D.* ' Amen. Bless, Sir, both.' *P.* (making a cross), ' Changing them by thy Holy Spirit.' *D.* ' Amen, Amen, Amen. Holy Sir, remember me a sinner.' *P.* ' The Lord God remember thee in his kingdom, now and for ever, world without end.' *D.* ' Amen.'

According to present-day Orthodox teaching the Consecration is completed at the words ' Changing them by thy Holy Spirit,' but St. John Chrysostom in his Homily on the treachery of Judas seems to point quite clearly to the Catholic view : ' It is not man who makes the Body and Blood of Christ of the Oblations, but it is Christ himself, for the words are pronounced by the priest, but the Oblations are consecrated by the power and grace of God, who has said, " This is my Body " ' (*cf.* John of Dasa, Monophysite of eighth century). Mark of Ephesus, writing in 1439, speaks of the *two* stages in the Consecration—words of Institution and epiclesis. The first clear witness of a prayer of this latter character comes from the fourth century, but epicleses soon appeared in most of the rites of Christendom, although invocations of the third Person are no isolated phenomena in a liturgy, since in all service books many prayers are found asking God to sanctify the offering. The ' Logos ' invocation was apparently earlier in date, but it was displaced through the development of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit as the source of grace, in opposition to the Macedonian heresy, and by the natural

sequence of events, recorded in the Anaphora, Pentecost would follow the anamnesis.

During the succeeding secret prayer the deacon waves the ripidion or one of the small veils over the Blessed Sacrament: 'So that they may be to those that receive them for purification of the soul, for remission of sins, for fellowship of the Holy Ghost, for fulfilment of the kingdom of heaven, for boldness to approach thee, not unto judgment nor unto condemnation. We also offer thee this reasonable service on behalf of those who have departed in the faith, our ancestors, Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Preachers, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins, and every just spirit made perfect in the faith.' Here the deacon censes the Blessed Sacrament and the altar, making special intentions, and the royal doors of the iconostasis are opened. The priest, taking the censer, continues in a loud voice: 'Especially for our all-holy, immaculate, blessed exceedingly and glorious Lady, the Mother of God and Ever-Virgin Mary.' Then, while the deacon proceeds with the censing, the choir chants the anthem known as the 'Megalunarion': 'It is very meet to call thee blessed, who didst bear God, the ever-blessed and immaculate Mother of our God. More honourable than the Cherubim, and infinitely more glorious than the Seraphim, who without taint of sin didst give birth to God the Word, thee verily Mother of God, we magnify.' A commemoration of Our Lady in this place is of extreme antiquity, although this particular hirmos is later. The last sentence, 'More honourable than the Cherubim . . . ,' is attributed to St. Cosmas the Melodist (*ob.* 760), and the first part, 'It is very meet . . . ,' is connected with the vision of a monk at Mount Athos in 980, when the then Patriarch of Constantinople ordered the 'Megalunarion' to be inserted in the service books. When, however, it actually reached the Eucharist is uncertain, but it received its name as a troparion interpolated between the verses of the 'Magnificat' at Matins. On great feasts the chant varies, as is indicated in the liturgical books. In all the Oriental rites mention is first made of Our Blessed Lady and the great Precursor, and in St. John Chrysostom the priest continues: 'For St. John the prophet, Forerunner and

Baptist, for the holy, glorious, and famous Apostles, for St. *N.*, whose memory we keep, and for all thy saints, by whose prayers do thou, O God, look down upon us.'

The Byzantines normally pray for the dead before the living, but one Catholic form proceeds : ' Remember also those who sleep in the hope of the resurrection of eternal life.' (Here the priest mentions those for whom he wishes to offer the Holy Sacrifice ; for the living he says) ' For the salvation, protection, remission of sins of the servant of God, *N.*' (For the dead he says) ' For the repose and pardon of the soul of the servant of God, *N.*, in the place of light, give him rest, O God, where there is no sorrow, groaning or trouble.' Then, remembering the Orthodox episcopate (*i.e.* those in communion with the Apostolic See), the hierarchy, the faithful and all Christ-loving rulers, the celebrant, raising his voice, prays by name for his ecclesiastical superiors : ' O Lord, firstly call to mind the Sovereign Pontiff *N.*, Pope of Rome, our blessed patriarch *N.*, our metropolitan (or archbishop, or bishop) *N.* ; grant them, for the sake of thy holy Church, to live in peace, holiness, honour and for many years, faithfully dispensing to the people thy word of truth.' The deacon, standing at the door of the screen, commemorates the diptychs of the living, as he adds : ' And of all the intentions of each and every one ' (of all men and women) ; to which the choir answers, ' of all men and women.'

The priest then silently prays for the town in which he is living, for all sailors, travellers, sick persons and prisoners, as well as for those who benefit the Church and the poor ; while, as an ekphonesis, he continues : ' And grant that with one mouth and one heart we may glorify and praise in song thy most honourable and majestic Name, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, world without end.' Amongst the Greeks the antidoron is blessed during the first part of this prayer, after the memorial of the Blessed Virgin, but with the Roumanians this appears to be done during the litany which follows, when the priest, having censed the Eulogiae, makes a cross with them over the Blessed Sacrament. Before the deacon takes up his position outside

the doors of the closed iconostasis the celebrant turns and blesses the people : ' And the mercies of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ shall be with you all ' ; the choir responding, ' And with thy spirit.' The diaconal litany, consisting of petitions for those about to receive Holy Communion, explaining the demands of the diptychs to the people, is of the usual type, with the refrains of ' Kyrie Eleison ' and ' Grant us, Lord,' and the customary silent prayer (prayer of approach for worthiness) with an audible ending. This ekphonesis forms also the introduction to the Lord's Prayer : ' And count us worthy, O Lord, with boldness and without condemnation, to dare to call upon thee, our heavenly God and Father, and to say . . . ' It is possible that this litany was removed from the Offertory (at diptychs) some time before the eighth century, in order to fill up a moment of silence, since the Byzantine faithful are never unoccupied in the liturgy. The ' Pater noster ' itself, once said by all the faithful (*cf.* Cassian, *c.* 426, to Leontius, Bishop of Fréjus, and the monk Helladius ; St. Caesarius of Arles (Serm. cclxxxi. 2) ; St. Gregory of Tours), is now recited by the reader or leader of the choir in a loud voice ; while his assistants repeat it to themselves, the priest taking up the embolism : ' For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, world without end ' (St. Matt. vi. 13, with a Trinitarian ending). This doxology (without the ending) existed in a Codex of the New Testament used by St. John Chrysostom. Unlike the order in most of the liturgies, the Lord's Prayer precedes the fraction in the four Greek rites (SS. James, Mark, Basil, John Chrysostom). During this prayer, or immediately after it, the deacon arranges his stole (after the manner of subdeacons) in the form of a cross, in order that he may be unimpeded in his movements, symbolically signifying the veiling of the faces of the Cherubim. The Blessing which follows was inserted into the liturgy (*cf.* Lyon, Gaul) at this point, so that those who were not receiving Holy Communion could retire (*cf.* St. John Chrysostom ; St. Gregory I—' Qui non communicat det locum '). With the opening of the royal doors, the priest blesses the faithful as he says ' Peace be unto you,'

the choir first replying 'And with thy spirit,' and then, in answer to the deacon's 'Let us bow our heads unto the Lord,' 'To thee, Lord.'

The ensuing prayer, 'We thank thee, O Invisible King,' terminating in an audible doxology (at least fifth or sixth century, as in other Eastern liturgies), is succeeded by a further secret prayer and the Elevation: 'We give thee thanks, O King of heaven, who didst create all things by thine endless might and didst bring all things from nothing into being in the fulness of thy mercy. Look down from heaven, O Lord, on those who bow their heads to thee, for they do not bow to flesh and blood, but to thee, the dread God. Do thou, then, O Lord, give to all of us an equal benefit from these Oblations, according to the need of each. Do thou sail on the sea with sailors, travel on land with travellers, heal the sick, thou who art the physician of our souls and bodies. [Aloud] Through the grace and compassion and loving-kindness of thine Only-begotten Son, with whom thou art blessed, together with thine all-holy and good and life-giving Spirit, now and for ever, world without end.' Choir: 'Amen.' 'Look down, O Lord Jesus Christ our God, from thy holy dwelling-place, and from the throne of glory of thy kingdom come to sanctify us, thou who dost reign on high with the Father, and who art here present, although unseen. And grant that from thine almighty hand be given to us thy holy Body and precious Blood, and to all the people by our ministry.'

Bowing down, both celebrant and deacon (thrice) say 'O God, be merciful to me, a sinner'; and as the priest takes the Blessed Sacrament for the Elevation the minister exclaims 'Let us attend,' the choir replying, at any rate amongst the Melkites, 'For the safety of all pious and orthodox Christians.' In raising the Host above the chalice, 'τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις' ('The Holy Things to those who are holy') is said—three signs of the Cross are made over the diskos—together with the response, 'One is holy, One is Lord, Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father. Amen'—liturgical expressions found in the liturgy as early as the time of St. Cyril of Jerusalem (348). In the Presanctified Mass the celebrant places his hand under

the veil, without uncovering the Sacrament, as he says ' The presanctified Holy Things to the holy,' only removing the veil and asterisk when these words have been said. In all the Oriental liturgies the Elevation is made before Communion, in connection with the fraction, and there is no trace of the practice at the Consecration, since the Berengarian heresy was confined to the West and there was no need for the Byzantines to accentuate the worshipfulness of the Blessed Sacrament.

Once again the doors of the iconostasis are shut, the choir singing the ' Koinonikon ' or Communion anthem as the celebrant makes the fraction and commixture (ἕνωσις), preparatory to receiving Holy Communion. This variable chant (*cf.* ' Communio ') is indicated in the liturgical books, that for Sundays appearing as : ' Praise the Lord of heaven : praise him in the height. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.' If there is a concurrence of feasts Catholics sing two such anthems. Although the preparatory service at the prothesis includes a fraction, the original Breaking of the Bread, found in all liturgies, still persists before the reception of the Sacrament. To the deacon's admonition of ' Sir, break the Holy Bread,' the priest breaks the Host into four pieces (three until the ninth century), saying ' The Lamb of God, the Son of the Father, is broken and distributed, the broken and not severed, the ever eaten and not consumed, but sanctifying the partakers' (*cf.* eighth stanza of ' Lauda Sion '), at the same time arranging the particles on the diskos in the form of a cross (from *c.* eleventh century),

IC
NI KA
XC

—where there now rest no fewer than thirty-five portions of the Host.

' Sir, fill the holy cup,' continues the deacon, indicating with the end of his stole, and the celebrant, making a cross with the particle marked ' IC,' drops it into the chalice with the words ' The fulness of faith, of the Holy Ghost.' The addition of hot water (' zeon '), a little of which is

now poured by the deacon into the consecrated chalice, appears to have existed amongst the Byzantines from about the sixth century, for when Heraclius had conquered Persia and a great part of Armenia, he invited the schismatic Armenians to a synod on reunion, an offer which Moyses, the Gregorian Catholicos, refused, saying 'I decline to cross the river Aza (still in Persia) to be compelled by the Byzantines to eat leavened bread and to drink hot water.' John of Asia, also, writing about the monks of Syria (510), says: 'Calicem vivi Sanguinis aqua ferventi temperare solitos fuisse.' The Latins at the Council of Florence (1439) expressed great amazement at the practice, although Dorotheus, Bishop of Mitylene, is said to have satisfied the Pope by his explanation and Benedict XIV expressly sanctioned it in 'Etsi Pastoralis' (1742). A server pours the water into a spoon which the deacon is holding, and which the latter presents to the celebrant ('Sir, bless the hot water'), who in blessing it says 'Blessed be the fervour of thy Saints, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.' Then the deacon, pouring the 'zeon' into the chalice in the form of a cross, continues: 'The fervour of faith, the fulness of the Holy Ghost. Amen'; but in the Liturgy of the Presanctified this is done without any form of words.

Various theories have been put forward as to the symbolism of the 'zeon' ('boiling')—the fervour of the communicants, the water which flowed from Our Lord's side on the Cross, the Holy Spirit communicating Himself to the faithful—but it is very possibly reminiscent of the kettle of hot water used by the Jews at their Paschal feast.

The Holy Communion prayers appear to differ slightly in the various editions of the liturgical books, and those which follow are taken from Dom Placide de Meester's French translation of the liturgy (1907). When the deacon has poured the hot water into the chalice he withdraws behind the altar to say the preparatory prayers with the priest, one of which is similar in language to the third Roman prayer ('Perceptio Corporis'): 'I believe, O Lord, and confess that thou indeed art the Christ, the Son of the living God, who didst

come into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the chief. I likewise believe that this is thy most pure Body, and this is thy most precious Blood. I therefore pray thee have mercy upon me, and forgive me my transgressions, voluntary and involuntary, committed in word and deed, in knowledge and in ignorance, and make me worthy, without condemnation, to partake of thy most pure Mysteries, for the remission of sins and for life eternal. Of thy mystic Supper receive me to-day, O Son of God, as a partaker ; for I will not betray the Mystery to thine enemies, nor give thee a kiss, as Judas : but as the thief I confess unto thee : Remember me, O Lord, in thy kingdom. Let not the participation of thy Holy Mysteries be unto me for judgment or condemnation, O Lord, but for the healing of the soul and body.' Then the celebrant, taking the particle of the Lamb marked ' XC,' makes his Communion, as he says ' The precious and all-holy Body of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ is given unto me *N.* . . ., Priest, for the remission of my sins and for life everlasting.' Having received the Host, he continues : ' Deacon, approach ' ; and the deacon answers ' Lo, I approach Christ, our Immortal King and God. Give me, O Lord, the precious and holy Body of the Lord, our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of my sins and for life everlasting.'

With a profound bow and demand for forgiveness the deacon, kissing the hand of the celebrant, receives a portion of the Lamb—holding his hands crosswise, one over the other—as the priest says to him : ' The precious and all-holy Body of our Lord, God and Saviour Jesus Christ, is given to thee *N.* . . ., Deacon, for the remission of thy sins and for life everlasting.' In the eleventh century priests kissed each other before receiving the Blessed Sacrament, and both St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom seem to allude to the ' pax ' at this moment (*cf.* Roman rite). While the deacon is making his Communion behind the altar, the priest takes the chalice with the veil (red), three times drinking from it, as he says ' The precious and holy Blood of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ is given to me *N.* . . ., Priest, for the remission of my sins and for everlasting life.' Then, wiping

his mouth as well as the chalice, he kisses the veil and calls on the deacon to approach for the reception of the precious Blood. Before receiving, the deacon carefully wipes the palm of his hand over the diskos with a sponge. The prayers for the chalice are similar to those for the Host, but after the threefold draught the celebrant adds : ' Lo, this hath touched thy lips, and shall take away thine iniquities, and shall purge away thy sins.' While the priest is secretly reciting a short thanksgiving prayer, the deacon, with the aid of a sponge, places the remaining particles in the chalice, replacing the veils on both diskos and chalice.

The schismatics do this after Communion has been given and before the holy gifts are removed to the prothesis, for they maintain that these prosphorae have not been consecrated. Since, however, the Catholic custom of giving them in Holy Communion formerly prevailed, it is manifest that if the Orthodox opinion be true, then Communion was once given in one kind only, in the species of wine. By a decree of Benedict XIV, the Uniates must intend to consecrate *all* the breads on the diskos. In a pontifical liturgy the celebrant here cleanses his fingers, first with wine and then with water, drinking them together by way of an ablution.

The ' Alleluia ' of the ' Koinonikon ' being finished, the royal doors are opened for the Communion of the faithful, and the deacon, elevating the veiled chalice, cries out : ' Approach with the fear of God, faith and charity ' ; the choir responding : ' Amen, Amen, blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord. God is the Lord and hath appeared unto us.'

In the East Holy Communion is given to infants under the species of wine only, but adults receive standing and from a spoon in both kinds together (' precious Pearls ' or *μαργαρίται*), holding the red silk veil (*cf.* purificator, Communion paten). At any rate until the eleventh century the Church of Jerusalem gave Communion in the two separate kinds, although St. Theodore of the Studium, who died about 826, seemed ignorant of the primitive practice. Some Greeks bring their own spoons for fear of infection—a materialistic idea, although the view taken by the Ruthenian Professor Myschkovski, that the consecrated

wine acts as a disinfectant, seems to assume too much. Among the dissidents Holy Communion is rarely received more often than four times a year. Before reception the Act of Faith, previously said by the priest, is often secretly repeated (aloud amongst the Ruthenians), and the faithful stand as the celebrant says to each: 'The servant of God, *N.*, is made partaker of the precious and holy Body and Blood of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of his sins and for everlasting life.' After Communion the laity receive an ablution and the antidoron at a side table, the choir in the meanwhile continuing: 'O Son of God, give me to-day a share in thy mystic Supper; for I will not reveal the Mystery to thine enemies, nor betray thee with a kiss, as did Judas; but like the thief I will confess unto thee: Remember me, O Lord, in thy kingdom.' Before removing the Blessed Sacrament to the prothesis the priest blesses the people as he says 'O God, save thy people and bless thine inheritance,' the choir chanting: 'We have seen the true light, we have received the heavenly spirit, we have found the true faith, worshipping the Undivided Trinity, for this has saved us.' These Communion chants seem to vary according to places and days, the verse 'Gustate et videte' (Ps. xxxiii. 9) appearing also in other Oriental rites (*cf.* St. Caesarius of Arles (Serm. cvi. 10); St. Germanus of Paris). The ministers returning to the altar, the priest censes the holy gifts three times, while he says 'O God, be exalted above the heavens, that thy glory may stretch over the whole earth. Blessed be our God'—symbolizing the Ascension. This secret prayer of the celebrant (Codex Barberini, eighth century) ends with the ekphonesis, 'As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end,' when, turning towards the people, he makes the sign of the cross over them with the chalice (the bell is sometimes rung here). The deacon takes the paten (on his head in some churches) to the prothesis and rearranges his orarion, the priest removing the chalice. In his accustomed place before the holy doors the deacon now chants the thanksgiving litany: 'Stand upright. Having partaken of the divine, holy, spotless, immortal, heavenly, life-giving, and awful mysteries of Christ, let us worthily give

thanks unto the Lord.' 'Assist, save, pity, and defend us, O God, by thy grace.' 'Having prayed that the whole day may be perfect, holy, peaceful, and sinless, let us commend ourselves and one another, and all our life to Christ our God.' *Priest*, 'For thou art our sanctification, and to thee we ascribe glory, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, world without end.'

Among some of the Byzantine Catholics ablutions are taken at the altar, *more Romano*, without any removal to the prothesis, but the development of the rinsing of the altar vessels into a ceremony has never been customary in the East. A text of the first half of the fifth century (Hesychius, *ob.* 438) would seem to show that it was then usual to burn the remaining consecrated Species. The dismissal which follows, the deacon standing before the icon of Christ, has been common (in some form) to all liturgies since the second century. The word 'apolysis' is found in the texts of the fourth and fifth centuries and, according to the 'Martyrium S. Clementis' (vii. 3—fourth century), the faithful could not leave the church until this had been said (*cf.* Can. 26, first Council of Orleans, 511—'Populus non ante discedat quam *Missae* solemnitas compleatur et . . . benedictionem accipiat sacerdotis'). The dialogue proceeds: *Priest* (*temp.* St. John Chrysostom, deacon), 'Let us depart in peace' (Ruthenians, with hand-cross). *Choir*, 'In the Name of the Lord.' *D.* 'Let us make our supplications unto the Lord.' *Ch.* 'Kyrie Eleison.'

Then the priest, before the same icon, recites the 'prayer behind the ambo' (ὀπισθάμβωνος)—from the place where it was originally said (eighth century). The form in use among the Greeks reads (although it is very possible that the prayer once varied according to the feast): 'O Lord, who blessest those who bless thee and sanctifiest those that put their trust in thee, save thy people and bless thine inheritance. Guard the fulness of thy Church and sanctify those who love the beauty of thy house. Do thou in return glorify them by thy divine power, and forsake not us who put our trust in thee. Grant peace to the world thou hast created, to thy churches, to the priests, to our rulers, to the army, and to all thy people.

Because every good gift and every perfect grace is from above, and cometh down from thee, the Father of Light. And to thee we ascribe glory and thanksgiving and worship, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, world without end.' While the choir sings 'Amen. Blessed be the Name of the Lord, from this time forth for evermore' (thrice), the deacon at the prothesis consumes the Blessed Sacrament and purifies the holy vessels, the priest saying secretly: 'O Christ our God, thyself the fulness of the Law and of the Prophets, thou that didst fulfil all thy Father's dispensation, fill our hearts with joy and gladness. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end.' The distribution of the antidoron or blessed bread (Can. 14, 32, Council of Laodicea, 363) follows here in some churches, the reader reciting Psalm xxxiii., but more commonly at the conclusion of the liturgy, although the original place was after the 'prayer behind the ambo.' In answer to the deacon's 'Let us pray to the Lord,' and the choir's 'Kyrie Eleison,' the celebrant gives his blessing: 'The blessing of the Lord be with you, by his mercy and love of man: as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end.' The prayers which follow the 'prayer behind the ambo' have been taken from the Office and were only inserted after the fall of Byzantium (1453), for, although the 'Peregrinatio Sylviae' refers to the custom of a blessing by the bishop at the end of the Offices, this was a blessing given to each of the faithful individually. Now the priest continues: 'Glory to thee, O God our hope, glory to thee'; the choir responding: 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, now and always and for ever. Kyrie Eleison' (thrice). Then, turning towards the people, the celebrant recites the apolysis: 'Christ, our true God, who rose from the dead [if it be Sunday], through the intercession of his spotless and immaculate Mother, by the power of his precious and life-giving Cross; by the prayers of the revered incorporeal heavenly Powers; through the supplications of the honoured and illustrious Prophet and Forerunner, John Baptist; of the holy, illustrious, and renowned Apostles [of the saint of the church if he is a Prophet, Apostle or

Hierarch] ; of the holy, glorious, and triumphant Martyrs [of the saint of the church if he is a Martyr] ; of our venerable and God-inspired Fathers [of the saint of the church if he is a Venerable] ; of our Father among the Saints, John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople ; of the holy and just progenitors of God, Joachim and Anna, [of the saint of the day whose memory we are celebrating] ; and of all the Saints. By the prayers of our holy Fathers, O Lord Jesus Christ, our God, have pity upon us.'

In those churches where the antidoron has not been already given it is distributed now (the deacon consuming the holy gifts at the prothesis), the people coming forward and kissing either the hand of the priest or his small cross as they receive the holy bread with his blessing. This custom is reminiscent of primitive days when the Holy Eucharist was sent to those who were unable to attend the offering of the Sacrifice (' Eulogiae '), and it is also a reminder or consolation (' solatium ') for those who have not received Holy Communion in the liturgy. Although now so distinctively Oriental (*cf.* ' pain bénit '), the first known reference to this blessed bread comes from the West—118th (54th) Letter of St. Augustine to Januarius. Referred to by local Gaulish Councils in the seventh century, the earliest Eastern authority for it appears to be Germanus of Constantinople in his ' Explanation of the Liturgy ' (*c.* ninth century). The Italo-Greeks have restricted their use of antidoron to Maundy Thursday, the Assumption, St. Nicholas of Myra, and some Lenten ferias ; while the Ruthenians appear to have retained it only on rare occasions (*e.g.* Holy Saturday). In the Mozarabic ' Liber Ordinum ' is a unique prayer for the bread given on feasts to those deprived of Holy Communion : ' Benedictio Oblate, quam in sacrario benedicunt, penitentibus dande.' In pontifical services the bishop gives the antidoron, with the archdeacon holding the trikirion on his right and the second deacon with the dikirion on his left.

The distribution finished, the priest re-enters the sanctuary and the royal doors are finally closed. In unvesting, the celebrant recites the ' Nunc Dimittis,' the Trisagion, the Apolytikon of the day, as well as that of St. John Chrysostom,

and a Kontakion of the day, with ' Kyrie Eleison ' twelve times (or a Kontakion of St. John Chrysostom), ' Gloria Patri,' a salutation to the Holy Virgin, and the apolysis (dismissal). The *κοντάκιον*, once an entire hymn, is now only a simple strophe. The final rubric, containing the words ' And having kissed the table of the altar, from whence he has received the grace of priesthood, as the source of divine grace and holiness,' recalls the custom of a priest at his ordination pressing his forehead against the mensa (symbolizing Christ) during the actual imposition of the bishop's hands (*cf.* Maronite prayer of farewell to the altar).

The Liturgy of St. Basil, the immediate precursor of St. John Chrysostom, is still in use among the Byzantines (Catholic and separated) on ten days in the year—Sundays in Lent (excluding Palm Sunday), Maundy Thursday, Holy Saturday, the vigils of Christmas and Epiphany, and January 1 (St. Basil)—the vigil services taking place in the middle of the afternoon. In addition to what has been already said on the Basilian authorship, St. Gregory Nazianzen (*c.* 325–*c.* 389) says that he (St. Basil) made a ' formula of prayers for the altar,' and Leontius of Constantinople about the end of the sixth century speaks (Book III, ' Treatise against Nestorians ') of the ' Liturgy of the Apostles (St. James), and of St. Basil, written in the same spirit.' At the Council in Trullo (692) it was remarked : ' Basil the Archbishop of the Church of Caesarea, whose glory has pervaded the whole world, delivering to us the mystical Liturgy in writing ' ; while the Emperor Charles (II) the Bald (823–877), in addressing the clergy of Ravenna, definitely states : ' the Liturgy was celebrated before us according to the rite of Constantinople, whose author was Basil.' It is probable that when Caesarea became subject to the imperial diocese the rite, with modifications, was adopted there, to be altered later in favour of that which now bears the honoured name of the ' Golden-mouthed.' As the Office (Vespers) precedes the Liturgy of St. Basil (*cf.* Presanctified), the preparatory synaxis is suppressed and the service begins with Vespers, although the first blessing is taken from the liturgy. At the Vesper entry the deacon carries the Gospel book, as in the Little Entrance, and before the Epistle the

Trisagion is sung (*cf.* Holy Saturday: 'As many as have been baptized have put on Christ. Alleluia').

The liturgy proper only differs from its successor in the length of the prayers of the celebrant, since both the audible parts of the service as well as the ceremonial are practically identical with those found in St. John Chrysostom (with one hymn different). The prayer after the Cherubikon may perhaps be compared to the 'Supra quae' of the Roman Canon. At 'Let us give thanks unto the Lord' the celebrant, before returning to the altar, crosses his hands on his breast and inclines to the icon of Christ; while the words 'from whom [Christ] the Holy Spirit has been manifested, the Spirit of truth,' etc., have been suggested as showing a primitive belief in the 'Filioque.' The older rite is noticeable for its extended Anaphora prayers between the Sanctus and Consecration and a difference in the formula of Institution, where the actual words of Christ are prefaced by 'He gave it to his holy disciples and apostles' in the one case, and, 'He took also the Chalice filled with the fruit of the vine, mixed it, gave thanks, blessed it, sanctified it, [raising his voice] gave it to his holy disciples and apostles,' in the other. The words 'mixed it' may refer to the ancient custom of mixing together several kinds of wine, in order to improve the taste (Charon, 'Les Saintes et Divines Liturgies' (1904), p. 89). Until at least the sixteenth century a rubric directed the celebrant at the recital of the words of Institution to 'incline his head, raise his right hand with respect and bless the holy bread [cup],' but the recent 'Hieraticon' of Constantinople has omitted this reference, for possibly a similar reason to that which actuated the insertion of 'changing them by the Holy Spirit' into the Basilian liturgy some time between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries, despite the fact of its rendering the text incomprehensible. The *triple* 'Amen' at the epiclesis seems to have been added after the eighth century. In the prayer before the epiclesis, the phrase 'Offering Thee the *antitypes* (*ἀντίτυπα*) of the holy Body and Blood of Christ' caused a fierce controversy between Orthodox and Iconoclasts, since the latter asserted that the Blessed Sacrament was the only lawful image, whereas St. John

Damascene, protagonist of the former, maintained that the holy gifts are only an image *before* Consecration, not after the epiclesis, thereby admitting of other images. 'Antitypon,' the reality, is also used in juxtaposition with 'Typon,' the symbol.

At the invocation the liturgy continues: 'We pray thee and we invoke thee, O Holy of Holies, and by the condescension of thy goodness, that thy Holy Spirit may come upon us and upon these gifts which are here, that he may bless, sanctify and consecrate them: *this Bread* is the precious Body Itself of our Lord, God and Saviour Jesus Christ,' with a similar assertion over the chalice. The word used for consecrate, *ἀναδεῖξαι*, has the implication of 'show by some effect'—that is, 'make' (*cf.* 'efficere,' 'conficere'). The epiclesis rubrics are now similar to those found in the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, but in the ninth and tenth centuries they ran: 'And he thrice makes the sign of the cross over the holy gifts as he says . . .'; and in the twelfth century: 'And, standing up, he three times blesses the gifts as he says . . .' On Holy Thursday the hymn, 'Of thy mystic supper' ('*τοῦ δείπνου σου τοῦ μυστικοῦ*'), is sung at the intercessions; and on Holy Saturday, 'Let all mortal flesh keep silence' ('*Σιγησάτω πᾶσα σάρξ*'). The prayers are manifestly of different periods, both before and after the conversion of the Empire; while remembrance is made on behalf of those by whose offerings this Sacrifice has been made possible. The prayer that no one may participate in the Body and Blood of Christ for judgment or condemnation may be compared with the third Communion prayer in the Roman rite, 'Perceptio Corporis tui.' The phrase in the commemoration of the living and dead, 'Remember, Lord, . . . our brethren who are in the imperial palace,' indicates a time when the Emperor was not himself a Christian, but when the religion of Jesus had found a foothold in his household (*cf.* Phil. iv. 22—'Salutant vos omnes sancti, maxime autem qui de Caesaris domo sunt'), but 'Remember, Lord, our most religious and faithful Emperors, whom Thou hast judged as worthy to reign over the earth' plainly shows a *post*-Constantinian era. Peter the Dyer (fifth century) quotes a passage, 'Keep the good in thy goodness, make the bad good in thy mercy,' as occurring in the liturgy

of his day. The following extract from the era of the persecutions alludes to the primitive practice of concelebration: 'Be mindful, O God, of those who are before the tribunals, of those who are in the mines, in exile, submitted to a bitter slavery and every kind of affliction, distress, difficulty, and of all those who have need of thy great compassion, those who love as well as those who hate us and for those who have asked *us*, all unworthy, to pray for them'; as does also, 'Do not cover any of *us* with shame who encircle thy holy altar.'

When the Lord's Prayer is being chanted an acolyte holds a taper before each of the two chief icons.

The Liturgy of the Presanctified (*τῶν προηγιασμένων*), for the aliturgical days of Lent, is normally sung at about 8 A.M., although the first part, as in the Basilian rite, consists of Vespers (*ἑσπερινός*).

The Blessed Sacrament has been consecrated on the previous Sunday, and, having been intincted in the chalice, the Host is reserved in an artophorion on the prothesis or altar.

No prayers are said at the vesting (red or black), save 'We pray the Lord,' and no deacon is required unless there is a Gospel to be read (St. Charalampus, February 10; the Finding of the Head of St. John Baptist, February 24; the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, March 9; and the first three days of Holy Week). Vespers begins with a blessing, followed by the customary Psalm (ciii.), seven prayers and a litany (Great Synapte). The fifteen Gradual psalms, divided into three parts, are now recited with litanies (Small Synapte) and prayers (*cf.* Latin custom once observed on Fer. IV. Quad.). During the first section, the priest opens the artophorion on the altar (if the Host be there), bowing profoundly, and, putting the ciborium on the corporal, he places a large Host (small particles if necessary) on the diskos, which, preceded by a deacon with a lighted taper and incense, he transports to the prothesis. Here, washing his hands with wine and water, mixing the chalice, and censing (deacon) both asterisk and veils before covering the holy vessels, the celebrant, without any prayer of the prothesis, concludes the ceremony with: 'Lord Jesus Christ, our God, have pity on us, by the prayers of our holy Fathers. Amen.'

A further four psalms ('kekragaria') follow (cxl., cxli., cxxix., cxvi.), in the last three of which strophes ('stichi') from the office of the day are interpolated between the verses, the deacon censing sanctuary, icons and the whole church. While a 'theotokion' is chanted by the choir, the Vesper Entrance (Little) is made, the deacon carrying the thurible and the priest (if there be a Gospel) the 'Evangelion.' When the Entrance prayer has been said the celebrant gives his blessing, and the deacon, having once again censed both sanctuary and ministers, raises the Gospel book, as he exclaims, 'Wisdom! stand upright!' On re-entering the sanctuary the Vesper hymn, ascribed to the third-century martyr St. Athenogenes, is sung (as the altar is censed)—a hymn in which Christ is praised at the setting of the sun as Himself the Sun and the Light of the World. The lessons serve both for Vespers and the liturgy of the Catechumens, with a prokeimenon (*cf.* Gradual) sung before each. The first lesson is taken from Genesis or Exodus, the second from Proverbs or Job, but before the latter the priest traces a cross with a lighted candle and censer as he chants, 'Wisdom! Stand upright!' Then, turning to the people and showing the candle, he continues, 'May the Light of Christ shine on all'—a reference of peculiar appropriateness for Catechumens and hearers. At the conclusion of the Old Testament lessons the altar, icons and people are solemnly censed by the celebrant, the deacon preceding him with a lighted taper and the priest singing the psalm 'Let my prayer be set forth as incense before thee,' with a constant repetition of the verse by the choir as an antiphon. The three Lenten saints' days have both Epistle and Gospel, but the first days in Holy Week have only the latter. Litanies of 'fervent petition' and for the Catechumens are followed by the prayers for the faithful, but from the Wednesday after the third Sunday in Lent these latter are preceded by special supplications for those who are to be baptized at the forthcoming Easter ('illuminandi'), with a formal dismissal: 'All those who are to be illuminated, depart. All those who are to be illuminated, depart. All Catechumens, depart. Let no Catechumen remain. May the faithful again and again pray in peace to the Lord.' Before the Great Entrance the priest,

as in the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, censes the altar, a deacon accompanying him with a lighted taper and the choir chanting 'May the heavenly powers, united to you, now invisibly adore.' Arrived at the prothesis, the celebrant censes the Blessed Sacrament three times and, placing the aer on his left arm and the diskos on the chalice, he raises the holy vessels to the level of his head and makes the Great Entrance (saying secretly 'Holy God,' etc.), the deacon with taper and censer and the choir singing 'Truly the King of Glory enters.' The faithful prostrate themselves and, as the procession enters the sanctuary, the choir continues: 'Lo the mystic sacrifice already accomplished is escorted: let us approach with faith and holy desire, so that we may become the sharers of eternal life. Amen.' The priest, placing the Blessed Sacrament on the altar without any form of words, censes the holy gifts three times and, the doors of the iconostasis being shut, a diaconal litany follows, with the usual prayer. After the 'Pater noster,' at the Elevation, the celebrant places his hands under the aer, chanting, as he touches the Host, 'Presanctified holy things to the holy.' This is followed by the raising of the veil and asterisk and the fraction and commixture, as in St. John Chrysostom. The Host is put into the chalice, so that at least the image of a completed sacrifice may be kept (*cf.* Rome on Good Friday), but, contrary to an opinion current in the Middle Ages, the wine is not thereby consecrated.

On the saints' days a proper 'Koinonikon' is sung, but at other times, 'Taste, and see, how gracious the Lord is. Alleluia.' The deacon says no prayer as he drinks of the unconsecrated chalice, but the priest, in giving it to him: 'Lord Jesus Christ, our God, have pity on us, by the prayers of our holy Fathers. Amen. This has touched thy lips, may it blot out thy iniquities and purify thee from thy sins.' In place of 'We have seen the true light,' the choir chants 'I will bless the Lord for ever: his praise shall be always in my mouth. Taste the heavenly Bread and the lifegiving Chalice, and see how gracious the Lord is. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.' The prayer before the icon of Christ ('behind the ambo') and that said at the prothesis, while the deacon is purifying the sacred vessels, both differ from those found in

the normal rite, but in many respects this liturgy of the faithful is similar to St. John Chrysostom, with the Anaphora omitted. During the distribution of the antidoron, which takes place in its original position after the prayer behind the ambo, Psalm cxliv. is added to xxxiii. ; no mention is made, except in some Slavonic versions (St. Gregory), of any author of the liturgy ; and no prayers are prescribed to be said while unvesting. On the Friday in the first week of Lent, after the 'prayer behind the ambo,' cooked corn ('colybes,' κόλυβα) and other baked meats are blessed and distributed (with the Canon of St. Theodorus Tyro). This is a memorial of the frustration of the attempt made by Julian the Apostate to destroy the Christians, by offering food for sale in the marketplace which had been sprinkled with the blood of animals offered to idols, when St. Theodorus Tyro ordered St. Nectarius, Patriarch of Constantinople, to make 'colybes' for the faithful. Similar cakes, made of boiled corn, spices, almonds and nuts are blessed and distributed in memory of a dead person at the obsequies, and again on the eighth and fortieth days, and on the anniversary of death (*cf.* St. Augustine ('Conf.' vi. 2) and pagan custom of food offered to the Manes of the dead).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(1) 'Les Saintes et Divines Liturgies de nos Saints Pères Jean Chrysostome, Basile le Grand et Grégoire le Grand (Liturgie des Présanctifiés) en usage dans l'Église Catholique Orientale.' Traduction Française. Par Cyrille Charon, Prêtre du rite grec. Paris : Alphonse Picard et fils, 82 Rue Bonaparte. 1904.

(2) 'La Divine Liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome.' Traduction Française du P. Emmanuel André, O.S.B. Revue, annotée et publiée avec le texte grec en regard par le R.P. Placide de Meester, O.S.B. Rome : François Ferrari, Piazza Capranica. 1907.

(3) 'The Liturgies of SS. Mark, James, Clement, Chrysostom and Basil and the Church of Malabar.' Translated with Introduction and Appendices. J. M. Neale and R. F. Littledale. Second edition. London : J. T. Hayes, Lyall Place, Eaton Square. 1869.

(4) 'Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic Church.' Compiled, translated and arranged from the old Church-

Slavonic Service Books of the Russian Church and collated with the Service Books of the Greek Church. I. F. Hapgood. New York: Association Press, 347 Madison Avenue. 1922.

(5) 'The Orthodox Eastern Church.' Adrian Fortescue. London: Catholic Truth Society. 1920.

(6) 'The Uniate Eastern Churches: The Byzantine Rite in Italy, Sicily, Syria and Egypt.' Adrian Fortescue. Edited by George Smith. London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne. 1923.

(7) 'A Dictionary of the Eastern Orthodox Church.' R. Ll. Langford James, D.D. London: Faith Press, 22 Buckingham Street, W.C. 2.

(8) 'Cours de Liturgie Grecque-Melkite.' Le P. Abel Couturier. Jerusalem: Imprimerie des R.P. Franciscains de Terre Sainte. 1912.

(9) 'A Guide to the Holy Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.' Leighton Pullan. London: S.P.C.K. 1921.

(10) 'Manuel Prâtique pour assister avec piété au Saint Sacrifice de la Messe dans l'Église Grecque Melkite Catholique de Saint Julien-le-Pauvre. Par A. Attié.

(11) 'Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church.' Arthur Penrhyn Stanley. London: J. M. Dent & Co.

(12) 'The Early Russian Church and the Papacy.' Rt. Rev. H. K. Mann, D.D. London: Catholic Truth Society, 72 Victoria Street, S.W. 1.

(13) 'La Liturgie byzantine et l'Union des Églises.' Abbé Chevalier de Corswarem. Avignon: Aubanel Fils Aîné, 15 Place de Études. 1926.

(14) 'Les Anaphores des Liturgies de St. Jean Chrysostome et de St. Basile, comparées aux Canons Romains et Gallicans.' Dom Fr. J. Moreau. Paris: Librairie Bloud et Gay, 3 Rue Garancière. 1927.

(15) 'Ancient Russian Icons: From the Twelfth to the Nineteenth Centuries.' Second edition. South Kensington, November 18 to December 14, 1929. London. 1929.

(16) 'Isles of the Ægean.' V. C. Scott O'Connor. London: Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., 34–36 Paternoster Row, E.C. 4.

(17) 'Some Links in the Chain of Russian Church History.' W. H. Frere. London: Faith Press, 22 Buckingham Street, Charing Cross. 1918.

(18) 'The Byzantine Achievement: an Historical Perspective, A.D. 330–1453.' Robert Byron. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd. 1929.

(19) 'L'Ancienne Liturgie Gallicane, son Origine et sa Formation en Provence aux V^e^ et VI^e^ Siècles sous l'influence de Cassien et de Saint Césaire d'Arles.' Le P. J.-B. Thibaut. Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, 5 Rue Bayard. 1929.

CHAPTER X
ARMENIAN RITE

CHAPTER X

ARMENIAN RITE

To Armenia, known to the modern world for its massacred unhappy people now living in any and every country save their own, belongs the supreme honour of being the first state to embrace Christianity officially; and circumstances have conspired through all the centuries to keep this gallant, pious little nation strangely exclusive and aloof, much as we find the Jews, scattered over the face of the globe and yet, with astonishing vitality, tenaciously retaining their national characteristics. Indeed, as with Abyssinia, many Jewish traits are found in Armenian history—the Arsacid royal dynasty claiming descent from Abraham, while deliberate reproductions from the Old Testament exist, and traces of royal polygamy long survived the introduction of Christianity. The name 'Arsacid,' a generic title for the Parthian kings (*cf.* Egyptian 'Pharaohs' and Persian 'Shahs'), appears to have been an abbreviation of the Sanscrit word *Kehajargha* (Xerxes). The hereditary primacy, also, with the numberless sacerdotal families can claim a model in the Jewish high priesthood. The whole race admits of one unique rite, used by Catholics and schismatics alike; while in the performance of divine worship one tongue alone is sanctioned, classical Armenian. All European languages speak of 'Armenia' and 'Armenians' (*Armé*, 'chiefs'), but the people themselves call the one 'Hayastan' and the other 'Haikh,' claiming a legendary descent from Haik, grandson of Japheth, the son of Noah, and supporting the illusion by identifying Mount Ararat (Urartu)—the head and centre of the country, according to Lazarus of Pharpi (*c.* 490)—as the exact spot on which the ark rested at the conclusion of the Flood. Despite the fact that a relic of the ark is said to be preserved at Etchmiadzin, the tradition is a foreign importation and unknown to the

Armenian writer Moses of Khoren (*c.* 458). The earliest name for the nation seems to have been 'the House of Thorgom'—corroborated by the Prophet Ezechiel, where the merchant character of the people is emphasized: 'De domo *Thogorma*, equos, et equites, et mulos adduxerunt ad forum tuum' (Ezech. xxvii. 14).

The confines of the original country, Greater Armenia east of the Euphrates and Lesser Armenia west, lie south-east of the Black Sea, more or less in the shape of a quadrangle and bounded on the north by the Caucasus Mountains, the west by the Black Sea, the east by the Caspian Sea, and the south by the Taurus Mountains, although the exact boundaries have often changed with the varying political vicissitudes. The present stock is said to be an Aryan race from Phrygia which replaced the original inhabitants (Khaldians) about the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century before Christ, although it may very well be a fusion between the Phrygians and the inhabitants of the Taurus Mountains — 'Kheti,' 'Khati,' 'Hati' (Hittites). The 'Golden Age' of Armenia is reckoned to be the reign of Dikran (Tigranes), who ruled the country from about 90 B.C. to 55 B.C., for it was only after the battle of Magnesia (189 B.C.), which ended the supremacy of the Seleucides, that Armenian history emerged into the clear light of day. Always a buffer state and the 'cockpit of Asia,' the sovereignty of Armenia has been disputed by Romans, Persians, Arabs, Crusaders, Turks and Russians, so that full independence has existed rather in the imagination than in reality.

According to Tertullian (*c.* 160–*c.* 220), Christianity flourished here in the second century (*temp.* King Sanatrouc, 166–193), and in commenting upon Acts ii. 9 the same writer (also St. Augustine, *ob.* 430) speaks of Armenia, instead of Judaea, as lying between Mesopotamia and Cappadocia, for Judaea could hardly be included in a list of foreign countries. The tradition concerning the missions of St. Thaddeus (35–43) and St. Bartholomew (44–60), whose feast days are kept on July 20 and November 30 respectively, although the grave of the former is still shown at Ardaze (Magou) and that of the latter at Albac (Baschkalé), and despite the claim of the Catholicos of

Etchmiadzin to be ruling from the ' Throne of St. Thaddeus,' has but little evidence in its favour and is traceable to a Greek source, invented with the desire of asserting Apostolic origin. According to one theory, which obtains the support of Eusebius and the Syrian Chronicles (' Leroupnia '), the Thaddeus of the legend was in reality an Addeus, Bishop of Edessa. Spurious also is the legend of King Abgar the Black and the portrait of Christ (' Vera effigies '), despite its mention by St. John Damascene (' First Sermon on Holy Images '), who called it ' antiquitus tradita narratio,' and its ' preservation ' in the church of St. Bartholomew-of-the-Armenians at Genoa. A letter to Meruzanes, ' Bishop of the Armenians,' from Dionysius of Alexandria (248–265) ' about penitence ' seems to show that Christianity was imported from Syria (Edessa) at an early date, but the accredited Apostle of Armenia is a scion of the royal stock of Arsacides, St. Gregory the Illuminator (Grigor Lusavoritch), as the earliest Church had apparently suffered very heavily at the hands of the Persians. This Gregory, who had been converted in Caesarea (Cappadocia), began his labours about the year 261, at a time when the King (Tiridates, Trdat) was persecuting the Christians, but after many vicissitudes, although the alleged sufferings in the pit commemorated by three feasts—sufferings, February 4 ; going into the pit, February 28 ; coming out of the pit, October 19—are probably unhistorical, Tiridates (*ob. c.* 330), the murderer of the holy virgins Gaïane and Hripsimê (October 5), was not only himself baptized (at Bagavan), but also took a prominent part in the conversion of his country, for which a later generation rewarded him with canonization. Mention has already been made of the distinction of Armenia as the first Christian state, for Eusebius speaks of the war of 311, which the Emperor Maximianus the Dacian waged because of its recent conversion. In 302 St. Gregory returned to Caesarea for consecration at the hands of Bishop Leontius, thereby acknowledging the ecclesiastical dependence of the country upon the see of his ordainer, a situation bitterly resented in the following century. The tradition that St. Gregory visited Pope St. Sylvester and received the pall from him seems unhistorical,

The first primate, a married man like nearly all the early Armenian bishops, had two sons, St. Vertanes (333–341) and St. Aristakes (325–333), both of whom succeeded their father in the primacy, the younger ruling first. According to some historians the third, fourth and fifth primates were St. Houssik (son of St. Vertanes, 341–347), St. Nerses (grandson of St. Houssik, 353–373), and St. Sahak or Isaac (son of St. Nerses, 387–439), known as the ' Illuminator of Knowledge,' but, although the ecclesiastical headship was certainly in the original Illuminator's family, the early chronology is very obscure. From the fifth century the higher Armenian clergy appear to have conformed to the normal Byzantine practice of celibacy. The title ' Patriarch ' was only assumed after the break with Caesarea, but that of ' Catholicos ' (' Very great Lord ') was normally used, the holder not ruling from any one see city as in later years. The first primacy was at Ashtishat (province of Taron) in the south, the scene of the early synods, despite the royal residence at Vagharshapat (until fifth century) and the circulation of the legend concerning the divine apparition, which brought about the change of name to Etchmiadzin (' The Only-begotten has descended '), a device calculated to foster the idea of a distinctive heavenly commission, to show cause for the breach with Caesarea. The promulgator of this story may very well have been the Catholicos Comitas I (615–628), who rebuilt the ruined primatial church and discovered the relics of Saints Hripsimê and Gaïane. The title ' Catholicos,' used amongst the Armenians and later by the Primate of Persia, was taken from the civil office of the Imperial Minister of Finance. At first denoting the vicar of a greater bishop (*cf.* Syrian mafrian), it later implied an even higher office than that of patriarch, although circumstances have compelled the schismatic Armenians to allow three ' Catholicoi ' (Etchmiadzin, Aghthmar, Sis).

The ' Life of St. Gregory,' attributed to Agathangelos, chamberlain or secretary of King Tiridates, and teeming with the most impossible ' miracles ' and ' marvels,' is in reality a composition subsequent to 456 and culled from many sources. Tradition asserts that St. Gregory appointed the

sons of the converted pagan priests to be his suffragans, but much uncertainty surrounds his work and even the date of his death (*c.* 337) is in dispute. He seems, however, to have retired in favour of his younger son, Aristakes, who was present at the first General Council (325).

The so-called 'Confession of Gregory the Illuminator,' often spoken of as the official Creed of the Armenian Church, is merely a compendium of what that Church believed and taught at the end of the fifth century, the period at which it was first written. The body of the great Apostle was laid to rest at Thortan, but at one time his relics were transported to Constantinople, to be returned later, and a portion of them found their way to Naples during the Iconoclastic controversy. The Armenians observe his feast on several days in the year: August 5, February 4, February 28, October 19, and September 30; the Byzantines and Syrians on September 30, the date of the translation of his relics; the Abyssinians on September 16 (Maskarram 13); and the Latin Church, 'pro aliquibus locis' (September 1837 by Gregory XVI (1830–1846)), on October 1, where he is wrongly styled as a 'Martyr.'

According to Oriental reckoning, a primate consecrated by the occupant of an outside see, rather than by his own suffragans, necessarily gave the ordaining bishop the right of jurisdiction, so that in the early days of Armenian Christianity the country was ecclesiastically dependent upon Caesarea, which in its turn owed allegiance to the patriarchate of Antioch. Thus the canonical position of the province was regular and normal, the faith taught identical with the rest of Christendom and the liturgy that of the Mother Church in the Syriac tongue, since no Armenian alphabet had yet been formulated. The breach with Caesarea and the formation of an autocephalous Church was not officially sanctioned like that of Cyprus (431), but it originated in a schism against the Catholicos Nerses (353–373), who, at the instigation of St. Basil, strove to reform the great irregularities in his Church and at the same time to curb the king in the excesses of his personal life. Faustus of Byzantium, however, asserts that Nerses was consecrated by Eusebius, Metropolitan of Caesarea, who held

his see from 362 to 370, so that the episcopate of this spiritual champion could not have begun before 363, if the chronicler is correct. A Council was held at Ashtishat about the year 365, founding charitable institutions, giving impetus to the religious life and regulating such matters as marriage and fasting, but the succeeding king, Pap (369–374), poisoned the holy prelate and declared Armenia to be independent of Caesarea. For a time schism in the country produced two conflicting parties, but the son of Nerses, St. Sahak I (Isaac, 387–439), contrived to heal the internal breach, although cementing the separation from Caesarea.

St. Basil (*ob.* 379) protested against this disloyalty towards his exarchate, but there seems to be no hint that Caesarea refused communion with her disobedient daughter on this account. The very nature of the complaint shows that independence was a new claim, although the one-time schismatic Patriarch of Constantinople, Ormanian, in his zeal to prove that the Armenian Church has never owed anything to any outside source, has preposterously declared that these Basilian letters related only to the bishoprics of Nicopolis and Satala, situated within the limits of the jurisdiction of Pontus !

During the pontificate (patriarchate) of Sahak, the last of the direct line of St. Gregory and himself surnamed the ' Illuminator of Knowledge,' reforms and developments proceeded apace, together with the foundation of national literature and the translation of the Bible, both of which were now made possible by the invention of the Armenian alphabet, for up to this time all culture had been mainly Greek with an admixture of Syriac. In all these improvements a leading part was taken by St. Mesrob (with his disciples Ezkik of Kolb—author of the ' Refutation of the Sects '—and Koroun), to whom the alphabet, the translation of the New Testament, and the revision of the liturgy are mainly due. About the year 400 the national alphabet of thirty-six letters was invented from the Greek, but the two final letters (*ô* and *f*) were only added at the beginning of the thirteenth century. It has been said that the alphabet was originally imposed by the Persians in order to estrange the Armenians from the Greeks and Syrians ; but, although succeeding in this endeavour, a

national consciousness was developed that would have been well-nigh impossible without a written tongue. Printing, also, was used for this language, less than a century after its invention—Venice, 1512; although it was due to eighteenth century ecclesiastics—Mekhitarist Fathers and two dissident Patriarchs of Constantinople (John Colot, *ob.* 1741; James Naslian, 1749)—that Armenian was saved from degenerating into a liturgical language, unintelligible to the nation at large (*cf.* Coptic, Ethiopic).

The Armenian Bible first appeared in 410, but the present order of canonical books was fixed by the 24th Canon of the Synod of Bardav (Partav), held in the year 767, under the Catholicos Sion. As St. Mesrob was given a Greek Bible by Atticus, Patriarch of Constantinople, to aid him in his work of translation, many scholars maintain that the Armenian version is the most accurate rendering of the Septuagint extant. The last twelve verses of St. Mark's Gospel do not seem to have been read publicly before the tenth century and in some manuscripts they are not inserted before the thirteenth (and then not as an integral part of the original text); while the Deutero-Canonical books are never read as Church lections. Sergius the Graceful, a twelfth-century Doctor of the Church, in a preface to his 'Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Peter,' divides the Scriptures into three divisions: (α) those undoubtedly authentic; (β) those which the old Fathers considered doubtful; and (γ) those which are spurious.

The liturgy, up to this time performed in Greek or Syriac (or Armenian in one or other of these characters), was translated, the rite of Caesarea (St. Basil) being augmented and embellished by St. Sahak and St. Mesrob (*ob.* 439 or 440). The 'Mashdotz' or Armenian ritual was so called from the fact that this was a surname given to its reputed compiler, St. Mesrob, to whom also are ascribed some of those liturgical hymns ('sharakan') which are the glory of the Armenian rite (*cf.* Syriac hymns of St. Ephrem).

Of early writers, a fourth-century priest, Faustus of Byzantium (*c.* 395–416), wrote a history of the Church in Greek; an unknown author of the following century—Agathangelos (*c.* 452–456)—produced legendary accounts of Tiridates

and St. Gregory; while soon after 458 Moses of Khoren composed his famous but none too reliable 'History of Armenia,' a work added to by anonymous contributors of the seventh and eighth centuries. The fifth century, however, is very momentous in tracing the course of religious development in the country, since Armenia definitely repudiated (491) the Council of Chalcedon, thereby incurring the stigma of the Monophysite heresy and separating itself from the Catholic Church. Many have been the attempts to heal the schism, some for a time more or less successful, but, although a large number of Armenians have remained faithful to Rome since the days of the Crusades or have renounced their errors in the succeeding centuries, it still remains true that the majority of the nation are in material heresy, cut off not only from the Apostolic See but also from the Orthodox Eastern or Byzantine Church. Until the unfortunate happenings after the fourth General Council (451), Armenia had strenuously upheld the ancient faith, for Gnosticism had made but little impression on the country. Aristakes, the younger son of the Illuminator (St. Gregory), had been present at the Council of Nicaea (325), and all attempts at impregnating the Church with Nestorian ideas had been unsuccessful. Alone among the rites of Christendom Armenia retains the anathema attached to the Nicene Creed, with the Hymn of Praise, said to have been originally composed by St. Gregory on the reception of the decrees (325): 'As for us, we glorify Him who was before all ages, adoring the Holy Trinity and the only Divinity of the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost, now, and throughout all ages.' A commemoration of this Council is kept annually on September 7; while Constantinople (381) and Ephesus (431) are remembered on February 16 and August 10 respectively, since St. Nerses the Great is reputed to have been present at the former and St. Isaac the Great to have taken part in the latter by correspondence. A national Synod (Ashtishat) was held in 435 to consider the teachings of Nestorius and two priests were sent as delegates to Constantinople in order that the patriarch Proclus might give them some enlightenment, Ashtishat (St. Sahak) having condemned Theodore of Mopsuestia, under

whose writings Nestorius was now sheltering. The dogmatic letter taken to Constantinople on this occasion formed the grounds for the rejection of the Three Chapters by the General Council of 553 (II Constantinople). Persia, as we shall see in considering the Chaldean rite, was seriously tainted with Nestorianism, which as the hereditary foe of Armenia definitely precluded any acceptance of the heresy, for the last half of the fifth century saw a life-and-death struggle between the two countries. In 449 Persia (Yezdeguert II, 439–451), still predominantly pagan, declared Zoroastrianism (Mazdeism) to be the religion of her subject peoples—although this decision may perhaps have been influenced by the ill-advised action of Bishop Abda, who in a fanatical outburst burnt a sanctuary of Mazdeism (418); but in the following year a meeting of bishops at Ashtishat proclaimed, on behalf of their country, allegiance to Christ. This clash of loyalties was fought out on May 26, 451, the very year of the Council of Chalcedon, when the Christian army, led by St. Vardan (Mamiconien), was utterly routed at Avarair, a disaster still annually remembered by Armenians on February 11, for, although a defeat, the heroic resistance saved Armenian Christianity. The Catholicos Hovhannes (John) Mandakouni (478–490) obtained toleration for his flock and transferred the primatial see to Dvin, but the whole country was definitely hostile to the decrees of Chalcedon, formally repudiating the canons of the Council in 491.

Various causes contributed to this decision, chief among which must be reckoned the fact that Armenia had been deserted by the Emperor Marcian (450–451), a staunch Chalcedonian, just at the most critical time of her contest with Persia; while, later in the century, a further bid for imperial support, when the Emperor Zeno (474–491) was on the throne, who was himself heterodox, fixed the Church with a Monophysite bias. From Syria, also, it was commonly reported that the Council of Chalcedon was a reversal of Ephesus and at the Synod of Edessa (482) it was definitely stated that the decrees *were* Nestorian in character, the Cyrillan formula, ' One Nature of the Word Incarnate,' being pressed by the Armenians into an agreement with their teaching.

Finally, the difficulty of translating Greek theological terms accurately was very great (*e.g.* translation of St. Leo's letter): for '*φύσις*' and '*ὑπόστασις*' there was only 'pruthiun' ('bnouthiun'), and but one word existed for 'begetting' and 'bringing forth,' so that it was hard to make a distinction between 'begotten of the Father' and 'born of the Virgin.' The Creed professed at ordination maintains that Our Lord is 'one united nature' ('Miavorial mi bnouthiun') after union, but Armenian Monophysitism is Julian (Julian of Halicarnassus), holding that Christ's Body is incorruptible, rather than Severian (Copts and Jacobites), although the Synod of Manazkert (726) attempted to eliminate exaggerations on both sides.

Thus circumstances proved too strong for the Armenians and they were forced from political and other motives into a position of schism and material heresy. How far formal Monophysitism (*cf.* Syrian rite) prevails is a very disputed point, for episcopal candidates are required to anathematize Eutychius by name; the 'Authorized Catechism of Christian Instruction, according to the Doctrine of the Holy Apostolic Church of Armenia,' is orthodox in its statements concerning the Person of Christ; and Félix Nève, a professor at Louvain, has written: 'The heresy of the Monophysites never prevailed, in fact, in the theology of the Armenians, and has no defender among their well-instructed authors.' Further, John Otznetzi ('the Philosopher'), a patriarch in the eighth century, was examined by Rome and certified orthodox; St. Nerses Glaietzi (twelfth century) declared: 'To say that in Jesus Christ are two natures, by reason of the reunion of the two in a single Person, is not contrary to the Truth, provided always the Unity be not divided into two'; while St. Nerses Lampronatzi (twelfth century), with even greater emphasis, asserted: 'To declare that Jesus Christ is God and Man, and to say that He is of two Natures is to state the same thing.'

On the other hand, the fateful clause in the Trisagion, 'Who was crucified for us,' was inserted (ordered in Council of Dvin, 535); and the Council of Vagharshapat, held in 491 under the Catholicos Papken (490–515), definitely repudiated the Chalcedonian decrees, although at this time all

the churches of the Empire had not wholeheartedly accepted them—a condemnation which the second Council of Dvin (554), under Nerses II of Bagrevand (548–557), affirmed. The first Council in the ecclesiastical capital (506), attended by Georgian and Caspio-Albanian representatives, although it cursed Eutyches, had by inference accused Chalcedon of Nestorian leanings. Since the year of definite schism (491) different political vicissitudes—*e.g.* Persian domination, 428–633 ; Greek, 633–693 ; Saracen Caliphs, 693–862—have from time to time brought Catholicoi into communion with the Byzantines (Esdras, 630–641 ; Nerses III, 641–661) or Latins, but the union has seldom lasted beyond their own lifetime. The Synod of Karin (Theodosiopolis), held in 633 (through Heraclius), temporarily joined the Church to Constantinople on a Monothelite basis (*cf.* Maronite rite). Many texts, however, have been quoted by Armenian writers in support of the claims of Rome, and Hovhannes (John) I (478–490) refers ' those who have made shipwreck of the faith ' to ' the door-keeper and key-bearer of heaven, Peter.'

Only the Catholics insert the ' Filioque,' but some hymns seem to imply it and in any case there has been no official denial. The Blessed Sacrament is defined as Transubstantiation with an Armenian equivalent for μετουσίωσις, and in Marian beliefs Our Lady is honoured as in the Catholic Church, her feasts ranking with those of her divine Son. ' The All Holy Mother of God, the Ever-Virgin Mary ' is styled in the liturgy for December 9 as ' Immaculate,' ' very pure and without stain ' and ' without corruption ' ; but since 1854 perverseness has often led the Gregorian Armenians to deny the Immaculate Conception (*cf.* Byzantines)—also Purgatory, although the dead are prayed for, with five days in the year for their commemoration. The Union of the Churches is invoked no fewer than nine times in the liturgy ; while the hymnology, even of the schismatics, contains chants, which sing of the prerogatives of St. Peter and the foundation of the Church of God upon him.

In the matter of Creeds, the so-called Nicene, in a variant form, is accepted, together with one ascribed to St. Athanasius (not Latin Creed), but, in addition to these and the formula

recited at Ordinations, there are also personal Confessions of Faith which are held in high esteem : St. Gregory of Narek (*c.* 951) ; three of Nerses V (*c.* 1170) ; St. Nerses of Lampronatzi in the Council of Tarsus (1177). The famous encyclical (Indan-rakan) of Nerses IV (Schinorhali) is still, at any rate with the dissidents, used as an authority in ecclesiastical matters (1166).

Intense national feeling has maintained the schism, but the statement of the apostate Ormanian, to the effect that the purity of a Church is seen by the paucity of the General Councils received (Armenia only accepting three), is too foolish to merit refutation ! As a matter of fact Armenian bishops appear to have been present at II Constantinople (553), III Constantinople (680) and II Nicaea (787), although they took no official part in the deliberations.

Of the two daughter Churches, Iberia (Georgia) and Caspian Albania, the former threw in her lot with Byzantium and was excommunicated by her Monophysite mother at the Synod of Dvin in 609 (Catholicos Abraham, 607–615) ; while the see of the latter was abolished at the beginning of the nineteenth century through the fusion of the Albanian (Aghouanian) nationality with the Armenian. An attempt on the part of Albania to become Orthodox was frustrated by the Catholicos Elias (703–717), who accused the instigators of treason to the Caliph Abdul Melek !

The title 'Patriarch of All the Armenians' ('Armenain Haiotz') makes it possible to fix the primatial seat anywhere, so that until the fifteenth century we find no one place as the ecclesiastical capital, but the centre of Church life varied with the residence of kings and princes, rival rulers necessitating rival Catholicoi or patriarchs, as they have styled themselves since the breach with Caesarea. Dvin (Tovin), after Ashtishat and Vagharshapat (*c.* 402–462), became the chief see of the kingdom, retaining the primacy until early in the tenth century (931), when it was successively moved to Aghthamar, an island in Lake Van (931–959), Arkina (959–992), Ani (992–1072) and Zamintia near Amasia (1065–1105). The advent of the Crusaders and their relations with the Armenians have not only brought into being a Uniate group, but they have so profoundly affected the rite and ceremonial

of the schismatics that more detail is required in dealing with the subject.

The history of Armenia is one long martyrology; the Romans (Greeks) and Persians were followed in 639 by the Arabs, so that Mohammedan domination has lasted for many centuries, and it may be truly said that the faults of the people—St. Gregory Nazianzen ('Oratio,' XLIII. 17) wrote, 'I do not find the Armenians a noble race; they are very sly and vicious'—have been expiated in the blood of the martyrs. Seljuk Turks poured over the country in the eleventh century and Mongols in the thirteenth; Ani Cathedral was desecrated by Islam (1071); the Bagratid dynasty of semi-independent kings (856–1071) came to an end in the same year; and the original home of the nation—Greater Armenia—has never again served as a political unit. The cathedral of Ani had been built by Queen Contramidé, consort of King Gaghik (992), in the Armeno-Byzantine style, but in the capture of the city by the Islamic hosts the Greek Orthodox saw only the manifestation of the will of Christ and His Mother in the discomfiture of the heresy-soiled Armenians. The city itself, now a heap of ruins, was finally abandoned in 1319, when the one-time masters of the land emigrated or formed a population of slaves amidst Turks, Tartars, and Kurds. With the advent of the savage Turk the Armenian diaspora began, some exiles, like the Jews, settled in different cities in a recognized quarter, while others fled West to Cappadocia, Cilicia and the Taurus Mountains, founding a new Armenia (Cilician Armenia). Here an independent principality (1085) was formed, developing a century later into a kingdom subject to the Holy See and Germany, with its capital at Sis, an arrangement agreed upon as a reward for the support which the Armenians had given to the Crusaders, for it may not be too much to say that the eight months' siege of Antioch by Godfrey de Bouillon (1098) was made possible by the additional recruits and supplies furnished by this gallant little nation.

The Church was reunited to Rome and the state was Latinized when the first king, Leo (Levon) II, the Great (1185–1219), received his crown, a present from Pope Celestine III (1191–1198), from the hands of Cardinal Conrad von

Wittelsbach, Archbishop of Mainz, in the church of the Holy Wisdom at Tarsus on the feast of the Epiphany (Nativity), 1199, the Armenian Catholicos performing the actual anointing.

The first connection of the country with the Apostolic See after the schism seems to have been in the seventh century, but no result followed. Now, however, the whole of the kingdom (Lesser Armenia) was reconciled, although such union in no way affected the Armenians living in other districts. The Council of Hromcla (1179), which met to discuss the differences of the Greeks, had been definitely anti-Monophysite in its tone (*cf.* Discourse of Nerses of Lampronatzi, Archbishop of Tarsus), the Catholicos and his brother were present at the Latin Council of Antioch (1141), the former also occupying a place of honour in the Councils held at Jerusalem in 1136 and 1143, but after the Coronation (1199) a formal return to unity was proclaimed. In the Council of Sis, held in 1251 at the instigation of Pope Innocent IV (1243–1254), belief in the ' Filioque ' was asserted ; while in 1307 Monophysitism was definitely repudiated. Even after the union, however, strange little incidents of disloyalty sometimes arose, as, for example, when James I refused to send delegates to the Council of Lyon (1274), although the accession of Boniface VIII (1296–1303) to the pontifical throne was marked by the reception of greetings of filial attachment, sent by the Catholicos Gregory VII.

The twelfth century was spent in a series of negotiations between Rome and Cilician Armenia concerning the terms of the union on such matters as rite and ceremonial. Eugenius III (1145–1153) called upon the Catholicos Gregory III to comply with the practices of the Roman Church, but, although such a command necessitated much Latinizing, the Armenian rite was still retained. Since the alterations, made during this period, have for the most part equally affected the schismatics, the details will be found in the description of the rite. In 1294 the Catholicos established his throne at Sis, fifteen occupants of the throne (1294–1441) maintaining communion with the Apostolic See, despite the setting up of a rival Monophysite hierarchy, first at Aghthamar and then at Etchmiadzin (' Utch Kilise,' Turkish for ' three churches ').

Thus three rival successions appeared, Sis alone legitimate, but Etchmiadzin gained the day (1441) and secured the allegiance of the majority of the Church, after obtaining possession (1438) of the right arm of St. Gregory the Illuminator (' holy Atch '), a much valued relic which is laid upon the heads of those to be ordained by way of an additional imposition of hands. To heal the schism amicably, both Sis and Aghthamar were allowed to retain in perpetuity the titles of Patriarch and Catholicos, although the former was only reconciled (to the main body of schismatics) in 1651 and the latter in 1409. Now, through the recent massacres and dispersions, the see of Aghthamar has disappeared, with very little probability of its revival. Latin propaganda was zealously carried on in Cilicia by both Franciscans and Dominicans ; while the interesting monastic experiment of an Armenian Brotherhood (' Unitor ') was attempted under the aegis of the Order of Preachers, lasting from the early years of the fourteenth century to the end of the eighteenth. Instigated —through the initiative of Pope John XXII (1316–1334)—by the Bolognese Bartholomew the Small, Archbishop of Maragha (1318–1321)—later Bishop of Nachidjewan, dying *c.* 1333—the plan attracted John of Kerni (Qerna), abbot (' aradchenord ') of Qerna, so that, having founded the Order of St. Gregory the Illuminator (1330), he later adopted the scheme of amalgamating the Oriental and the Dominican rules of life. These United Friars were approved by Innocent VI (1352–1362) in 1356. Fourteen years earlier (1342) Pope Benedict XII (1334–1342) forced the Armenians in Council—King Leo, Catholicos Mekhitar (Consoler), six archbishops, fifteen diocesan bishops, four titular bishops (' Episcopi nullatenses '), four bishops from the court of the Catholicos, and ten abbots—to renounce certain errors (53) of which they were said to be guilty, even to the point of defining the Assumption of Our Lady, a dogma still undefined by Rome ; while Clement VI (1342–1352), in a letter (' Super quibusdam ') addressed to the Catholicos on September 29, 1351, asks most pertinently concerning his beliefs on the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff. In the heyday of the movement nearly fifty houses existed with about 20,000 souls, but a continued policy of Latinizing

proved its undoing—with the Dominican liturgy translated into Armenian, all theology taught in a Western dress and even the validity of non-Roman Ordinations called in question—so that with increasing opposition from their own countrymen and steadily decreasing numbers the United Friars were finally merged into the Western Order at the end of the eighteenth century. In addition to those already mentioned Catholic synods were held at Sis in 1307 and Adana in 1313, at the former of which the Creed drawn up by Gregory VIII, late Catholicos, was read and nine Canons were enacted therefrom.

The old Crusading kingdom came to an end in 1375 by the invasion of the Mamelukes of Egypt, the last king, Leo V (1374–1393), dying an exile in Paris. With the destruction of an independent Armenia no further attempt was made to organize the Catholics of the country until the eighteenth century, although a faithful remnant always existed and the Armenians of the Crimea were united to the Holy See after the Council of Florence (1439), under Genoese influence. The invitation sent to the Catholicos for the Synod of Basle (1433) was declined, but four Vardapets attended Florence and a Decree of Union, 'Exultate Deo' ('Decretum pro Armenis'), was formally issued by Pope Eugenius IV (1431–1447), with the Nicene Creed, the definition of Chalcedon, the letter of Leo I and a dissertation on the matter and form of the Sacraments as its basis. Quarrels, however, undid the work of the delegation and the majority of the country returned to schism. The union appears to have been accepted by the Armenian diaspora in the West and in Persia, but not in either India or China. Several of the patriarchs, both of Etchmiadzin and Sis, seem to have been Catholics, but exact statistics are well-nigh impossible to ascertain.

In addition to the three primacies already mentioned, two Armenian patriarchates were created in opposition to the Mother Church, both of which were finally approved by Etchmiadzin—that of Jerusalem, born in 1311 from the refusal of the monks of the monastery of St. James to accept the decrees of the Council of Sis (1307), and that of Constantinople (arch-

bishopric from 1307), formed at the instigation of the Sultan in 1461 to provide a civil head for the Monophysites of his empire. From the middle of the eighteenth century the 'Apostolic See of the Armenians in Jerusalem' has held the right to consecrate the holy chrism, but faculties for ordaining, although once conceded, have been withdrawn. The cathedral stands on the traditional site of the house of St. James, the first bishop, where since the fifth century the Armenians have always worshipped, confirmed in their rights by the conqueror Omar (637) and protected through the ages by the Brotherhood of St. James. Services in this rite are also said in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Tomb of Our Lady, the Nativity basilica at Bethlehem, and elsewhere. A Latinized Uniate church (Our Lady of the Spasm), served by a patriarchal vicar, now stands on the traditional site of the meeting between Our Lord and His Mother on the Via Dolorosa. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a Latin mission attempted to reconcile the Armenians of Constantinople to the Holy See, at least one of the patriarchs (Thomas of Aleppo) submitting to the claims of Rome, but the abduction of a patriarch (Avedik of Tokat) and his subsequent condemnation in France at the hands of the Inquisition (1711), through the influence of Count Ferriol, the Minister of Louis XIV at Stamboul (1689–1709), did not commend the Uniate cause to the schismatics. In spite, however, of setbacks the Catholic group increased in numbers and influence, especially at Mardin and Aleppo, where the bishops renounced Monophysitism. In 1701 the Vardapet Mekhitar ('Comforter') Manuk (born at Sebaste 1676; died April 27, 1749) founded a Catholic educational establishment at Modor in the Morea under the protection of the Venetian Republic, transplanting it sixteen years later (1717) to San Lazzaro, an island near Venice. This religious foundation, basing its rule on the Benedictine, has, since 1773, an independent Congregation, which first settled in Trieste and later (1811) in Vienna; while in both houses a titular archbishop rules as abbot-general.

The Antonine monks of Mount Lebanon, founded early in the eighteenth century, although at one time a flourishing

Catholic community, have, since the troublous times which followed the publication of the Bull ' Reversurus ' (1867), returned to schism. In 1740 the Armenian Uniates obtained a hierarchy through the person of the Catholicos of Cilicia (Abraham Peter I), officially confirmed by Benedict XIV in 1742, and ruling, not only the district where he received his title, but also Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Egypt. His ordinary place of residence, at any rate from 1750, was the Convent of St. Mary of Zmar (Bzommar) in the Lebanon. The persistent proselytizing of the Monophysite Armenians by the Latins, although the natural outcome of Catholic belief, could hardly do otherwise than infuriate the schismatic authorities, so that we find nearly a century of petty persecution, meted out to the Uniates, at the instigation of the Patriarch of Constantinople, the civil head of the whole Armenian nation. This, at the time of the Hellenic war of independence, when the Catholics were denounced to the Turks as traitors by their own countrymen, reached such a pitch of intolerance that the French Ambassador, Comte de Guilleminot, obtained emancipation from the Porte for his Armenian co-religionists (1830) and a Catholic civil chief (' Nazir ') was appointed. In 1831 a priest with the title of patriarch assumed control with an archbishop-primate as the spiritual head, but the dual power brought conflict, Rome nominating the first three archbishops, despite the clamour of laymen, who claimed the right to impose on the Pope the actual choice between the three candidates presented by them.

The power of the laity has always been very great among the Armenians, and we find schismatic priests who have not even the keys of their own churches; while in many patriarchal elections the bishops have only had the final scrutiny !

Mgr. Hassoun in 1846 combined the civil with the religious office, giving up the former in 1848, but retaking it in 1860, a union which proved very beneficial; while cohesion was still further advanced by the nomination of the patriarch to the Catholicate of Cilicia (Synod of Bzommar, 1867), thus uniting the two ecclesiastical lines. The publication by Pope Pius IX of the Bull ' Reversurus ' in 1867, fixing the authority of Oriental prelates and defining the powers of the laity in

Church matters, once again brought conflict, so that for ten years (1869–1879) a group of Armenian Catholics remained in opposition to the decisions of Rome, several bishops, the Antonine monks (with one exception) and numbers of the faithful taking the fatal step of returning to Monophysitism. Mgr. Hassoun, banished from Constantinople in 1871, with a rival (Kupelian) elected in his stead, resigned in 1880 and died in Rome as a cardinal (1884).

A successor was found in Mgr. Azarian (1884–1899), who, although he retrieved the ecclesiastical goods stolen by the rebels and condemned the constitution that only Turks can definitely approve a measure (1890), yet accepted the National Law of 1888, giving laymen considerable influence in the Church. Neither the Young Turk revolution (1908) nor the repeated massacres and persecutions have seemed to quell the perpetual intestinal squabbles, for although the Great War has achieved something in this respect, the Catholics at Constantinople in June 1927 were again divided into two camps, Angora encouraging and fostering the disputes from a belief in the adage ' Divide et impera.' The decisions confirmed by Rome in 1928 still further angered the lay element, with the result that several charitable institutions were seized by the rebels. On February 28, 1929, however, an accord was signed by the disputants, which safeguarded the liberty of spiritual authority, although several points still remained obscure. By this new agreement the civil and religious powers, united for a century, were separated, the ' President of civil affairs and Curator-General of the Turkish Armenian Catholics ' ruling over temporal concerns. Mgr. Paul XIII Terzian, the present patriarch, was unanimously elected in 1910, despite his accession being bitterly opposed by the laity on the grounds of his desire to institute reforms, but the Armenian Council held at Rome in 1911, besides legislating in liturgical matters, was able to curb this lay interference. It has been already pointed out that the history of Armenia is one long martyrology—the martyr priest, Cosma da Carboniano (Gomidas Keumurgian, 1658–1707—received into the Church in 1694), was beatified on June 23, 1929, and the Seminary of St. Joseph at Beirut has educated (1925)

no fewer than seven priests who have laid down their lives for Christ—for Turkish domination necessarily brings in its train murder, rapine and theft. In the fourteenth century numbers of Armenians emigrated to the banks of the Krim and the Moldau, their descendants continuing their journey to Transylvania in the first half of the seventeenth century, where they founded (*c.* 1700) Armenierstadt (Szamos-Ujvar, Gherla, Armenopolis). Others fled to Poland (Galicia), where they seem to have been resident as early as the eleventh century.

There can be little doubt that the refugees left their land as schismatics, but living in a wholly Latin atmosphere with a constant pressure from the hierarchy of their adopted countries these diaspora Armenians were finally reconciled to the Holy See. In 1911 Armenierstadt (Gherla) was reputed to have 1600 souls belonging to this rite, subject to a Latin bishop, for the whole Transylvanian settlement (four groups) did not justify propaganda, in spite of urgent solicitations, further to multiply jurisdictions in this area. Any Armenian bishop, also, would find a very difficult task before him in administering the diocese, for 'Uniatism' has proceeded to such an extent that not only are the churches Latin in appearance with Latin vestments, but the liturgy is that of the 1728 missal of the Armenian province of the Order of Preachers—the Dominican Use translated into old Armenian—although this province of the Order has been extinct for generations and has never existed in Transylvania! By the Concordat between the Holy See and Rumania (May 10, 1927, and July 7, 1929) the spiritual head of the Armenians in the kingdom is authorized to fix his seat at Gherla. The refugees in Poland seem to have rejected union until the seventeenth century, for the first attempts at healing the breach appear to date from 1662, when the Patriarch of Etchmiadzin (Catholic), Melkisadek, was on a visit to Lwow and the bishop of that city suddenly died. In order to succeed him, an ambitious young monk, Nikol Tharossowich, promised to become a Catholic and to give the primate a large sum of money. Melkisadek weakly consecrated Nikol, with the result that opposition and difficulties dogged the footsteps of the new bishop for the remainder

of his career. His own flock repudiated his ministry and the Vardapet Gregory, sent by the Mother Church, excommunicated him; while the doors of his own churches were shut in his face. In order to obtain the support of the ruling powers, Nikol formally declared his adhesion to Rome in the presence of the Latin Archbishop, whereupon a representative of the Burgomaster and a clerical delegate had the doors of the Armenian Cathedral forced open. The king, Ladislas IV, attempted to make peace, but, with the bishop unwilling to conciliate his people and his own consciousness of the unspiritual character of the prelate, Ladislas was poised on the horns of a dilemma, since it was impossible for a Catholic ruler to ally himself with the schismatic party. Nikol imprisoned several of his clergy, charging exorbitant fees for burial and inflicting heavy fines on his opponents. The Armenians, powerless to bring about a more satisfactory state of affairs, appealed in their turn to Rome, at first without declaring their religious position, but officially acknowledging the Pope in 1654. Tharossowich went in person to plead his cause before the Holy Father, but an Armenian Dominican, Boghos, had already given the case for the opposition, with the result that the discredited bishop returned to his see and treated with the schismatic patriarch. The removal of the Monophysite anathema was obtained in exchange for a secret rupture with Rome and a promise to sing the liturgy after the manner of the dissidents and to allow a non-uniate successor. The Nuncio, Pignatelli, proposed (1662), with the apparent approval of the bishop, that Theatines should assist in the formation of an educated Armenian Catholic clergy. Fr. Galanus became superior of the new venture, which, despite passive opposition, succeeded so well that the recalcitrant bishop was compelled to mingle water with the wine at Mass and to allow his clergy to pray for the Pope; while the students improved educationally, learning their own literature in addition to theology. On the death of Fr. Galanus the bishop attempted to close the College, but Fr. Pidou not only held his ground but continued the work of reformation, correcting errors in the liturgy, abuses in the convents, and even trying to bring the prelate himself to a

better frame of mind by the threat of a disciplinary commission. Once more Nikol Tharossowich appealed to Rome in person (1668), where he was asked to nominate a coadjutor, but, since Fr. Pidou was also in the Eternal City, the schismatic Patriarch of Etchmiadzin, mindful of the former bargain, appointed one of his own communion, who, coming to Lwow, found a disaffected party only too willing to receive him. Union hung in the balance, but Fr. Pidou, still at Rome, championed the cause of his 'dear Armenians,' forbidding them under pain of anathema to turn Latin and insisting that the Theatine house should have recruits 'of high science and good conduct,' although when he reached Lwow (1673) the College had been destroyed by the Turks and it was necessary to carry on the work elsewhere. In Rome, however, Tharossowich had been prevailed upon to nominate a worthy coadjutor, Vardau Honnanian, but their views were so diverse that on reaching Poland the two bishops agreed to separate, Honnanian only returning to Lwow on the death of the turbulent prelate (1681). At last union was secure and the new Armenian primate achieved a great success in instructing his clergy, building churches, codifying the liturgy and organizing the female religious houses on the Benedictine model, although, to counterbalance these sterling gains, Latinisms found their way into the services and the people lost the use of their own language. The Archbishop of Lwow now rules the faithful of his rite, resident in Galicia and Bukowina, but formerly (until 1808) extending his jurisdiction over White Russia, Lithuania, Podolia and Volhynia. In 1910 there were reckoned to be ten Armenian parishes (2235 faithful) in this province, but their number is on the wane, since there is always a tendency for them to turn Latin. In that same year twenty-one priests followed the Oriental rite and seven the Roman, but even those who adhered to their national liturgy were, regardless of the wishes of the Holy See, most deplorably Latinized. The Cathedral of Lwow, built in the fourteenth century, is modelled upon that of Ani, the ecclesiastical metropolis of Armenia from 992 to 1072.

According to the agreement made in 1853 between Rome

and Austria the Archbishop of Lwow was appointed by the Emperor from a list of three candidates chosen by the Armenian clergy of the town, but since the Polish Concordat Rome nominates after consultation with the government of Warsaw.

For the Catholics of this rite living in Russia Pius IX established the Diocese of Artvin in 1850, but Tsarist intolerance abolished it, so that they were perforce subject to the Latin bishop of Tiraspol, 37,088 existing in the Empire in 1912, chiefly in Transcaucasia. The taking of this province by the Muscovites in 1829 caused much jubilation to the unfortunate Armenians, who hoped great things from their Christian overlords. Their expectations, however, were soon dashed to the ground, for, although they were no longer massacred, raped and robbed, and in spite of the fact that the country prospered materially, the heavy hand of the Erastian Russian Church, aided by the state, attempted to take away all real independence from the national Church and completely to Russianize the conquered. Excuses of Monophysitism could not be advanced, as Orthodox Georgia suffered a similar fate, but, since the uniting factor amongst Orientals is their religion, to interfere in this sphere is to arouse their undying hatred. An apostolic administrator for the Armenian Catholics in Russia has resided at Tiflis since 1921.

In the part of the country wrested from Islam the schismatics, who form the majority of the people, have their centre of unity—Etchmiadzin—where the head of their Church, the Catholicos (' Katoghikos ') or ' His Majesty ' has his seat, from whom, when sitting in synod, there is no appeal. This dissident and materially Monophysite body is often differentiated by the title ' Gregorian,' after the Apostle St. Gregory the Illuminator, but, although the title is used by Catholics for the sake of clarity, it must be understood that the first Primate was in communion with the Holy See and that there was no question of schism for at least half a century after his death.

In Europe Catholic Armenians have churches at Leghorn (St. Gregory the Illuminator) and Rome (St. Biagio or Blaise and St. Nicholas of Tolentino), with a college—Collegio

Armeno—at the latter, decreed by Gregory XIII (1572-1585) in 1584 by his Bull 'Romana Ecclesia,' but initiated only in 1885 (Leo XIII), the residence of a titular ordaining bishop. Other ecclesiastical students receive their education at Bzommar in the Lebanon, St. Louis in Constantinople, Beirut and Lwow. After the Great War the crypt of the 'Missions étrangères' at Paris was given to the Catholics of this rite, but in January 1930 a building near the Panthéon, formerly a Protestant chapel, and afterwards a cinema, was blessed by Mgr. Bahaban, Bishop of Angora. Of late years the Eternal City has also been the residence of the 'Patriarch of the Catholic Armenians and Catholicos of Cilicia,' leaving a titular archbishop at Constantinople as locum tenens, but as a result of the Council held at Rome in 1928 the seat of the patriarchate has now been transferred to Bzommar near Beirut ('Commissum Nobis,' October 15, 1928), with an archiepiscopal see functioning at Constantinople ('Praedecessor Noster,' October 15, 1928). In 1930 a coadjutor bishop was consecrated in Rome for Constantinople (Mgr. Vahan Ktchourian), the first consecration in this rite since 1911, when nine priests were raised to the episcopate. Before the Great War (1914–1918) there were two Catholic archdioceses, thirteen dioceses and six patriarchal vicariates (Baghdad, Beirut, Deir-el-Zor, Ispahan, Jerusalem and Bzommar), whereas now there are only thirteen bishops as against twenty-five, and although three (out of sixteen) dioceses still nominally exist no episcopal see functions, since the occupants who have remained unmassacred are in exile. The original sees, now, alas, ancient history, included two archbishoprics —Sebaste (Sivas) with Tokat and Aleppo—and twelve bishoprics—Adana, Amida (Diarbekir), Ancyra (Angora), Caesarea of Pontus, Erzeroum, Karpouth, Marasc, Mardin, Melitene (Malatia), Musc, Broussa (Prousa) and Trebizond. Some realization of the present condition of affairs may be gauged from a census of the pre-war and post-war populations of these dioceses: Adana in 1914 had 200,000 Catholics, in 1928 barely 50; Ancyra 50,000, now 1000; Artvin 50,000, now none; Broussa fell from 50,000 to 200; Caesarea 50,000 to 4200; Constantinople 200,000 to 70,000; Diarbekir 100,000

to 2355; Erzeroum 350,000 to none; Karpouth 250,000 to 3130; Melitene 75,000 to 1730; Marasc 50,000 to none; Mardin 25,000 to 1000; Musc 350,000 to none; Sebaste 250,000 to 7500; and Trebizond 100,000 to 4000. Now, by a rearrangement, the Bishop of Mardin will reside at Baghdad; while the see of Ispahan has been re-established for the Armenians living in Persia and the East Indies; Aleppo for North Syria; and Alexandria for Egypt. Thus the Armenian hierarchy comprises a patriarch and five diocesan bishops, since Constantinople now ranks as an ordinary see. The Armenians in Greece have a Capuchin as their Ordinary, but it is improbable that Armenian bishops will be consecrated for their exiled brethren living in Catholic countries.

To return to the history of this unhappy people, the dream of the bloody tyrant Abdul Hamid had been to exterminate the whole Armenian race, so that we find organized massacres taking place in 1890, 1893, 1895 and 1896, while the Young Turks carried on the butchery in 1909. England and the Western Powers remonstrated but did nothing—they had protested and their consciences were clear! Thousands emigrated to the United States of America and Brazil, and in the former there are now computed to be 5000 Armenian Catholics, with a handful of priests, but no churches of their rite. Since the Great War France and other countries have received large numbers of refugees, but the Uniates, except in Paris, worship in Latin churches.

Before 1914 the whole population was computed to be from three and a half to four millions, whereas when the Treaty of Versailles was signed their numbers had shrunk by one-third, with over a million foully done to death by the 'gentlemanly' Turk, including seven Catholic bishops, over one hundred priests (126), and forty-seven nuns. Mgr. Andrew Tchelebian, Bishop of Diarbekir, was burnt to death, and Mgr. James Topusian, Bishop of Mouch, was buried alive. Twenty thousand Armenians had laid down their lives in the Allied cause, with the most solemn assurances that a national home would be conceded to their race at the conclusion of hostilities. To what purpose were the promises made? Great Britain, the United States and the rest had conferences,

fixed boundaries, gave assurances, but the wily Moslem was one too many for them and Great Britain forgot her honour and her soul, for having protested she let well alone, since Armenia was a country of wastes and ruins, without mines or oil wells ! The greater part of the country remains under Turkish misrule, although the Armenian question has ceased to trouble, for massacres and deportations have solved the problem (*c.* 6000 in Egypt and *c.* 1500 in Persia).

In part of the former Russian territory the Kars Conference (October–November 1921) has set up the three Soviet republics of Armenia, Georgia, and Ajerbayan, so that it may be possible in the first of these to provide a national home for this sore stricken race. If this is found to be a feasible proposition it seems a terrible indictment on Christendom that it has been left to the Bolsheviks to succour the Armenians with deeds as well as words.

Although there are now about 50,000 faithful in Bulgaria who adhere to this rite, only about a hundred families (eight centres) are in communion with Rome, and the Mekhitarist father who shepherded them from 1922 to 1927 went in that latter year to Athens, where the numbers would better justify his residence. Since 1927 a bishop, the former Archbishop of Nicomedia or Ismidt, has ruled over the Gregorians (twenty-five priests), but as the locum tenens at Constantinople opposed his election and the supreme Catholicos at Etchmiadzin has refused to answer any communications on the subject, the future succession will be a matter of considerable difficulty.

An accurate estimate of the total number of Catholics is impossible at present, although they have been reckoned at about 115,000. From May 6 to June 29, 1928, a Uniate Council was held in Rome—summoned by the Decree ' Armenorum gens '—with a view to examining the present condition of their Church, Cardinal Sincero, pro-Secretary of the Congregation for the Orientals, and nine Armenian bishops attending. At this Council it was resolved, in view of the intolerance of new Turkey, to move the patriarchate to Beirut (under French mandate), reducing Constantinople to the status of a simple archbishopric, without special jurisdiction.

The Catholic Patriarch (' Hayrapet,' ' Hayrik,' ' Little Father ') is nominated by the bishops in synod from a list of candidates proposed by the deputies of the nation, and dioceses are filled from the choice of the notables and clergy, although signs are not wanting that this lay participation will be abolished. A Catholicos-elect is always in episcopal orders, but the Gregorian Armenians have a further Ordination with the imposition of hands and the ' holy Atch.' The Oriental custom of celibacy for the higher orders seems to have been put into force in the reform of St. Sahak I (387–439), for until then the episcopate was hereditary, as indeed the priesthood continued in very many cases. With the dissident clergy ecclesiastical duties are taken in turn, and, where possible, the wives of clergy never attend the church in which their husbands are officiating. The married priests or ' derders ' are required to live apart from their wives for the eight days before they celebrate the liturgy, and, according to an ancient Canon, regulars attend the church morning and evening for a week before they officiate, and at the latter hour for a week afterwards. Over and above the Ecumenical custom of fasting Communion, the Gregorian clergy, where practicable, keep their fast before administering any of the Sacraments. Amongst Catholics the number of married priests is rapidly decreasing (since 1869), although examples are still to be found in country districts. Through the Latin influence of the Crusaders even the Gregorian Catechism teaches seven Orders of the ministry, but these are seldom found except in monasteries where, also, a permanent diaconate exists, for amongst the seculars the deacon (' sarkavak ') in the liturgy is generally in priest's (' kahana,' ' yeretz ') orders, as in the West. Catholics maintain that the subdiaconate (' kisarkavag,' subdeacon) is a major order, but many of the schismatics deny this. In addition to the above the Armenian Church has what seems to be a still further rank in the hierarchy, the vardapets, answering to doctors of Divinity, but receiving a form of Ordination, together with a staff of office (' gavazan '), and the right to preach. These doctors are divided into two classes, the minor (' masnavor ') and the major (' dzairakouyn '), the latter adopting the style of prelates (' aradchenord '), without the

essential Consecration. A further difference is found in the staff, on which the greater vardapets have two serpents instead of one.

With the troublous history of the Armenian (' Thorgomian ') nation, that any religious life should still exist seems little short of miraculous, although the Mekhitarist congregations with their headquarters in San Lazzaro and Vienna have enabled religion to persist amid the carnage and slavery of centuries.

Mention has already been made of the ' United Brethren ' under the aegis of the Dominicans, and of the Antonine monks who opposed Rome after 1867 (' Reversurus '). Of the latter only one religious lives in their monastery at Orta-Keuy on the Bosphorus, and the Congregation of Bzommar in the Lebanon numbers two houses with twenty inmates. The Venetian Mekhitarist Congregation with their Mother House at San Lazzaro, the residence of the abbot-general (archbishop), was reckoned in 1925 to possess thirty-nine priests, six clerks and seven lay brothers, distributed between seven houses in Italy, Turkey and elsewhere. Since 1915 four religious of this Congregation have been massacred. The Viennese branch, with another abbot-general at its head, consists of (in 1925) twenty-eight priests, four clerks, four lay brothers and one novice, with three houses (Austria-Hungary and Turkey).

A Congregation for women, ' Sisters of the Immaculate Conception,' was founded by Mgr. Hassoun in 1852 to provide educational establishments for girls. With a hundred professed sisters at the beginning of 1914 and a Mother House and novitiate at Pera, now only three schools and two orphanages (France and Italy) exist. A second Order under the same patronage was started at Angora by Mgr. Chichmanian in 1858, although, since 1915, it can function only outside the Turkish sphere of influence. During the war no fewer than forty-five nuns were either massacred or stolen.

Armenian Church architecture claims to be the prototype for the Mother Churches of Byzantium and Rome, as well as for the first mosque in Constantinople—the original model coming from St. Hripsimê at Etchmiadzin. The fundamental

style consists of a square with large piers at the four corners, which, with small assisting niches over the corners, supports a central dome (*cf.* ' veghar,' or priest's head-gear), with which are connected the semi-domes above the semicircular apses at the sides. Thus inspiration came to Anthemius of Tralles in the Church of the Holy Wisdom, to Bramante faced with the new Basilica of St. Peter's, and to Christodulus engaged on a mosque (1471–1473) for the conqueror Mohammed II. The national style—Armeno-Byzantine—seems to have been an amalgam of Byzantine, Persian and Arab, probably dating back to the eighth century, but, if one may judge by the numerous ruins still extant, especially prosperous in the country during the tenth and eleventh centuries (*e.g.* Ani). In cruciform churches of this period the arms of the cross are unequal, contrary to the prevailing Byzantine custom. The only existing ecclesiastical remains of an earlier period appear to be the fragments of the church at Zwarthnots, near Etchmiadzin, erected by the Catholicos Nerses III (641–661). The majority of dedications are to Our Lord, the Holy Cross, the Blessed Virgin, the Apostles, St. Gregory the Illuminator, St. John Baptist or other Saint of the first centuries of Christianity, and it is to them, rather than to those of more recent date, that devotion is given. Most churches of the Armenian rite have four divisions—a raised sanctuary (' srbaran '), often with seven steps, a choir (' bem '), a nave and a porch. Normally there is only one altar (' surb,' ' seghan,' ' khoran '), oblong as in the West and recessed into a screen across the apse, so that it may be said to stand *in front of the iconostasis*, a door on each side leading to a space behind, which serves as a sacristy (' sarkavaganoths,' ' avandatoun '). Several churches, in imitation of the Byzantines, have a genuine iconostasis in lieu of the two curtains (*e.g.* Etchmiadzin), an arrangement which some archaeologists, from a close study of ancient ruins, have thought primitive.

Many of the Catholic churches (*e.g.* Our Lady of the Spasm, Jerusalem) have more than one altar, but the Gregorian cathedral at Etchmiadzin has no fewer than four. A reminder of a poignant truth for the Armenians—' In the midst of life we are in death '—is found under the floor of one of the apses of

the patriarchal cathedral, where a cistern has been inserted, large enough to hold sufficient water for the inhabitants of the adjoining monastery, if and when they are besieged by foes (*cf.* Byzantine Church of Our Lady of the Hundred Gates (' Hekatonpyliani ') in the Aegean island of Paros). A credence table stands on each side of the sanctuary, that on the north serving as the table of the prothesis (' entsaiaran,' ' matouthsaran ') for the preparation of the oblations. The stone altar (' throne ') resembles a Latin one in peculiarly bad taste, with three, four and even five gradines, stacked with a miscellaneous collection of objects—a cross with figure in low relief, many candles, books with ornamental bindings, relics, fans peculiar to the rite, a chalice veil and sometimes the altar vessels, a tabernacle or even a mitre. Lamps burn before the Holy Table, and occasionally ostrich eggs are found suspended here, as well as elsewhere in the church (*e.g.* St. James at Jerusalem), to symbolize the Resurrection, an ornamental feature seen also amongst the Copts. The Blessed Sacrament is reserved either on the altar or in an aumbry in the north wall (Gregorian Church, Alexandria). Icons (' nkar ') are found in the screen, but their use is much more restrained than with the Byzantines, partly owing to their antipathy to the Greeks and partly because the cult of the cross has formed such a marked feature in the Armenian rite. In the Gregorian church at Alexandria a silver shrine is erected on the north side of the sanctuary during Eastertide, surrounded by flowers and lights, in which stands a figure of the risen Lord (*cf.* Paschal Candle). Invocation of Saints, however, and of Our Lady in particular, is a part of the common worship, even amongst the dissidents, and there is no service of the Church in which the Blessed Virgin is not invoked.

The episcopal throne is a permanent feature in Catholic churches, where it stands to the left of the choir entrance facing east, but except at Jerusalem with the empty throne of St. James, the schismatics erect a throne for each specific occasion. In many churches the sanctuary is raised on a large platform, so that approach to it is by a little staircase on each side of a low screen or balustrade (*e.g.* Gregorian churches at Alexandria, Paris, London). The singers, as

well as the faithful, are without seats—sitting, when necessary, cross-legged upon the floor—the former occupying a semicircle in the middle of the choir. Recently, however, modern comforts have ousted the primitive arrangements and we find seats provided in Constantinople and other big towns. In country districts, also, the men remove their shoes in the porch before entering the church (*cf.* Exod. iii. 5), and in some places screened galleries are provided for the women, with special doors. Mention has already been made of the two curtains (' waragoir '), which at set times are drawn across the sanctuary, in accordance with a tradition which ascribes them to a Canon (VIII) issued in 340 by Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, to Vertanes: 'The altar shall be furnished with a curtain ; a curtain shall likewise hang down before the sanctuary, within which only the ministers officiating may enter : the other ministers present shall take their station outside it, each according to his rank.' Dr. Brightman sees in these curtains a relic of those which once hung on rods between the columns of the ciborium of the altar. The first—large and double—hangs before the entrance of the sanctuary, completely concealing altar, celebrant and deacons during parts of the liturgy and the whole of Lent, except Palm Sunday, in order to typify the expulsion of our first parents from the Garden of Eden (*cf.* Lenten veil in Western Sicily) ; while the other, which separates priest from deacon (*e.g.* at celebrant's Communion) and hides the altar after the service, is less used.

Only two musical instruments are employed in the Armenian rite, although, from a dictionary published by Mekhitar in 1749, there appear to have been others at one time, and some Catholic churches now use an organ. The ecclesiastical melodies, sung according to eight modes, are reputed to date from the fifth century, when they were adapted from the Greek by St. Isaac and St. Mesrob. The ' Zinzgha ' (used in Turkey) consists of two bronze plates which are struck together, as cymbals in a military band, to give an inspiriting sound ; while the liturgical fans or ' keshotz ' (' chochoths ') are surrounded with small bells to be shaken at various points in the service. With bells prohibited by the Turks, instruments

of iron or wood (Byzantine, 'semantron') are sometimes found outside the churches (*e.g.* St. James, Jerusalem) to announce the hours of worship.

The old national reckoning of time was originally from Haik, the great-grandson of Noah (2492 B.C.), while the Church formerly counted from the Dionysian Era, but both these methods were abandoned in favour of the Julian Calendar, which in its turn has been superseded by the more practicable Gregorian mode. By the earliest computation the year began on August 11, but a Julian modification was made by King Ardashes II (*c.* 122 B.C.), although the days and months continued as before. In 551 Easter fell out of its turn, so that a correction was made by Moses II (second Council of Dvin), whereby the year 552 of the Vulgar Era became the first year of the new cycle. The names and order of the old style prevailed and Church events were dated according to it, although the titles of the Latin months were used. But for the recent adoption of the Gregorian Calendar the Armenian and Byzantine Easters would have fallen in different weeks in the year 2071, through the discrepancy between the epacts of the Alexandrine Calendar of Eas (Armenian) and the Byzantine Calendar of Irion. In December 1912 the four remaining Catholic dioceses abandoned the Julian Calendar, the others having led the way in 1892, a plan followed by the schismatics at Constantinople in 1925.

The year begins, as with the Chaldeans, on December 1, with a feast fixed, not by a day of the month but by a day of the week, after a certain Sunday dependent upon Easter. This Queen of Feasts vitally affects no fewer than twenty-four weeks of the Armenian year. There are five classes of days in the Calendar: (1) Easter; (2) those which fall on Sundays, *e.g.* Palm Sunday, Pentecost; (3) those kept on their own days —Christmas, Epiphany ('Hainuthiun'), the two feasts kept in primitive fashion on one day, January 6, by the Gregorians, Circumcision (January 13), Presentation (February 14), and Annunciation (April 7); (4) those transferred to the following Sunday—Transfiguration (seventh Sunday after Pentecost) or Feast of Roses ('vardavar'), Immaculate Conception (December 9), Nativity of Our Lady, Assumption, Holy Cross,

Feasts of Apostles ; and (5) those unobserved unless they can be conveniently moved to a Sunday. It appears that December 25 was duly kept by the Church of Armenia in the fifth century, but that, in opposition to the Byzantines, it was definitely prohibited by the Council of Dvin in 535. The Transfiguration or ' rose carrying ' is a Christian transference, effected by St. Gregory the Illuminator, from the great feast of the Queen Goddess Anahit (Anaitis), the glory and protectress of the nation. Catholics, however, keep many feasts of Our Lord and His Mother on their actual days, and several Latin commemorations have been interpolated for the Armenian diaspora in Poland and Transylvania ; while the whole group now observes the feast of Christ the King, and at Matins, for the ceremony called ' Antasdan,' four Gospels are read at each of the four cardinal points and a fifth from the ambo : Luke i. 26–33 ; Matt. ii. 1–12 ; Luke xix. 11–28 ; Mark xi. 1–10 ; John xix. 1–16.

Bearing in mind the national character of the Church and its isolation for so many centuries, the preponderance of Armenian saints has been inevitable, although the martyrology was confined to Greek and Syrian names before the rule of the patriarch Comitas I (615–628). In weeks of fasting no saint's day can be kept except on Saturday ; while in Eastertide (Easter to Pentecost) and the octaves of Dominical festivals even this day is ruled out, so that not more than 120 to 130 days are available in the whole year, thus accounting for the grouping of so many names together. The Gregorians have sixteen days of Obligation, but the Catholic Council of 1911 (Rome) has fixed the number at ten, although others are observed as such in particular provinces, and five (in the same rank) always fall on a Sunday. The cult of the Holy Cross, which holds so important a place in Armenian worship, accounts for the four feasts annually held in its honour—Exaltation (Sunday between September 11 and September 17, with Octave), Invention (seventh Sunday after Easter), Apparition at Jerusalem, 351 (fifth Sunday after Easter), and Apparition at Varah, near Van, 653 (third Sunday after Easter).

Devotion to the Mother of God (' Astouadzadzine ') has already been cited, the Assumption ranking as one of the

great days of the year, with the Purification and Annunciation from the fifth century, the Nativity from the thirteenth, the Presentation and Immaculate Conception from the seventeenth, and the Finding of the Veil of the Virgin (sixth Sunday after Pentecost) and the Finding of her Girdle (third Sunday after Assumption) from the end of the eighteenth. Saturday is observed as a festival in honour of God the Creator ; while further Jewish traits are to be found in the many Old Testament saints, *e.g.* King David on December 25 (Gregorian), Job the Righteous, Prophet Zechariah (whose relics were removed to Armenia). The feast of ' Thirteen Apostles ' includes St. Paul with the Twelve, and four months (January, April, June, September) in the year recall St. John Baptist. St. Blaise, a Bishop of Sebaste in the fourth century, honoured by Armenia on January 15, was at one time very popular in England, the Council of Oxford (1222) forbidding all servile work on his feast day (February 3). Four Mondays—after Easter, Transfiguration, Assumption, and Exaltation of the Holy Cross—have commemorations of the Faithful Departed, so that a Church which professes to deny Purgatory (schismatics) keeps no fewer than four All Souls' days in the year. A curious pagan survival of sacrificial slaughter (' madagh ') for the dead still exists in some out-of-the-way villages, despite episcopal protests, since we find a bull, sheep or fowl brought to the church in procession, where the Bible is read, salt is put into the animal's mouth and the victim is killed, in order to be eaten over the grave of someone lately deceased.

The liturgical Calendar was revised during the Catholicate of Simeon of Erivan (1763–1780). Of the 365 days 277 are either fasts (160) or abstinences (117), as against the Latin 92, but present Catholic custom mitigates the extreme rigours : Great Lent (Karasnorth), abstinence every day (with fasting except on the first two weekdays), exclusive of Sundays, Saturdays, the Annunciation and St. Joseph ; abstinences of St. Gregory the Illuminator (five days), Assumption (five days) and Christmas (six days), with an allowance of eggs and lacticinia at Christmas, Epiphany and Eastertide ; while all Wednesdays and Fridays in the year, except those which follow the greatest festivals, are days of abstinence (' pahk ') when saints' days are

prohibited. On fasts no food is permitted until 3 P.M., and on such days as the Vigils of Epiphany and Easter the liturgy is celebrated in the afternoon (*cf.* Byzantines), when the rite begins with psalms and prophecies, chanted according to the Mystery of the day, outside the drawn curtains. At the moment of the announcement of the feast (after the Introit) these are drawn back and the altar appears, illuminated with candles. Over and above the forty-eight days of Lent Armenians, Syrians and Nestorians keep the tenth week before Easter (Aratshavoratz) in memory of the commands of Jonah to the people of Nineveh and of St. Gregory before the conversion of the nation, a self-denial which St. Theodore of the Studium (November 11) stigmatizes as the ' unbelieving dogma of the heretical Peter, Bishop of the Armenians.' The foolish rubric in the Byzantine triodion concerning this fast has been already referred to in the previous chapter.

All ecclesiastical vestments originated from a common source, but those in use amongst the Armenians, Gregorian as well as Catholic, show very definite signs of having been Latinized at a time when East and West had already stereotyped their respective styles. The Armenians, alone among the Orientals, wear the amice (' varkas '), a high collar with broad apparel, often of repoussé metal, put on after and worn above the alb, although some dissidents maintain that it is analogous to the humeral veil rather than to the Latin amice. In modern times deacons and minor clerks have worn, in lieu of the ' varkas,' a short cape embroidered with three crosses, but according to Ormanian this is contrary to the regulations. The long alb (' shapik '), worn by all the officiating ministers, has no fixed colour and may be of either silk, velvet, cloth or linen. The deacon has a stole (' ourar '), over three metres long and between ten and fifteen centimetres broad, ornamented with crosses (three), and worn, either over the left shoulder with the ends falling to the feet back and front, or hanging down over the two sides from the left shoulder, wound once under the armpit. A coffer of the Catholicos Constantine II (1286–1289, deposed), preserved in the Museum at Leyden and dating from 1293, has a sculpture of the deacon St. Stephen, in which the ' ourar ' is worn over the *right*

shoulder. The priest's stole (' porurar '), known to Mekhitar Gosch (*c.* 1180) as ' phakeghm,' resembles the ' epitrakelion,' being kept in place by the golden buckle of the cincture or belt (' goti ').

The cuffs or ' epimanikia ' of the Byzantines are also worn in this rite (' bazpan ') ; while the vestment (' shurtshar,' ' schoocher ') is similar to a Latin cope without its hood. The crown (' saghavart '), used by Greek bishops, has become the ordinary priestly head-gear since 1181—when the Western mitre was sent, together with a pall, as a present from Pope Lucius—although it often takes the form of a modest bonnet of silk ornamented with gold braid, and even deacons wear it when in attendance on a bishop. The more elaborate specimens, adorned with gold and pearls, are surmounted by an orb and small cross, set with precious stones. As to the shape of mitres, the taste adopted seems to be even worse than that of Rome in the eighteenth century. Episcopal insignia, also, include pectoral cross—a privilege granted to some priests and vardapets—' emiphoron ' (pallium), crozier, ring, ' panague ' (*παναγία*) or ' enkolpion,' and hand-cross. Senior bishops, as Catholicoi, add a metal rationale, attached to the ' varkas ' and worn on the breast, and the ' konker ' (' epigonation '), formerly a pouch or napkin and now a lozenge-shaped embroidery hanging from the girdle to symbolize the napkin of the ' mandatum ' (humility). The ' kogh ' (great veil), used at the consecration of the supreme Catholicos, is carried before him on great feasts. Vardapets receive a staff of office (' gavazan ') at their ordination, which they hold when giving instructions, but those of higher rank, who effect the prelatical status, are allowed mitres, croziers and, for choir dress, a violet mandyas (' pilon ').

The ' gavazan ' (*cf.* Byzantine ' paterissa '), with its snake-like top, carries many symbolical meanings : prudence, a virtue especially necessary for preachers ; the rescuing of sinners from Satan ; the pastoral office of comforting the sick and sorrowful ; and our salvation (cross) triumphing over the hissing serpents who raise their heads in fury against the cross. Catholicoi, patriarchs and archbishops have four standards borne in procession before them—a cross, a diocesan heraldic

emblem, a crozier and a ' gavazan.' The hand-cross, which has been consecrated by chrism, bears no figure, but it usually contains a relic ; while a bishop wears his ring on the little finger of his right hand, since it is reserved to the Catholicos to use the ring finger.

Choir dress consists of a black wool mantle or pilon and a cylindrical head-gear called a ' pakegh,' said to resemble Mount Ararat, and, in the case of religious, often violet in colour and furnished with a veil (' veghar '). In villages ecclesiastical dress is only worn for the services, but elsewhere the ordinary costume includes a cassock and an overcoat with large sleeves (' verarkov '), although Catholic Armenians increasingly adopt the Latin soutane and douillette ; while united bishops affect the style of their Western confrères, retaining their distinctive hat.

Colour sequence is unknown to this rite, and even black for requiems can be dispensed with (*e.g.* white at St. James, Jerusalem). In addition to the Latin infiltrations which have affected the whole rite (*e.g.* sign of the cross, left to right ; azyme bread), many Roman features are found amongst the Catholics—holy water, ashes, scapulars, rosary, stations of the Cross, Benediction, statues, confessionals—although the whole trend of opinion is now towards expunging Occidental accretions. Thus Canon 612 of the Council held at Rome in 1911 enacted that devotions form no supplementary cult in the Oriental rites, but that they are a part of the liturgy and ought to conform in spirit as well as in form. Contact with the West has produced a set of liturgical books drawn up with great clearness, although the pontifical appears to be still in manuscript : (1) Directory or Calendar (' tzutzak ') ; (2) ' Manual of Mysteries of the Sacred Oblation ' (' badarakamadoitz,' ' korhrtadedr ') ; (3) Book of Ordinations (often bound up with (2)) ; (4) Lectionary (' djachotz ') ; (5) Hymn book with variable hymns for the liturgy (' sharakan ') ; (6) Book of Hours with Divine Office and generally the deacon's part of the liturgy (' jamakirkh ' ; for Catholics ' jamagarkuthiun ') ; (7) Book of Canticles, with Office hymns (' tebroutioun ') ; and (8) Ritual (' mashdotz ').

At the present time the Armenians have only one liturgy

(' patarag '), although there appear to have been at least ten anaphoras (*e.g.* St. Gregory the Illuminator; St. Isaac the Great) and a presanctified (' nakhasrbeal ') rite. That now in use is a local modification of St. Basil with Latin interpolations, but in the ' Responsiones ' at the Council of Sis (1342) both St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom are mentioned; while the ordinary liturgy seems to have been known as ' Missale Sancti Athanasii ' (Codex of Lyon, 1314), although this may very possibly refer only to the Anaphora. Anyhow, most of the names in the document are corrupt, and ' Osauri ' is probably derived from ' Oskeberan,' ' golden-mouthed.' The germs of the rite must date back to the first introductions of Christianity into the country, and a liturgy, properly so called, has existed from the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth. The earliest liturgical references have been ascribed to St. Gregory the Illuminator (*c.* 325) and Macarius of Jerusalem (*c.* 340), but those of more certain authenticity date from the time of St. Mesrob; while John Mandakouni (*ob. c.* 490) was the author of several prayers, and the hymn book was augmented by Moses of Khoren (*c.* 458). Of later episcopal canons and synods, dealing with matters concerning the rite, mention may be made of the Synod of Dvin (*c.* 524) under the Catholicos Nerses II; the enactments of John of Manazkert (*c.* 650) and Isaac (*ob.* 702); the Synod of Dvin (719) under John IV Oznetzi; the Synod of Partav (767) under Sion I; the Synods of Sis held in 1203 and 1243; and the ' Responsiones ' of the Council held in the same town in 1342. The two outstanding commentators on the Armenian rite appear to have been Chosroes (Chosrov) the Great, Bishop of Andzevatsentz (*c.* 950), whose literary son Gregory of Narek is known as the Pindar of Armenia; and St. Nerses of Lampronatzi (*ob.* 1198), who in ' The Commentary on the Mystery of the Oblation ' refers to the rite as that of St. John Chrysostom. The chief claim of Gregory (born 951) to ecclesiastical notice lies in his collection of prayers and elegies, still popularly styled ' Narek.' In the twelfth century, also, flourished the celebrated poet and hymn writer Nerses IV Klajetsi, surnamed ' the Graceful ' (' schinorhali '), who ruled the Church as supreme Catholicos from 1166 to 1173.

The liturgy, which, despite its Greek origin (*cf.* retention of Greek words and formulae), is now performed exclusively in the classical Armenian tongue, is officially called ' The Liturgy of our Blessed Father Saint Gregory the Illuminator, revised and augmented by the holy patriarchs and doctors Sahag, Mesrob, Kud and John Mandakouni.' The chief modern editions of the Gregorian service books have been published at Constantinople (1823, 1844), Jerusalem (1841, 1873, 1884) and Etchmiadzin (1873); those for the Catholics (slightly modified) at Venice (1808, 1874, 1895), Trieste (1808) and Vienna (1858, 1884). In 1642 a Uniate liturgy was edited at Rome, and many issues have appeared since, but the introduction of the Roman Canon into the national rite, once perpetrated by Propaganda, has never been accepted by the Armenians.

The corrections introduced into the liturgy (Catholic) in 1671 by the two priests Basil Barsegh and Ohannes Agop were made rather from zeal than knowledge, since they had both received a purely Latin education, but their efforts were only the prelude to further modifications. Catholic unity demands oneness of faith and the consequent expunging from a rite of all traces of heresy, but deliberate Latinizing with the apparent object of producing a liturgical hybrid is a blunder and a crime. At the beginning of the nineteenth century a strong reaction set in, at the instance of the Mekhitarist Gabriel Aredikian (1750–1827), with the avowed intention of preserving the purity of the Armenian rite—a point of view endorsed by the Council at Rome (1911) and upheld by the expressed declarations of the Sovereign Pontiffs (*e.g.* Pius IX in the Bull ' Amantissimus,' 1864). Western interest in the liturgy seems to have originated in the eighteenth century, when the Abbé Bignon, by order of the Duc d'Orléans, asked (1720) the Marquis de Bonnac, Ambassador to the Porte, to obtain a copy of the service book with explanations from the Catholic archbishop at Constantinople.

The Canons only forbid the celebration of the liturgy from Monday to Friday (inclusive) in Lent and during the Fast of the Forerunner (' Aratshavoratz '), but custom (schismatic) now confines the holy mysteries to Saturdays and Sundays, with the addition of feasts in large churches, although the Catholics

have adopted the service of low Mass. With the normal Gregorian practice of a single liturgy a day the laity often remain for a part of the service only, in order that others may take their places.

Unlike the Byzantines, however, there is no very great prejudice with the schismatic Armenians against several altars, Etchmiadzin having four and Alexandria three. Ancient usage, prescribed by Canon 22 of the Synod of Partav (767), held under the Catholicos Sion, directs that only those in priest's orders may prepare the bread and wine for the liturgy (*cf.* East Syrian rite), specifically forbidding the laity from undertaking this work and appointing suitable prayers for recitation while the offerings are being made ready. Fresh bread was to be baked before each service, although Catholics with their low Masses have practically abolished the custom. Amongst the Uniates, also, we find the adoption of the Western ' Missa Cantata,' when the elements are prepared at the altar and the Great Entrance is omitted. *All* the Armenians use unleavened wafers (' neṣḥkhar,' ' surb khaths '), a legacy of hate for the Byzantines, when the Catholicos John III decreed azymes and prohibited water in the chalice (719), although the introduction of wafer bread is ascribed to St. Gregory the Illuminator (Pitzipios, ' L'Église Orientale,' Part I, p. 125), who received the custom from the Church of Caesarea. Another tradition affirms that St. Gregory adopted the practice on his visit to Pope St. Sylvester, but, despite the fact that even the schismatics observe the feast of the Roman Pontiff, this voyage has been denied by many historians. In appearance these breads are flat round cakes about 3 by $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches, stamped with an ornamental border, together with a crucifix or lamb and a sacred name, having sometimes two diameters at right angles on the back. In addition to the wafer for Holy Communion others are prepared for the antidoron at the end of the liturgy. In the Armenian rite neither asterisk nor spoon appears among the eucharistic ornaments ; while water is not added to the chalice either at the Proskomide or before Communion, although the Catholics make good the former irregularity. As regards the admixture of the zeon, the Armenians have never adopted the practice, and when the

Emperor Heraclius (610–641) suggested a synod to promote union with the Orthodox Church, Moyses the Catholicos declined, saying ' I am unwilling to cross the river Aza ' (then in Persian territory) ' to be compelled by the Byzantines to eat leavened bread and to drink hot water.' Possibly the mixed chalice was abandoned as a protest against the Enkratites (Ebionites, Aquarii), who professed to consecrate with water (*pace* Cardinal Bona), but the tenacity with which the Gregorians have adhered to their unprimitive practice has given rise to the belief that wine only implies heresy concerning the Person of Christ ; while St. Cyprian went so far as to throw doubts on the validity of such Masses. The second Council in Trullo (Quinisextum, 692), held in the chapel of the Palace, condemned the absence of water, the two hundred and twenty-seven Fathers fortifying the censure by reference to the Liturgy of St. James and affirming that ' James, the brother (according to the flesh) of Christ our God, to whom the throne of the Church of Jerusalem was first committed, and Basil, Archbishop of the Church of Caesarea, whose fame extended throughout the whole Church, have appointed,' etc. (Can. 32). There was, however, no condemnation of azyme bread, if the Gregorian tradition can be believed.

The Latinizing Councils of Sis (1307) and Adana (1313) reintroduced water in the chalice, but at a synod held at Sis in 1359 under the Catholicos Mesrob this practice was again forbidden, in the interests of a mistaken patriotism.

Following the sessions of the Council of Florence, a decree of Union (' Decretum pro Armenis,' November 22, 1439) was promulgated by Eugenius IV in the Bull, ' Exultate Deo,' where not only was the mixed chalice definitely ordered, but historic and mystical reasons were given as to the propriety of the act : ' Tertium est EUCHARISTIAE sacramentum, cuius materia est panis triticeus, et vinum de vite, cui ante consecrationem aqua modicissima admisceri debet. Aqua autem ideo admiscetur, quoniam juxta testimonia sanctorum Patrum ac Doctorum Ecclesiae pridem in disputatione exhibita creditur, ipsum Dominum in vino aqua permixto hoc instituisse sacramentum. Deinde, quia hoc convenit dominicae passionis representationi. Inquit enim beatus Alexander Papa quintus

a beato Petro : " In sacramentorum oblationibus, quae intra Missarum solemnia Domino offeruntur, panis tantum et vinum aqua permixtum in sacrificium offerantur. Non enim debet in calicem Domini aut vinum solum aut aqua sola offerri, sed utrumque permixtum : quia utrumque, id est, sanguis et aqua, ex latere Christi profluxisse legitur." Tum etiam, quod convenit ad significandum huius sacramenti effectum, qui est unio populi christiani ad Christum. Aqua enim populum significat, secundum illud Apocalysis : " Aquae multae . . . populi multi " (*cf.* Apoc. xvii. 15). Et Julius Papa secundus post beatum Sylvestrum, ait : " Calix Dominicus juxta Canonum praeceptum vino et aqua permixtus debet offerri, quia videmus in aqua populum intelligi, in vino vero ostendi sanguinem Christi. Ergo cum in calice vinum et aqua miscetur, Christo populus adunatur, et fidelium plebs ei, in quem credit, copulatur et jungitur." Cum ergo tam sancta Romana Ecclesia a beatissimis Apostolis Petro et Paulo edocta, quam reliquae omnes Latinorum Graecorumque ecclesiae in quibus omnis sanctitatis et doctrinae lumina claruerunt, ab initio nascentis Ecclesiae sic servaverint et modo servent, inconveniens admodum videtur, ut alia quaevis regio ab hac universali et rationabili discrepet observantia. Decernimus igitur, ut etiam ipsi Armeni se cum universo orbe christiano conforment : eorumque sacerdotes in calicis oblatione paululum aquae, prout dictum est, admisceant vino.'

The number of deacons at a solemn liturgy varies with the rank of the feast, but at a pontifical celebration there are often as many as six. During the vesting of the priest in the sacristy (' avantadoun ') the choir sings the hymn of the Vardapet Chatchadour (1205), ' O mystery deep, unsearchable, eternal.' The officiant, having recited the antiphon, ' Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness, and let thy saints sing with joyfulness,' and the Psalm ' Lord, remember David ' (' Memento, Domine, David,' Ps. cxxxi.), is assisted into the sacred vestments by the deacons, who have prayed, ' Let us unanimously and with faith make our supplications unto the Lord that he may bestow upon us his merciful grace ; may the all-powerful God save us and shew us his mercy. O Lord, have mercy upon us according to the greatness of

Thy clemency; and let us say all together [twelve times]: Lord, have mercy upon us' (' Ter oghormia ').

Before the vesting the priest says ' Jesus Christ our Lord, who clothed with light as with a bright garment,' etc., as he removes his shoes and receives white stockings and sandals. With each vestment, beginning with the sacerdotal crown (' saghavart '), appropriate prayers are recited (*cf.* Roman rite), although in some pontifical ceremonies the bishop receives his ornaments at the altar. Hymns (' sharakan '), of which the above is a specimen, are a great feature in the Armenian rite, probably originating in Syria. Before the liturgy the vessels are put on the credence with the corporal (' marmnakal,' ' gorphourah,' ' schouschphah ') spread on the altar; while at the north end the book of the Gospels stands on a small veil, since the deacon never touches the Word of life with his hands, and at the south end there is the missal on a book rest. At a pontifical celebration of the liturgy sung in the Epiphany Octave (1928) at St. Andrea della Valle, Rome, by the Patriarch Mgr. Paul XIII Terzian, in the presence of another bishop, the solemn entry included a crucifer, two taperers, choristers, a deacon preceding the assistant bishop, ministers with the Latin crozier, the ' gavazan ' and the patriarchal cross, and the Catholic Catholicos of the Armenians carrying a staff surmounted by an orb with a cross. The prelate was flanked by assistants in ' schoochers,' with a deacon walking backwards censing him and two clerks with ' keshotz ' completing the procession.

When not at the altar or performing any specific action the patriarch occupied a temporary throne on the south side of the sanctuary with the bishop in a corresponding seat facing him. The rubrics of the liturgy seem to indicate that the deacon enters the church carrying a lighted taper in his left hand and a censer in his right, a custom which may be compared with that found in the metropolitan church of Milan, where the *subdeacon* holds similar objects in opposite hands.

Before reciting the preparatory prayers ' in plano ' the celebrant takes a lavabo as he says Psalm xxv. (' Lavabo ') antiphonally (' ktzord ' or refrain of the antiphon, ' I will wash . . . to thine altar,' and ' phokh ' or antiphon, ' Be thou

my Judge, O Lord, for I have walked innocently,' with the rest of the psalm, ' saghmos '). The service begins, after the Invocation (' In the Name,' etc.), with an intercession to the Blessed Virgin : ' Through the intercession of the Holy Mother of God, accept, O Lord, our prayers and save us ' ; the deacon continuing : ' May the Holy Mother of God and all the saints be our intercessors with the Heavenly Father, that he may deign to be merciful to us, and in pity save us and have mercy upon us ! ' ; to which the priest responds : ' Through the intercession of the Holy Mother of God, the Immaculate Mother of thine only Son, and through the prayers of all the saints, receive, O Lord, our prayers ; hear us, Lord, and have mercy on us : pardon us, be favourable to us, and blot out our sins, and make us worthy to glorify thee together with thy Son and the Holy Ghost, now and for ever.' The Mozarabic and Braga rites, also, begin with an invocation of Mary—' Ave Maria ' ; but this preparation in the Armenian rite was added later than the twelfth century and from a Latin source, for St. Nerses of Lampronatzi in his famous commentary makes no mention of it, a pontifical celebration beginning with the two prayers to the Holy Ghost, and the other services with the ' Proskomide.' The Confiteor is said in a clear voice, facing the assistant clergy or people : ' I confess in the presence of God and of the Holy Mother of God, before all the saints, and before you Fathers and Brethren, all the sins I have committed ; for I have sinned in thought, in word and in deed, and in whatever way men generally sin ; I have sinned, I have sinned, and I pray you to ask pardon of God for me.' Then the senior priest in choir advances and gives in the name of all present the required absolution : ' May the Almighty God have mercy on you, and grant you the pardon of all your sins, past and present, and preserve you from them in future : may he confirm you in every good work, and lead you to the repose of a future life. Amen.' The celebrant, raising a hand-cross, gives his blessing with the words ' May God the lover of men free you, and grant you the remission of all your sins : may the all-powerful and all-merciful God guide your future life by the grace of his Holy Spirit. And to him be glory throughout all ages.

Amen,' the senior priest adding : ' Commemorate us before the Immortal Lamb of God,' to which the celebrant, still turned towards his assistants, answers, ' Ye shall be commemorated before the Immortal Lamb of God.' The choir having sung the ninety-ninth Psalm (' Jubilate Deo, omnis terra ') antiphonally, the deacon, who has been censing the priest, continues : ' In the name of this holy Church let us pray God that he may deliver us from sin and save us by his merciful grace. Almighty Lord, our God, save us and have mercy on us ' ; while the priest, extending his arms, says ' Within the precincts of this temple, and in the presence of these sacred and divine emblems, bowing in the holy place, we adore with trembling, and we glorify thy holy, admirable and victorious resurrection, and we offer thee benediction and glory, together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and in endless ages. Amen.'

The approach to the altar is made while the celebrant is saying Psalm xlii. antiphonally (' ktzord,' ' I will go . . . joy and gladness,' and ' phokh,' ' Give sentence . . . ungodly people,' with the rest of the psalm), ascending a step at every two verses. Arrived at the predella, the deacon continues : ' Let us praise the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has made us worthy to present ourselves in this place of praise, and to sing spiritual songs. O Almighty Lord, our God, save us and have mercy on us,' the priest audibly reciting the prayer, ' In the tabernacle of holiness.'

If the celebrant is a priest the curtain is now closed while the sacred elements are being prepared, but if the liturgy be pontifical the bishop, drawing his ' emiphoron ' over his breast and spreading an apron across his knees (' i tootsouk,' ' korhrtadedr '), silently recites two prayers as he kneels before the altar, two deacons holding the mitre above his head. Brightman seems to indicate that the prayers are said at the table of gifts, ' with copious flow of tears ' and after a lavabo, but the above practice appears to be that followed by the Catholics (*e.g.* Rome, Epiphany, 1928).

The two prayers, addressed to God the Holy Ghost, the Agent and Dispenser of the work, were composed by St. Gregory of Narek (tenth century)—' O Lord Almighty,

beneficent and full of love ' (chap. xxxiii., St. Gregory's Book of Prayer), and ' We pray and implore with all our soul.' The ekphonesis (' i dsain ')—' For to thee belong clemency, power, love, virtue and glory throughout all ages. Amen '—seems to be prefaced in the schismatic books by the diaconal proclamation of ' Sir, give a blessing ' (' orhhnea der '). During the ' proskomide ' (' matouthsaran ') ceremonies, when the large curtain hides both credence and altar from view, the choir sings the variable hymn known as the ' meghedi ' (μελῳδία). That appointed for the Annunciation is : ' The sound of joyful news is heard [repeated], announced by Gabriel to the All-Holy. I am sent to thee, O Immaculate One, [repeated] to prepare a room for the Lord.' On the Assumption : ' To-day the Angel Gabriel brought the palm and the crown to the triumphant Virgin. To-day he introduced to the Lord of all, her, who was the temple of the Most High, and the dwelling of the Holy Spirit ' ; and on the Holy Cross : ' From the beginning of time the Cross appeared in Paradise, planted by the hand of God, as a sign of consolation to Seth, and a gage of hope to Adam, the first father. In the wood to which our Saviour Jesus was nailed, we put all our confidence, and prostrate, and adore the Sacred Sign which has borne our God.'

At the credence table (niche on the left of the sanctuary), which the priest kisses, the deacon brings the wafer to the celebrant (if a bishop, wearing his mitre), who puts it on the paten (' maghzmah '), with the words ' Commemoration of our Lord Jesus Christ, who sits resting on a throne not made with hands. He gave himself up to the death upon the Cross for mankind : + Praise him, and bless him, and extol him, for ever and ever.' Then, pouring wine crosswise into the chalice (' bashak,' ' ski '), he continues : ' In memory of the salutary Incarnation of the Lord our God and Redeemer Jesus Christ, through the fountain of whose Blood, flowing from his side, his creatures have been renewed and made immortal. + Bless him, and praise him, and extol him, for ever and ever.' In the Catholic liturgy a little water is added, as we have seen above, thus making good a very serious defect in the Gregorian rite. The prayer which follows bears the

honoured name of St. John Chrysostom : ' O Lord our God, who hath sent the heavenly bread, our Lord Jesus Christ, the spiritual food of all the universe, as Redeemer, Saviour and Benefactor, to bless and sanctify us : thyself, Lord, now bless + the oblation here offered, and receive it on thy heavenly altar : remember, in thy benevolence and thy love, those who offer it, and those for whom it is offered, and preserve us from sin in the administration of thy Sacraments : for holy and glorious is the honourable and sovereign grandeur of thy glory, O Father, Son and Holy Ghost, now and throughout all ages. Amen.'

In covering the sacred gifts (' srboutheanch ') with a silk veil (' kogh '), Psalm xcii. (' Dominus regnavit, decorem indutus est ') is recited and the curtain is drawn back so that the censing may be seen. The Armenians seem to use two veils, that just mentioned and a second for the chalice alone (' tsatskoths skuh '), in addition to a purificator or linen napkin (' srbithsch,' ' thasch,' ' kinak ').

The liturgy used by the dissidents orders the curtain to be drawn aside after the oblata have been signed three times, with the words ' Let the Holy Ghost + come upon thee, and let the power of the Most High overshadow thee,' and *after* the credence has been censed and the prayer—' We offer the sweet spiritual perfume of incense '—said.

Catholics, however, cense the *altar* as the celebrant says ' We offer the sweet spiritual perfume of incense in thy presence, O Lord Christ, accept it in thy holy, celestial and immaterial dwelling as a sweet odour, and send us, in exchange, the grace and the gifts of thy Holy Spirit. To thee we offer glory, together with the Father and the Holy Ghost, now and for ever and ever. Amen.'

In a pontifical liturgy the bishop (cross in hand) turns and censes the people from the predella before incensing the altar for a second time, but at other services the celebrant, kissing the altar three times and censing it, descends the steps with the deacons and clerks bearing ' keshotz ' to cense all other altars (if there be any) and the people present, returning to the high altar by the steps on the right, again to cense and kiss it. During this time a hymn (Hymn of Censing) is sung, which

in consideration of its great beauty deserves to be given *in extenso*: 'In the Lord's temple, open to our offerings and our vows, united as we are to accomplish in obedience and in prayer the mystery of this approaching and august Sacrifice, let us march together in triumph round the tribune of thy holy temple with sweet-smelling incense. Receive with goodness, O Lord, our prayers, like odoriferous smoke, of sweet myrrh and cinnamon, and keep us who offer it, so that we may always serve thee holily. Through the intercession of thy Holy and Ever-Virgin Mother, accept the prayers of thy ministers. O Christ our Lord, who by thy blood hast rendered thy Church more luminous and more splendid than Heaven, and who, from the example of the celestial choirs, hast disposed in it choirs of Apostles, Prophets and holy Teachers: we now united, Priests, Deacons, Clerks and Ecclesiastics, offer incense in thy presence, O Lord, after the manner of Zacharias of old. May our prayer sound agreeably to thee, rising with the incense, like the sacrifice of Abel, Noah and Abraham. Through the intercession of thy heavenly hosts, keep ever in peace the Armenian Church. Triumph, and glorify thyself with thy sons, O Sion, daughter of light, Holy Catholic Mother: deck and adorn thyself, august spouse, splendid tabernacle of light like unto Heaven: because the Anointed God [the Christ], Being of Being [God of God], sacrifices himself incessantly without ever being consumed, and to reconcile us to the Father, and for our expiation, he gives his flesh and his precious blood. By virtue of this Sacrifice may he pardon him who erected this temple. The Holy Church acknowledges and confesses the pure Virgin Mary as Mother of God, through whom has been communicated to us the bread of immortality and the cup of consolation. Give blessings to her with spiritual canticle.'

The commencement of the liturgy or 'enarxis' gives a very clear indication of its Byzantine or, rather, Antiochene origin, for the senior deacon, standing in the midst of the church or by the altar, proclaims, 'Sir, give a blessing,' to which the priest answers, 'Blessed be the kingdom of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost now and ever and world without end. Amen.' On feast days the Introit ('shamamout') which follows is proper (*e.g.* Transfiguration:

'The beauteous rose flowers on its stalk through leaves of a thousand colours; myriad trembling buds wave among the leaves'), but on ordinary Sundays the '*ὁ μονογενὴς*' is sung (*cf.* Byzantine rite): 'Only-begotten Son and Word, God and Immortal being, thou who didst endure to take flesh of the Holy Mother of God and Ever-Virgin: thou unchangeable didst become Man and wast crucified: O Christ our God, thou by death didst overcome death, thou One of the Holy Trinity, glorified with the Father and the Holy Ghost: save us.' Then the deacon continues: 'Let us again pray the Lord for peace: receive, save us, and have mercy upon us. Sir, give the blessing'; to which the celebrant, blessing with his hand-cross, replies, 'Blessing and glory to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. Amen. Peace + be to all,' the clerks responding, 'And with thy spirit.' At the diaconal bidding, 'Let us bow down unto God,' the clerks answer, 'In thy presence, Lord Priest,' and the celebrant, with hands extended, says the prayer, 'O Lord our God, whose power is boundless and whose glory is incomprehensible.' While the psalm and hymn appointed for the day are being sung (eight alternatives for Sundays), the priest continues in a low voice, 'O Lord our God, save thy people,' etc., but at 'Peace + be to all,' although the holy sign is made, there is no turning towards the people until after the following prayer—a prayer ascribed to St. John Chrysostom and well known to Anglicans as ending their Morning and Evening Offices. This is said silently, together with a prayer that the holy angels may share in our entrance into heaven. These three Collects are found in the Byzantine rite with the first, second and third antiphons. A further invitation, 'Sir, give the blessing,' and the response, 'For thine is the Power, the Virtue and the Glory for ever. Amen,' ends the enarxis; while the cautionary 'Proschume' ('Let us be attentive,' *πρόσχωμεν*) begins the liturgy of the catechumens. This diaconal warning, uttered after the altar has been kissed, is still made in a Greek form (*cf.* 'Orthi'), proving that the Armenian liturgy, despite local adjustments and many Latinisms, is only a variant of the Antiochene rite, received through Caesarea. During the procession of the Little Entrance the Trisagion ('erech-srbeann,' 'ergsrbeann')—'Holy Lord, holy and powerful, holy

and immortal, have mercy on us ! '—is sung three times, but the clauses proper to the feast are omitted by the Catholics, since, despite Armenian assertions to the contrary, this hymn is addressed to the Blessed Trinity and not exclusively to Our Lord. The phrase ' Who wast crucified for us,' sung on festivals of the Holy Cross, has been the watchword of Monophysitism from the days of its author, Peter the Dyer of Antioch (470–488), so that, even if it were conceded that the Trisagion in this rite solely applies to Christ, heretical associations would necessitate its omission.

The Gospels are brought to the altar in a procession through the north door and out by the south, a deacon carrying the book accompanied by at least three ministers, one of whom censes it continually, the other two waving ' keshotz ' (acolytes sometimes carry candles). In a pontifical liturgy, sung in the presence of a second bishop, the assistant prelate makes the Little Entrance, while the celebrant, as normally, remains at the altar and recites, with arms extended, the prayer of the Trisagion : ' Holy Lord, who reigneth in the saints,' in which both priest and people are identified as one person offering the sacrifice. Arrived before the altar, the thurifer invites the senior in choir or an influential layman to come up and kiss the book, the priest blessing him as he does so. The diaconal litany which follows, praying for all sorts and conditions of men, is of the ordinary Byzantine type, but the response of ' Kyrie Eleison ' is not a rendering of the original Greek (*cf.* Kīrālāyĕsōn, Ethiopic liturgy), but a complete translation, ' Ter oghormia.' Simultaneously the celebrant prays secretly that the petitions may indeed be accepted by God, at the end of which, in answer to the invitation, ' Sir, give the blessing,' the priest continues aloud : ' For thou art merciful, and lovest man, being God, and to thee belong glory, power and honour, now and ever, world without end. Amen.'

According to Brightman, the celebrant now kisses the altar and sits on the steps (at the side), but in the English version of the Catholic rite translated by a Mekhitarist father of San Lazzaro (1873) he is directed to remain standing before the altar. In a pontifical liturgy, however, the bishop with two attendant deacons retires to the throne.

The Armenian rite still retains the Old Testament lection or prophecy, although its use is not invariable (*cf.* Ambrosian), but before it the choir sings, according to the day, the 'Psalm of dinner-time' ('Saghmos Jaschou'); while the Apostle ('arrachealch'), as the second lesson is styled, is preceded by a further psalm ('mesedi') which, sung antiphonally, is the proper hymn at Vespers. The anthem before the Gospel bears the name 'Alleluia of dinner-time' ('Alelou Jaschou'). The Apostle is sung by a reader on the north side of the predella facing west, in the same position as the deacon, or on grand occasions the assistant bishop, chants the Gospel. Before the evangelical lection both deacon and thurifer present themselves before the celebrant, the one to be blessed, the other to bring the censer. Then, to inculcate reverence for the Word of God, the deacon exclaims in a Greek form 'Stand up' ('Orthi,' from ὀρθοί), and the celebrant, turning to the people, blesses them with his hand-cross: 'Peace + be with all.' The clerks responding 'And with thy spirit,' the deacon continues, 'Listen with fear,' and the Gospeller announces his message. To this the choir sings 'Glory be to thee, O Lord our God,' and again, after the deacon has cried out 'Proschume' ('Be attentive'), they reply, 'It is God who speaks.' For the Gospel the celebrant removes his head-gear; while the deacon, holding the book through a veil, is flanked by two taperers, with the thurifer standing 'in plano' and censing at the end of the sentences. In low Masses of this rite the priest reads the Gospel from the centre of the altar facing the people, sometimes with two lights held before him. The versicle, 'Glory be to thee, O Lord our God,' during which the deacon censes the altars, the choir and the faithful, ends not only the lesson but also the liturgy of the catechumens, although their dismissal is later in the service. Unlike the Oriental rites, the Creed immediately follows as at Rome and, stranger still, is heard by the unbaptized. The twelfth-century commentator St. Nerses speaks of the Byzantine position, before the Anaphora, so that the present practice is another example of Crusading Latinizing. In form the Creed ('khavatamch') is the local baptismal profession of faith with Nicene additions, called St. Athanasius

and possibly dating from the sixth century ; while alone among the rites of Christendom the anathemas of the first General Council (325) have been retained, last appearing in the West in the Creed of St. Gregory of Tours (538–593).

The text quoted is that used by the Catholic Armenians, who have inserted the fateful ' Filioque ' clause : ' We believe [*cf.* Mozarabic rite] in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things visible and invisible : and in one Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, Only-begotten of God the Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God, Begotten, not made, consubstantial with the Father, by whom all things were made *in Heaven and in Earth, visible and invisible :* Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from Heaven, was incarnate and was made man and *perfectly begotten*, through the Holy Ghost, of the Holy Virgin Mary : *he assumed from her Body, Soul and Mind, and all that in man is, truly and not figuratively :* who suffered, was crucified and buried : who rose again the third day, and ascended *with the same body* into Heaven, where he sat at the right hand of God, and whence he shall come with the same body in the glory of the Father, to judge the quick and the dead ; whose kingdom shall have no end. We believe also in the Holy Ghost *not created, all perfect*, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, *who spake in the Law, in the Prophets and in the holy Gospel : who descended into the Jordan, who announced the Envoy* [*Christ*] *and dwelt in the Saints*. We believe in one Universal and Apostolic Church, in one baptism, in penance for the expiation and remission of sins, in the resurrection of the dead, in the eternal judgment of body and soul, in the kingdom of Heaven, and in the life Eternal.

' Those who say that there was a time when the Son existed not, and when the Holy Ghost existed not : or that they were created out of nothing : or that the Son of God and the Holy Spirit are of another essence : or that they are mutable : those who thus say, the Catholic and Apostolic Church excommunicates.'

The clause, ' he assumed from her Body, *Soul* and Mind . . . truly and not figuratively,' seems to be patient of a

Traducian interpretation, that the soul is inherited, but since this heresy was specifically condemned by Benedict XII in 1341 this can hardly be a correct view. 'Ascended *with the same body*' appears to be in opposition to the prevalent Gnostic heresy; while a further peculiarity is found in the omission of one of the marks of the Church, 'Holy.'

After the anathemas the deacon continues, 'Sir, give the blessing,' to which the celebrant adds the so-called Profession of St. Gregory the Illuminator: 'As for us, we glorify him who was before all ages, adoring the Holy Trinity and the only Divinity of the Father, Son and of the Holy Ghost, now and throughout all ages.' These words are said to have been uttered by the great Armenian apostle on hearing the Creed as defined at Nicaea (325) from the lips of his successor in the primacy, his son Aristakes.

The Creed itself is said aloud by the deacon at every Mass, as he stands with the celebrant at the altar, holding the Gospel book, which he gives to the priest to kiss at the conclusion of the 'Profession.' In a pontifical liturgy the bishop comes to the altar for the Creed, returning to his throne before the Little 'Ektene.' This diaconal litany embodies the prayers of the faithful, praying God to look upon the Sacrifice ('patarag'), to pardon sins and to grant unity, with the opening 'Let us again pray to the Lord in peace,' so familiar to students of the Byzantine rite. The responses of the choir not only consist of 'Lord, have mercy,' but they also include 'Save us, O Lord,' 'Grant it us, O Lord,' and 'O Lord, we commend ourselves to thee.' During these alternate chants the celebrant, with arms extended, prays silently that Our Lord, by virtue of His Cross and Passion, may give those present a share in the divine gifts, forgiveness of sins and the Holy Spirit. To the deacon's 'Sir, give the blessing,' the priest recites (aloud) a doxology and 'Peace + be with all,' to which the choir responds 'And with thy spirit,' and also, in answer to 'Let us worship God,' 'In thy presence, O Lord.' The celebrant then continues in a clear voice: 'Through thy peace, O Christ, Redeemer, which passeth all understanding, fortify us, and secure us from all evil; include us in the number of thy true adorers, who worship thee in spirit and in truth;

for to the All Holy Trinity belong glory, power and honour, now and ever, world without end. Blessed be Our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.'

Before the dismissal of the catechumens with 'Let none of the catechumens, no man of little faith, none of the penitents, nor the unclean draw near to this divine mystery,' the priest, at the invitation of the deacon, makes the sign of the cross over the congregation as he says 'May the Lord God bless + you all.'

This rite of benediction, prior to the catechumenal dismissal, is found in the Greek Liturgy of St. James, although it disappeared from the later Antiochene rites.

In preparation for the offering of the oblations the clerks now sing 'The Body of Our Lord, and the Blood of Our Redeemer *are before us*. The heavenly Powers invisibly sing and proclaim with uninterrupted voice: Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts,' to which the deacon replies, 'Sing hymns to the Lord Our God, spiritual hymns, O singers, in the sweetest tones.' The words '*are* before us' occur in the translation of the Catholic liturgy made by Dr. Issaverdenz, a monk of San Lazzaro, although the 'Catholic Encyclopedia' (Art. 'Rite') definitely states that the phraseology runs '*are to be* before us,' the Uniates having altered the original dramatic anticipation under the impression that to be premature was to be heterodox.

A hagiology ('srbasathsouthiun') or 'Cherubikon' follows, varying according to the day, with that for Sundays and festivals of the Church and Angels: 'O God who hast filled thy holy Church with the angelic hierarchy; myriads of Archangels are present, and millions of Angels serve thee. Yet from men also thou art pleased to receive praise in these mystical words: Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts.' Then the Cherubikon itself is sung: 'We who mystically represent the Cherubim, and who sing the thrice holy Hymn to the Holy Trinity, let us lay aside all worldly care, that we may welcome the King of Heaven and Earth, whom legions of Angels escort unseen.'

At the commencement of this chant all the people kneel and the great curtain is drawn for a moment as the priest takes

off his ' saghavart ' and lays it on the altar ; but if the liturgy is pontifical, not only the mitre, but also the ' emiphoron,' pectoral cross and ring are laid aside, out of reverence for the forthcoming Presence. In the Great Entrance (' weraberouthiun '), made from north to south by the back of the altar, the Armenian rite orders the *deacon* to carry the Holy Gifts, the priest remaining on the predella as he recites a prayer—' None of us, soiled with passions and carnal desires '—that God may make him worthy to offer the Holy Sacrifice. Before the vessels are removed from the credence the senior deacon censes (' in plano ') the altar nine times (bowing thrice) and then, having censed the holy gifts, he raises both paten and chalice above his head and makes the Great Entrance, accompanied by lights, ' keshotz ' and incense. In a pontifical liturgy, where a second bishop is present, the assistant prelate performs this ceremony after being censed by the deacon, and where there is no senior deacon the priest himself makes the entrance (and reads the Gospel). Arrived at the altar, the celebrant censes the oblations, as they are held by the deacon (bishop), and the priest, having covered them with a large veil, blesses the people with the chalice as he says ' Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord,' to which the clerks reply ' Alleluia.' With the placing of the oblations on the altar and a further censing the celebrant concludes the Offertory by taking the ' lavabo ' and repeating Psalm xxv., verses six to twelve.

On important feasts the Great Entrance seems to be punctuated by a dialogue between deacon and choir, with the addition of the priest, as the procession arrives at the steps of the altar (alternate psalm, ' Lift up your heads '). ' Let us again pray to the Lord in peace ' reiterates the deacon after the ' lavabo,' and, the choir having sung ' Lord, have mercy,' he continues, that, cleansed from all sin and defilement, grace may be found ' in the day of manifestation and in the second coming of our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ.' In the meanwhile the priest, with extended arms, secretly recites the prayer of Oblation, attributed to St. Athanasius : ' O Lord God of Hosts, creator of all beings, thou who hast called all things out of nothing into life, and who, honouring

our earthly nature, hast lovingly raised it to the ministry of so awful and so inexplicable a Sacrament: thou, Lord, to whom we offer this Sacrifice, accept from us this offering, and accomplish it in the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of thine only Son. Grant this cup to be an expiatory remedy for the sins of him who drinks it.'

In response to the diaconal 'Sir, give the blessing,' the priest replies: 'Through the grace and mercy of our Lord and Redeemer, Jesus Christ [altar kissed], to whom, as to thee, O Father, and to thy Holy Spirit, belong glory, power and honour, now and ever, world without end. Amen. Peace + be with all,' to which the choir sings 'Amen. And with thy spirit.' The kiss of peace ('hhamoir srbouthean'), following in this position, is heralded by the deacon exclaiming 'Let us bow down unto God' (choir, 'In thy presence, O Lord') and 'Salute each other with a holy kiss: and those of you who are not fit to participate in the divine mystery, retire to the door and pray outside.' In some churches the Latin method appears to be in use, but the Armenian 'pax' is for the deacons and sanctuary assistants first to kiss the altar (the deacon having censed the celebrant), then the arms of the celebrant and finally the altar again; while the choir kiss shoulders and the congregation bow, each to his neighbour. A variation, noted in 'La sainte Messe selon les Rites Orientaux' (Robert Lesage), is for the deacon to bring the salutation to one of the assistants, saying, as he gives him the chains of the censer to kiss, 'Jesus Christ is with us.' As the 'pax' is circulating the following is sung, although the abruptness of the anticipation has been toned down in the Catholic liturgy: 'Christ showed himself in the midst of us: God, the Supreme Being, has made here his dwelling-place' ('Christ has been manifested among us: he, that is, God, has seated himself here'). 'The voice announcing peace has sounded; this holy salutation was ordered to us; enmity has been taken away, and charity has penetrated everywhere. Now, O ye ministers, lift up your voices, and bless with one accord the consubstantial and inseparable Divinity, to whom the Seraphim sing the hagiology.'

On more solemn feasts the liturgy prescribes that the

deacon adds, ' You who with faith surround this sacred and royal altar, behold Christ the king seated there, surrounded by the heavenly hosts,' to which the choir responds, ' With eyes turned towards Heaven, let us pray, saying, Remember not our sins, but pardon us in thy clemency. We bless thee with the Angels, and with the Saints we say : Glory to thee, O Lord.'

The Anaphora, ascribed to St. Athanasius, begins, like the Byzantine liturgy, with a diaconal caution and the blessing of the celebrant in a form of the ' Grace.' The deacon gives the warning, ' Let us assist with fear, with respect, with modesty and with fixed attention,' the choir responding, ' Before thee, O Lord.' Then the deacon continues, ' Christ, the Immaculate Lamb of God, offers himself as victim,' and the choir answers, ' Mercy and Peace and Sacrifice of benediction.' In reply to ' Sir, give the blessing,' the celebrant turns towards the people and signs them with his hand-cross as he says ' May the Grace + and the love and the divine and sanctifying power of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit be with you all,' the choir singing ' And with thy spirit.'

Before the Sursum Corda the deacon, as in the Byzantine rite before the Creed (' The doors ! The doors ! In wisdom let us attend '), warns the faithful to see that the doors are shut against the unbaptized and the excommunicate : ' Hold the doors with all wisdom and precaution ' ; but the same minister, instead of the priest, says both ' Lift up your hearts with fear unto the Lord ' and ' Give thanks unto God with your whole heart.' The response to the second is similar to that found in the Roman rite, but the answer to the first has the additional words ' God Almighty.'

On some feasts the deacon can now say ' And we render to thee, O Christ, thanks for the true salvation, ever and everywhere, through [for] which the Hosts praise Thy wonderful resurrection. The Seraphim tremble, and the Cherubim shudder. And the supreme powers in Heaven unite in harmony and sing aloud.'

As the choir sings, the priest with joined hands prays secretly (' korhrtadedr ') : ' It is very meet and right to worship thee without ceasing, and diligently to glorify thee,

O God the Father Almighty, who by the operation of thine inscrutable and co-creating Word, hast removed the impediment of the curse, who having made the Church his own people, has appropriated to himself those who believe in thee, and in the human nature assumed in the womb of the Blessed Virgin, hast vouchsafed to dwell amongst us ; and, condescending to fulfil divinely a work entirely new, has restored heaven to earth. Wherefore he, in whose sight the glorious legions of Heaven's untiring watchers dare not stand, bowed down by the dazzling inaccessible light of the Deity, having made himself very man for our salvation, hast vouchsafed to unite us in spiritual harmony with the celestial choirs.' Leading up to the Sanctus, the celebrant, after the deacon has exclaimed ' Sir, give the blessing,' continues : ' To sing with one voice, with the Seraphim and Cherubim, the songs of triumph and to cry aloud full of confidence in them.' On certain feasts the deacon interposes the following hymn : ' For our true and in all fulfilled redemption we give thee thanks, O Christ our Lord. At the miracle of thy Resurrection (Ascension, Birth) the Virtues sing praise, the Seraphim are filled with dread, the Cherubim tremble, and the Heavenly Powers and Principalities, ranged in joyous groups, cry with a loud voice and say . . .'

As the choir sings the Sanctus and Benedictus—' Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts. Heaven and Earth are full of the majesty of thy glory : Blessing in the Highest. Blessed be thou, who didst come, and who art to come, in the name of the Lord ! Hosanna in the Highest '—all the assistants kneel and the ' keshotz ' are shaken, while the celebrant, having blessed the oblations three times, with outstretched arms prays in a low voice. The particular form of the Benedictus, ' Who didst come, and who art to come,' seems to suggest East Syrian influence, a feature also noticeable in the later doxology, ' pax,' and response. At a pontifical liturgy two priest assistants hold the missal for the consecration prayer : ' Holy, Holy, Holy thou art verily, and the plenitude of holiness. Can words express thine immense mercy, thou who from the earliest age hast taken care of sinful man and hast helped him in divers manners, by the

Prophets, by the sanction of the Law, by the Priesthood, and by the oblation of heifers figurative of another sacrifice ? At the end of the established time, annulling the sentence of our debts, thou hast given us thine only Son, debt and debtor, sacrificed and consecrated, lamb and heavenly bread, sovereign Priest and Sacrifice ; for he is the distributor and he is constantly distributed among us without ever being consumed. Being made man in truth and not in appearance [note absence of Monophysitism, the Gregorian rite, with even greater emphasis, adding the words ' having taken a body by union, without confusion '], and being incarnate in the womb of the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, he traversed all the passions of human life, pure from sin, and of his own free will made his way to the Cross, the salvation of the world and our redemption. Then taking the bread in his holy, divine, most immaculate and venerable hands, he blessed + it, gave thanks, brake it and gave it to his chosen and holy disciples seated (at table with him), saying : ' (Deacon, ' Sir, give the blessing ') ' Take, eat, this is my Body which is given for you and for many, for the expiation [unique word] and remission of sins.' These last words are said aloud by the priest, after the Oriental manner, and the actual words of Consecration are written in large type in the Catholic liturgy. The choir having responded ' Amen,' the priest continues in a low voice : ' In like manner, having taken the cup, he blessed it, + gave thanks, drank, and gave it to his holy and chosen disciples seated (at table with him), saying : ' (Deacon, ' Sir, give the blessing ') (aloud) ' Drink ye all of this, this is my Blood, of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many, for the expiation and remission of sins.' (Choir, ' Amen.')

The Catholic celebrant genuflects once at each consecration ; while the deacon censes the Blessed Sacrament and the ' keshotz ' ring. Amongst the Gregorian Armenians the act of reverence consists of bending the two knees and kissing the ground, but narrower European clothes have tended to reduce such actions to simple bows.

The Consecration over, all rise and the choir sings ' O Heavenly Father, who for us hast delivered up to death thy Son, as the debtor of our debts : for the sake of his blood,

which has been shed, we implore thee to have mercy on us thy rational flock,' the priest saying secretly, ' And to do this in remembrance of Him, such was the command of thy beneficent and Only-begotten Son, who, descending into the deepest abysses of death in the flesh and having victoriously thrown down the gates of hell, manifested thee as the only true God, the God of the living and the dead.' Then the celebrant, taking the Oblations with both hands and making the sign of the cross, continues the ' anamnesis ' : ' We then, O Lord, obeying this command, presenting thee this salutary Sacrament of the Body and Blood of thine Only-begotten Son, call to mind his salutary sufferings for us, his life-giving crucifixion, his burial during three days, his happy resurrection, his triumphant ascension proper to a God, and the seat taken by him at thy right hand, O Father ; and we acknowledge and bless his awful and glorious coming again.' ' Sir, give the blessing,' reiterates the deacon, and the priest, making a little elevation with the holy gifts (' entsah,' offering, used especially of bread ; ' khorhhourd,' mysteries, consecrated or unconsecrated gifts), and replacing them on the altar, says aloud, ' We offer unto thee thine own gifts in all and for all ' (*cf.* Byzantine, ' thine own out of thine own, we offer to thee, entirely and for all things ').

While the choir now sings a hymn of blessing and thanksgiving, the celebrant, with his arms extended, prays : ' O Lord our God, we praise thee justly, and we render thee incessant thanks, who, without regard to our unworthiness, hast made us ministers of a Sacrament so awful and unspeakable [*cf.* ' Qui nos dignos habuisti adstare coram te et tibi ministrare ' of Apostolic Statutes ; *ita*, Chaldean liturgy ; Nestorian liturgy of St. Theodore ; Ethiopian liturgy of the Apostles ; ' Testamentum Domini,' etc.] ; not by our own merit, of which we acknowledge ourselves void, but confiding solely in thy boundless mercy, we dare approach the ministry of the Body and Blood of thine Only-begotten, Our Lord and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, to whom belong glory, power and honour, now, and throughout all ages.'

At a further invitation from the deacon (' Sir, give the blessing ') the celebrant turns to the people and gives his

blessing—' Peace + be with all '—the choir responding, ' And with thy spirit.' Then, in answer to ' Let us adore God,' while the choir sings a short hymn—' O Son of God, who hast offered thyself to the Father as a sacrifice for our reconciliation, and hast given thyself to us as the Bread of Life, we implore thee, by the shedding of thy divine Blood, to have pity on the flock redeemed by thee at so high a price ' —the priest, bending over the altar, says the ' epiclesis ' (' kathschoumn ') in a low voice. By mistaken zeal Catholic revisers have altered the wording of the prayers, under the misapprehension that the use of the future tense necessitated a denial of the belief that the words of Christ effect the Consecration. Both Gregorians and Uniates pray, ' We adore thee, we pray and supplicate thee, O merciful God, to pour upon us, and upon these gifts which are offered to thee, thy co-eternal and co-essential Holy Spirit,' but then, making the sign of the cross over the Host, the former thrice repeat ' whereby *thou wilt make* the bread when blessed + truly the Body of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ '; while the latter have changed the prayer to ' whereby *thou hast made* the consecrated bread.'

Over the chalice, also, the Catholic liturgy has replaced ' And the Cup when blessed + *wilt thou really make it* the Blood of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,' with ' by whose means *thou hast made* the consecrated cup to become verily the Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ.' Finally, when the priest signs the two species together, the schismatics say three times, ' Whereby *thou wilt make* the bread and wine when blessed + truly the Body and Blood of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, changing them by thy Holy Spirit,' whereas those who are united to the Holy See have again changed the tense, ' By whose means *thou hast made* the consecrated bread and wine to become verily the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ, changing them by thy Holy Spirit.' The deacon ' with great fear and reverence ' says ' Amen ' to the prayers, and ' Sir, give the blessing ' before each invocation. Then, as the celebrant says aloud, ' To us all here united, may the approach unto this Sacrament be not condemnation, but expiation and pardon of our sins,' a Little

Elevation is made with the paten and chalice, and (the people all standing) the deacon censes both altar and people as the choir sings ' O Spirit of God, who, descended from Heaven, workest by our hands the Sacrament of Jesus Christ, of whose glory thou partakest : by the shedding of his Blood we pray thee to give rest to the souls of the departed.'

The great intercession follows, which, in accordance with Antiochene usage, comes after the Consecration, the priest, with his hands held low and not over the Oblations, praying secretly for all the faithful, both living and dead. Here, however, an excision has been made by the Catholics, since the Gregorian liturgy in the commemoration of the faithful departed includes, with Oriental confusion of thought, patriarchs, fathers, prophets, apostles and martyrs. After a diaconal invitation to bless, the celebrant ends with the ekphonesis, ' We pray thee to visit us also, O beneficent God.' Then a commemoration is made of Our Lady, St. John Baptist, St. Stephen and all the saints, the choir singing the response ' Remember them, O Lord, and have mercy on us.' After this, a rubric directs that ' all the deacons assemble on the side of the Gospel,' where further memorials of the saints are offered, the choir replying to each petition as above. The majority of those who are named here are Armenians, not mentioned outside the Calendar of this rite ; while the concluding petition prays ' that the Christian and holy kings Abgar, Constantine, Tiridates and Theodosius, and all pious and holy Sovereigns and Princes who love God, may be commemorated in this Holy Sacrifice.' The Gregorian Anaphora adds several names to the intercession (*e.g.* John Worodnetsi, Moses Jathevatsi).

The deacons, now coming before the altar, chant : ' We pray that all the faithful in general, men and women, old men and children of all ages, who have fallen asleep in Christ with faith and holiness, may be commemorated in this Holy Sacrifice,' and one of their number censes the altar, as the priest secretly prays, ' Remember, O Lord, and have mercy and bless thy Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which Thou hast redeemed by the precious blood of thine Only-begotten, and delivered by the virtue of the holy Cross : grant

her a solid and continual peace. Remember, O Lord, and have mercy, and bless all Orthodox bishops who, in the true doctrine, preach among us the word of truth.' The audible conclusion of this prayer, for which 'the deacons assemble on the side of the Epistle,' supplicates on behalf of the Armenian diocesan : 'Above all, preserve to us in the right doctrine our holy and venerable Patriarch *N. N.*, *or* Archbishop, *or* Bishop.' The Gregorian liturgy, however, only makes mention of 'our Archbishop and venerable Patriarch of all Armenians *N.*,' although in any case the hierarchy referred to in the two books is entirely different, since the Uniates specifically state 'They thus make commemoration of Catholic Prelates only.'

Once again, standing at the Gospel horn, the deacon, according to the rubric in the Catholic service book, 'chants the following ascription of praise, but in the form of prayer, which no one shall dare to change, as if it were made without reason ; for by it Bishop Chosroes the Great explained the custom of the ancients.' Beginning on the note of thanksgiving, intercession is made for the hierarchy and temporal rulers, as well as for 'the deliverance of our brethren become slaves,' 'the people here present' and the repose of all the faithful departed, to which the choir chants 'In all, and for all.'

In the liturgy of the united Armenians prayer is offered on behalf of 'our holy Pope *N.*' before the Catholic patriarch, since it is the name of the Sovereign Pontiff in the diptychs which ensures the inclusion of a rite in the universal Church of God. While the deacon is singing the above the celebrant secretly prays in unison, finally (in answer to the invitation 'Sir, give the blessing') proclaiming aloud as he half turns and blesses the people, 'May the mercy of God and of our Redeemer, Jesus Christ, be + with you all' ; to which the choir replies, 'And with thy spirit.' The diaconal litany, which follows the Byzantine model, begins, as in that rite, with 'Let us again pray to the Lord in peace,' and ends in a threefold Kyrie. During this 'ektene' the priest secretly prays in an introduction to the Lord's Prayer : 'God of truth and Father of mercy, we thank thee for this favour by which thou hast

honoured our sinful race beyond the blessed Patriarchs. By them thou wert called God, by us it pleaseth thee to be affectionately named Father. We pray thee, O Lord, that this new name, so honourable for us, may shine every day more in thy holy Church ' ; exclaiming aloud by way of an ekphonesis (in response to the invitation ' Sir, give the blessing ') : ' And grant to us to open our lips and with filial voice to invoke thee as our Heavenly Father, saying . . .'

The ' Pater noster ' (' Hair-mer ') is now sung by the choir (*cf.* Byzantines) with arms extended ; while the deacon censes altar, clergy and people, and the celebrant in a low voice prays : ' Lord of Lords, God of Gods, King eternal, Creator of all creatures, Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, let us not fall into temptation, but deliver us from evil, and save us from snares.' Then, after the customary diaconal invitation, the celebrant audibly recites the embolism, ' For thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen,' and blesses the people (' Peace + be with all '), the choir responding, ' And with thy spirit.'

In answer to ' Let us adore God,' the clerks sing ' In thy presence, O Lord,' and, with the congregation kneeling, the celebrant secretly recites a prayer to the Holy Spirit on behalf of the people present at the liturgy, concluding with a doxological ekphonesis. With the cautionary ' Proschume ' (' Be attentive ') of the deacon, the priest here takes the Host and makes an elevation (' werathsoumn '), as he says ' To the Holiness of the Holy,' although the earliest writers make no mention of this ceremony. The deacon censes both Host and chalice when they are lifted up and attendants with lights and flabella (' keshotz ') kneel before the altar. Then, the choir having sung ' Alone Holy, only Lord, Jesus Christ, in the Glory of God the Father. Amen,' the celebrant gives a triple blessing (punctuated by ' Sir, give the blessing ' and ' Amen ') : ' Blessed be the Holy Father, very God ' ; ' Blessed be the Holy Son, very God ' ; ' Blessed be the Holy Ghost, very God.' At the elevation of the chalice the priest says ' Blessing and glory be to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, now and throughout all ages,' the choir responding, ' Amen. Holy Father, Holy Son, Holy Spirit :

blessing be to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, now and ever, world without end. Amen.'

The priest, when he has offered a prayer to Our Lord in anticipation of Holy Communion, adores and kisses both altar and chalice. Then, removing the veil from the latter, ' and taking the Holy Body, he dips it entirely in the pure Blood, saying with a low voice : O Lord our God, who, from the name of thine Only-begotten Son, hast called us Christians, and hast given us regenerating baptism for the remission of sins, and hast rendered us worthy to receive the sacred Body and Blood of thine Only-begotten ; we pray thee, O Lord, to render us worthy to receive this holy Sacrament in remission of sins, and to give thee glory with grateful hearts, as well as to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, now and throughout all ages.' Turning towards the people with the Blessed Sacrament (accompanied by lights), the celebrant makes the sign of the cross (holding the Host and chalice in either hand) and says aloud, ' Let us partake holily of the holy, holy and precious Body and Blood of Our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ, who, descended from Heaven, is distributed among us. He is the life, + the hope, the resurrection, the expiation and pardon of sins. Sing unto the Lord our God, sing a psalm to our immortal and heavenly King, who sitteth on the chariot of the Cherubim.' The deacon continues : ' Sing, O clerks, to the Lord our God, in the sweetest tones, sing spiritual songs, for to him are due psalms and benedictions, alleluias and spiritual songs. Sing psalms, O ministers, and bless the Lord of Heaven.' The choir, in response to this invitation, now sings (the congregation standing) : ' Christ sacrificed is distributed among us. Alleluia . . .,' a chant of praise for the gift of Holy Communion, which is sometimes followed by a canticle proper to the feast or to the day of the week.

In the meanwhile the little curtain has been drawn so that the celebrant may be alone for his Communion, a rite preceded by the fraction (' bekanel ') and commixture (' kharrnoumn '). The priest, holding the sacred Host, first kisses it (' with tears,' according to the Gregorian liturgy), as he says ' What blessing and what thanks can we render for this Bread

and this Cup? We praise thee alone, O Jesus, with thy Father and the Holy Spirit, now and throughout all ages,' immediately adding, 'I confess and I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, who hast borne the sins of the world.' Then, dividing the Host over the chalice into three, the celebrant puts one particle ('masn') into the chalice, saying 'Plenitude of the Holy Spirit'; while, holding the other two, he recites three Communion prayers, the last of which is ascribed to St. John Chrysostom. According to Janin ('Les Églises Orientales et les Rites Orientaux') and others, the Host is divided into *four* particles, three being dipped into the chalice, with the fourth held for the prayers and then received in Communion. After the first prayer the priest gives the customary blessing—'Peace + be with all.'

Before Holy Communion ('khaghordouthiun') the intentions for the liturgy are definitely expressed and intercession is made on behalf of enemies. In receiving the sacred Host the celebrant says: 'I firmly believe in the All-Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost. With faith I taste thy holy and vivifying Body, O my God Jesus Christ, to the remission of my sins'; and the chalice: 'With faith I drink thy vivifying Blood, O Jesus my God, to the remission of my sins.' Then, making the sign of the cross upon his mouth, the priest continues: 'May thine incorruptible Body be unto me + for life; and thy holy Blood for cleansing and remission of my sins.' The remainder of the Host in the chalice is divided into small pieces.

The deacons make their Communions after the primitive manner, receiving the Host on the palms of their hands and drinking from the chalice; while concelebrants take particles from the cup with their own hands, and likewise receive some drops of the holy Blood.

Before the general Communion the little curtain is drawn back and the deacon, holding the chalice and turning towards the people, says aloud, 'Approach ye with fear and faith, and communicate holily.' The choir sings 'Our God and Our Lord has appeared unto us. Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord'; although, according to Dr. Brightman, this chant occurs 'when all have communicated.'

Gregorian Armenians seldom approach the altar more frequently than five times in the year—Christmas, Easter, Transfiguration, Assumption, and Exaltation of the Holy Cross ; but the majority of the laity confine themselves to the first two feasts. If possible a baptism takes place during the liturgy, so that the regenerate infant may be brought to the altar for Holy Communion, when the celebrant, dipping his finger into the chalice, puts it in the mouth of the baby, as he says ' Plenitude of the Holy Spirit.' If no liturgy is in progress the priest takes the Blessed Sacrament from the tabernacle and makes a cross with it on the mouth of the newly baptized (uttering the same words)—a rite known amongst the Armenians as ' Communion by the lips.' The schismatics still receive by intinction (' The Body and Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ be to thee for salvation and for a guide to eternal life '), with the lips wiped on a towel held by the deacon ; but Catholics now have Holy Communion under one kind, with the Latin words of administration. Sometimes the choir sings a hymn while Communion is being given to the people, the first verse of which runs, ' Mother of faith [Church], thou shrine of holy espousals, heavenly bride-chamber. Home of thine immortal bridegroom who hath adorned thee for ever,' which the Uniates also use when the Blessed Sacrament is exposed. The Communion finished, the celebrant blesses the congregation with the holy gifts, as he says ' O Lord, save + thy people, and bless thine inheritance, conduct them, exalt them, now and to the end of all ages.' The cleansing of the sacred vessels, when the great curtain is again drawn, takes place at the altar (*cf.* Byzantine rite), and the server who brings the wine and water kisses the ' mensa ' on arrival and before departure. In a pontifical liturgy the assistant priest removes the vessels to the credence, in place of the customary deacon.

The sacred gifts being consumed, the priest, after a lavabo, receives his head-gear and the bishop his emiphoron, although Gregorian books seem to indicate that this revesting comes *after* the Post-Communions. Meanwhile the choir chants a thanksgiving hymn and the celebrant, when he is once more fully vested, secretly recites a threefold prayer, addressed to

each Person of the Holy Trinity. The deacon continues in a short synapte : ' Let us again pray God for peace [Gregorians insert ' Lord, have mercy on us '] : and with still more fervour, after having received with faith the divine, celestial, immortal, immaculate and most pure Sacrament : let us thank God.' The choir responds : ' We thank thee, O Lord, who hast nourished us at thine immortal table, by giving us thy Body and Blood for the salvation of the world, and for the life of our souls ' ; and the priest, in another private prayer, ends with ' Peace + be with all ' and a doxology. This finished, the deacon bids ' Sir, give the blessing,' and, with the great curtain once more drawn back, the priest is seen, attended by deacons, holding aloft the book of the Gospels. Now, save in some pontifical liturgies, the celebrant, having kissed the altar, comes down the steps on the right, escorted by his ministers, taperers and a deacon with incense, to take up his position ' in plano,' facing east. After the prayer of blessing, in which the peace of God is invoked for the whole world (farced by the schismatics with ' Blessed is God ' and ' Amen '), the choir thrice sings ' Blessed be the name of the Lord, now and to the consummation of ages ' ; and the celebrant, turning to the congregation, replies : ' Accomplishment of the Law and the Prophets, Christ our God and Redeemer, who hast fulfilled all the prescriptions ordained by the Father, fill us with thy Holy Spirit.' Until the Latinizings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Armenian liturgy ended with the last prayer of the celebrant and the concluding chant of the choir, but in the time of the Crusades the Last Gospel, although optional in the Western Mass, was imported into the Church of St. Gregory the Illuminator, finding a place to-day among both dissidents and Catholics.

The deacon once again orders the faithful to assume a posture of reverence, exclaiming ' Orthi ' (' Let us rise ') ; while the priest blesses the faithful with the book of the Gospels : ' Peace + be with all ' ; and the choir chants ' And with thy spirit.' In the Armenian liturgy the sign of the cross is made no fewer than twenty times.

Then, as before the Gospel of the day, the deacon gives the warnings ' Listen with fear ' and ' Proschume ' (' Be

attentive '), the choir singing ' It is God who speaks.' In the case of the Last Gospel the celebrant himself, having removed his head-gear, both gives the announcement and reads the Evangel.

Except in Eastertide (' So when they had dined,' St. John xxi. 15–19), ' In principio ' (St. John i. 1–18) is always said, with ' Glory be to thee, O Lord our God,' after the announcement and at the conclusion of the Gospel. In a pontifical liturgy the prelate, wearing his mitre and holding both staff and hand-cross, stands on the footpace of the altar, facing west, with two taperers, two acolytes to hold the book, and a deacon with a smoking censer, but the priest remains ' in plano,' since he has already come into the choir for the prayer of blessing. No genuflection is made at ' Et Verbum caro factum est,' but the priest signs the faithful with the book and kisses it, sometimes also presenting it to the deacons and assistants. The dismissal begins with a commemoration of the Holy Cross—a devotion to which the Armenians are particularly prone—for the deacon exclaims: ' By the holy Cross let us pray God, that by it he may deliver us from sin, and save us by his merciful grace. O Lord our God Almighty, save us and have mercy upon us '; to which the priest three times says ' Lord, have mercy on us,' and a prayer for peace : ' Keep us in peace, O Christ our God, in the shadow of thy holy and venerable Cross : deliver us from the enemy, visible and invisible : make us worthy to thank and to glorify thee with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and ever, world without end.' As the choir is singing ' I will bless the Lord always : may his blessing be ever on my lips,' the ' keshotz ' are once more shaken and the priest gives his final blessing and dismissal : ' Be blessed + by the grace of the Holy Spirit : go in peace, and may the Lord be with you all. Amen,' whilst the deacon censes the faithful. Then, bowing to the altar, the celebrant adds ' Lord God Jesus Christ, have mercy upon me,' and, as the choir continues to chant Psalm xxxiii. (' Benedicamus Domino in omni tempore '), the procession returns to the sacristy, a second priest (where numbers permit) remaining behind to distribute the blessed bread. This antidoron (Byzantine), or ' neshkhar ' as the Armenians call

it, is unleavened bread hallowed at the prothesis and given in remembrance of the Holy Sacrament, but Catholics now only distribute it on the great feasts.

Thus the Liturgy of the Holy Apostolic Church of Armenia —' the Mystery-manual of the Sacred Oblation ' or ' the Order of the Divine Mass of the Armenians '—is performed, simple in composition and yet blazing with pageantry and exterior pomp.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(1) ' The Armenian Church.' Archdeacon Dowling, D.D. London : S.P.C.K. 1910.
(2) ' The Church of Armenia : her History, Doctrine, Rule, Discipline, Liturgy, Literature, and Existing Condition.' Malachia Ormanian. A. R. Mowbray & Co., London and Oxford. 1912.
(3) ' The Armenian Ritual.' Part I : ' The Armenian Liturgy.' F. James Dr. Issaverdenz. Second edition. Venice : printed in the Armenian Monastery of S. Lazzaro. 1873.
(4) ' The Armenian Ritual.' Part II : ' The Divine Ordinances according to the Armenian Ritual.' (*Vide supra.*)
(5) ' The Sacred Rites and Ceremonies of the Armenian Church.' (*Vide supra.*) 1888.
(6) ' The Liturgy of the Holy Apostolic Church of Armenia.' Armenian and English. London. 1887.
(7) ' Armenia and the Near East.' Dr. Fridtjof Nansen. London : George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street. 1928.
(8) ' Études Historiques sur le Peuple Arménien.' Kévork Aslan. Paris : Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, 13 Rue Jacob VI^e^. 1928.
(9) ' Les Liturgies Orientales et Occidentales.' Ignace Ephrem II Rahmani, Patriarche Syrien d'Antioche. Beyrouth. Imprimerie Patriarcale Syrienne. 1929.
(10) ' Orate Fratres.' A Liturgical Review. Vol. IV. October 5, 1930. No. 12.

INDEX

Aachen, Synod of (809), 310
Ablutions, Ablution prayers, 54, 247; Carthusians, 72; Carmelites, 84; Dominicans, 100; Lyon, 129; Braga, 201; Ambrosian, 247; for communicants, 247; Roman Mass of Ordination, 247; Mozarabic, 319; Byzantine, 441–2; Eastern custom, 441; Armenian, 521
Absolutio ad populum; Mozarabic, 279
Abyssinia, 455; Church of, 5; liturgy, 6, 332; liturgical language, 330–1
Accedam ad te; Mozarabic, 282, 290, 291–2
Achrida, Church of, 391, 392
Acolytes, 44, 78, 83, 92; regionary, 18
Act of Faith; Byzantine, 440
Acts of the Apostles for Epistle, read in Paschal-tide, 288, 419
Ad Accedentes; Mozarabic, 316–7
Ad Orationem Dominicam; Mozarabic, 260, 261, 313, 314
Adesto, adesto, Jesu; interpolation in Mozarabic rite, 301–2, 303
Adjuvate me, fratres; Mozarabic, 290
Adoptionism, 32, 260, 261
Adrian I, Pope, 21, 215, 363
Aetherius, St., Archbishop of Lyon, 112
Africa, Church of, 12, 48, 217, 285
Agde, Council of (506), 162
Agios; Mozarabic, 284, 293, 301
Agnus Dei, 51–2, 243; Carthusians, 72; Carmelites, 83; Dominicans, 96; Lyon, 134, 139; Ambrosian, at requiems only, 243, 246; absent from Mozarabic, 316
Agobard, Archbishop, St., 63, 112
Agrestius, Bishop of Lugo, 159
Alain de Coetivy, Cardinal, 364
Albania, Church of, 466
Albert, St., Patriarch of Jerusalem, 77
Albigenses, the, 156
Alcuin, 260, 261
Alexander II, Pope, 215, 262
Alexander VI, Pope, 215
Alexandria, Orthodox Patriarch; stoles, 396
Alexandria, Patriarchate of, 38, 325, 362, 383; rite, 6, 29, 333; diptychs, 41
Alia Oratio; Mozarabic, 237, 256, 292, 294
Aliturgical days; Ambrosian, 223; Presanctified rite used; Byzantine, 361–2, 395, 409
Alleluia, 27, 30; Carthusians, 73; Carmelites, 84; Dominicans, 93; Braga, 201; Ambrosian, 233–4; Mozarabic, 289; Oriental and Latin use, 419; farced, 30
Alleluiatic Song, 30; Byzantine, 419
Altar, Altars; furnishing and adornments, 16; lights, 16; Carthusians, 66; Carmelites, 78; Dominicans, 96; Lyon, 120; Mozarabic, 278; Byzantine, 399–401; Armenian, 483, 484, 494
Altar, censing of, 24; Carmelites, 79; Dominicans, 95; Lyon, 124; Ambrosian, 239, 240; Mozarabic, 290
Amalarius of Metz, 36, 54, 55, 63, 112
Ambones; Western basilicas, 232
Ambrose, St., 27, 157, 212, 213, 217, 233, 235; Epiclesis, 42–3; chant, 225–6, 276; psalm singing, 25, 226; censing of altar, 240; and the Ambrosian rite, 213, 214, 216, 217
Ambrosian rite, 6, 20, 211 *et seq.*; origin, 214, 216–9, 227; Borromean revision, 215–6, 244, 246; most ancient, 216; Canon, 214, 216, 219, 241; colours, 219–20, 223; vestments, 220, 221; lights,

221; flowers, 221; classification of days, 221; Calendar, 221–5, 268, 272; ceremonial of the Mass, 227 *et seq.*; Byzantine influence, 240, 247–8. *See also* Milan *and under Subject headings*
Amelia, see of, 213
Amen, 27; of Pater noster, 48; at Communion, Ambrosian, 247; Paris rite, 247; intercalation of, Mozarabic, 23, 314, 316; at Consecration, Byzantine, 430
Amphilochus, Bishop of Iconium, 408
Anamnesis, 45; Mozarabic, 303, 430; Byzantine, 430–1; Ambrosian, 430; Armenian, 514. *See also* Unde et memores
Anaphora; Byzantine, 427; Armenian, 511. *See also* Canon
Anathemas in Creed, 506, 507
Angels, Cult of the, in Eastern Churches, 344
Annunciation liturgy (Toledo), 258
Anselm, St., 113
Anspert, Archbishop, 237
Antidoron; Byzantine, 433, 440, 443, 450; Mozarabic equivalent, 443; Armenian equivalent, 523–4
Antimension, 401, 402
Antioch, 5, 213, 325, 361, 383, 384
Antiochene rites, 5, 28, 217, 333; litanies of the deacon, 28; orationes super nomina, 40; Creed, 427
Antiphona ad Confractionem Panis; Mozarabic, 311
Antiphona, ante Evangelium; Ambrosian, 234; post Evangelium, 236
Antiphonary of Léon, 291; Pater noster, 314
Antiphons, greater, 269
Antonine monks (Mount Lebanon), 471
Apocalypse for prophetic lesson, 288
Apolysis, 441, 442
Apostles' Creed in Mozarabic rite, 309
Apostolic Constitutions II.; Lessons, 419
Apostolic Constitutions VII.; Communion prayers, 53
Apostolic Constitutions VIII., 5, 12, 48, 361; Benedictus, 38; elevation before Communion, 38, 44; litany, 229; lessons, 232, 419; Gustate et videte, 317; Prayers for the Dead, 345; prayers at dismissal of catechumens, 421; kiss of peace, 425–6
Apostolic salutation, 297–8
Apringius (*c.* 520), Bishop of Beja; Mozarabic fraction, 312
Aquileia, 212, 216
Aquinas, St. Thomas, 90; words of Consecration, 43; Sequence for Corpus Christi, 14, 30
Arianism, 159, 160, 180, 181, 213, 309, 310; Spain, 253, 254, 256
Arles, 214
Armenia, 455 *et seq.*; history, 455, 467, 470, 479–80; loss of independence, 470; Jewish traits, 455; Christianity in, 455, 456, 457; legends, 456–7; Apostle of, 457–9
Armenia, Church in: primacy, 457–8, 459; title of primate, 458, 466; primatial seat, 458, 466; connection with Caesarea, 457, 458, 459, 460; Confession of Gregory the Illuminator, 459; national alphabet invented, 460–461; Bible, 461; liturgy, 461; 491–3; religious development, 461–2; struggle against Nestorianism, 462–3; and Persia, 463; repudiates Council of Chalcedon, 462, 463, 464, 465; monophysite heresy, 462, 463–4, 468; the Filioque, 465, 468; relations with Byzantines, 465, 466; daughter churches, 466; attitude to General Councils, 466; influence of Crusaders on, 466, 467, 481; Latin propaganda in, 469–72 *passim*; connection with the Apostolic See, 465, 467–70, 471; power of the laity, 472, 473; martyrology, 467, 473–4, 479, 487; diaspora, 467, 474 *et seq.*; celibacy, 458, 481; clerical life, 481; orders of ministry, 481–2

Catholic group, 466, 467 *et seq.*; religious life, 469–72, 482; celibacy, 332, 481; hierarchy of, 472; three rival successions, 468–9; additional patriarchs, 470–1; growth of Catholic group, 471, 472, 474; persecution, 472; emancipation, 472; effect of Bull 'Reversurus,' 472, 473, 482; latter-day history, 473

Armenia, Church of:
Calendar, 486; ecclesiastical year, 486–9
Churches, architecture, 482–3; dedications, 483; arrangement, 483–5; altar, altars, 483, 484, 494; furnishings, 483, 485; icons, 484; musical instruments, 485
Creeds, 465; confessions of faith, 466
Cult of the Cross, 484, 487
Devotion to Our Lady, 465, 484, 487–8
Liturgy, 461, 491–3
Purgatory, denial of, 465, 488
Armenian Brotherhood, 469–70, 482
Armenian College, Rome, 356
Armenian rite, 6, 455, 461, 491–3, 497 *et seq.*; liturgical language, 330, 455; one unique rite, 455; origin, 502, 503; East Syrian influence, 512; Latin infiltrations, 468, 491, 505, 522; liturgical books, 491; vestments, 489–91; colours, 491; celebrations, 493–4; preparation, 494, 497; unleavened wafers, 494; chalice, 34, 494–5; deacons, 496, 497; vesting, 496–7; hymns, 461, 497; solemn entry, 497; preparatory prayers, 497–8; invocation of the Blessed Virgin, 498; preparation of the sacred elements, 499–501; enarxis, 502–503; liturgy of the catechumens, 503–5; Little Entrance, 503–4; Great Entrance, 509; pax, 510; anaphora, 511–14; act of reverence at Consecration, 513; great intercession, 516–7; Communion, 519–21; thanksgiving, 521–2; revesting, 521; signings in, 522; practice of the Uniates, 500, 501, 504, 506, 508, 510, 513, 515, 516, 517, 521. *See also* Armenian *under Liturgical names, etc.*
Arnobius the Younger; Anamnesis, 45
Artzeburion (Armenian fast), 404–5
Ashes, blessing of; Carthusians, 62; Lyon, 116; Braga, 189, 190–1; Ambrosian, 223; Mozarabic, 270
Asperges; Carmelites, 78; Dominican, 91; Norbertines, 102–3; Ambrosian, 226–7; blessing holy water; Ambrosian, 226
Asterisk, 19, 402
Astrangelo, ancient form of Syriac, 330
Athanasian Creed; Braga, 181
Athanasius, St., 511
Athos, Mount, 390
Aufer a nobis, 26; Mozarabic, 279–80
Augustine, St., 36, 222, 233; Pax, 49; blessing before Communion, 126; memory as Codex, 325; Armenia, 456; prayer of Oblation, 509
Augustine, St., of Canterbury, 112
Augustinians of the Assumption, the, 393–4
Autun, Sacramentary of; Haec omnia, 47
Auxentius, Bishop of Milan, 213, 217
Ave Maria; Carthusians, 68; Braga, 183, 194; Mozarabic, 279
Avignon, 22
Azyme bread, 33, 41, 388; Mozarabic, 289; controversy, 350, 351, 362, 411; Greek denial of validity of, 350, 351; Armenian, 494

Balconius, Bishop of Braga, 159
Balistarius, John, 75
Bangor use, 90, 98; Antiphonary of; Gloria Patri, 277
Baptism; Byzantine, 418
Barnabas, St., and Milan, 212
Baronius, Cardinal, 88
Bartolomeu, Archbishop of Braga, 172, 173
Basil, St., Exarch of Caesarea, 408, 444, 459, 460
Basil, St., Liturgy of, 5, 332, 361, 395, 408, 409, 444–7, 492; Great Entrance, 423; characteristics, 444; comparison with St. John Chrysostom, 444, 445; words of Institution, 445–6; epiclesis, 446
Basilian monasticism in Galicia, 370–1, 372
Basilican worship, 17
Baumstark, A., 39, 41
Beards, 162, 364, 382
Beatitudes, farced; Byzantine, 415
Beatrix, St., of Ornacieu, 73
Beatus of Liebana; Mozarabic fraction, 312
Bec, Sacramentary of; Nobis quoque, 46
Beka, Master Sibert de, 77
Belgium, liturgical revival, 277

Bell at Mass, 47; Carthusians, 71; Dominicans, 96; Norbertines, 106; Lyon, 139; Byzantine, 440
Benedicamus Domino, 55; Carmelites, 84; Ambrosian, 247; Armenian, 523
Benedicamus Patrem, etc., 234
Benedicite; after Epistle; Gallican, 234, 287; Ambrosian, 234; Mozarabic, 234, 287; after Gloria in Excelsis; Mozarabic, 284; after Mass; Ambrosian, 73, 101, 248; Carthusians, 73, 101; Dominicans, 73, 101
Benedict XIII, Pope; Ruthenian rite, 352, 373
Benedict XIV, Pope, 40; Canon, 12; and Oriental Catholics, 327, 328, 330, 333, 352, 384, 410, 427, 472; legislation for Melkites, 353–4, 384; zeon, 437; and the prosphorae, 438
Benedict XV, Pope, 40; and Oriental rites, 357
Benedictine use; Sequences, 107
Benedictines of Portugal, 173; rite of, 173–4, 184. *See also* Tibaes
Benediction: Orientals, 331
Benedictus, 38, 283; Ambrosian, 231; Mozarabic, 284; Byzantine, 38, 429; Armenian, 512
Berengarian heresy, 436
Bergamo, 211; missal; Vere sanctus, 244
Bernard, Bishop of Coimbra, 165
Bernard, St., 73; festival of the Immaculate Conception at Lyon, 113; homage to Church of Lyon, 113, 114
Beroldus, 216, 220, 223
Bessarion, 364
Biasca, Ticino, Sacramentary of, 216
Bidding Prayer, 32
Biretta at high Mass; Lyon, 131; Braga, 193; Ambrosian, 193, 221
Birinus, St., 211–2
Bishop, Mr. Edmund; Ambrosian rite, 217, 227
Bishop, Mr. W. C., *cited*, 271
Blandina, slave girl martyr, 111
Blessed Virgin; cult of, in Eastern rites, 340 *et seq.*; Assumption, 342; Immaculate Conception, 342–4
Blessing:
before Gospel; Mozarabic, 288
before Communion, 126–7; Gallican, 126, 127; Lyon, 126, 127, 134; Ambrosian, 127; Mozarabic, 127, 315, 316; Oriental, 127, 508; Byzantine, 425, 428, 434; Armenian, 514–515, 518, 521
after Communion: Byzantine, 440; Armenian, 521
at end of Mass, 56, 181; Carmelites, 84; Dominicans, 101; Lyon, 129, 140; Braga, 201–2; Ambrosian, 248; Mozarabic, 321; Byzantine, 442; Armenian, 522–3
triple blessing, 50; Armenian, 518
Blessing of fruits, at Per quem haec omnia, 47; Lyon, 125; Braga, 168, 189; Cluny, 168, 189; before beginning of Mass; Braga, 189, 190
Bobbio Sacramentary, 216, 222, 231, 283
Bona, Cardinal, 76, 348; 'De divina psalmodia,' 114
Bonaventure, St., 114
Boniface VIII, Pope, 113
Borromeo, Cardinal Frederico, 227
Borromeo, St. Charles, 127, 215, 216, 227
Braga, 153–4, 164; derivation of name, 153
Braga, Church of, 155 *et seq.*, 160 *et seq.*; patron saint, 154–5; Cathedral, 167–8, 170, 174; primacy question, 169–71, 172, 174, 175, 256; title of Metropolitan, 170–1
Calendar, 167, 175, 176, 179, 185 *et seq.*; classification of feasts, 187; Lenten discipline, 190–2
Liturgical books, 171, 172, 175–180 *passim*, 193
Rite, 7, 22, 153, 159 *et seq. passim*; basis of, 159–60, 161; promulgation, 161–2; extirpation, 163, 164; basis of restored rite, 165, 167, 170, 180–1, 183–5; linked with primacy, 170, 172, 175; similarity with rite of Benedictines, 166 *et seq.*, 174, 184; effect of Bull 'Quo Primum,' 173, 174–5; parallel use of Roman rite, 171, 174, 175–6; Romanizing influences and, 176–8, 179; Bragança reform of missal,

177, 183; modern breviary and missal, 179–80; present position, 179–80, 193; evidences of antiquity in, 181–2; professions against heresies in, 181–2; resemblance to Mozarabic, 183; Marian accentuation in, 172, 184–8, 498; colour sequence, 192; lessons, 154; vestments, 192–3; assistants in copes, 192–3; ceremonies of the Mass, 193 *et seq.* *See also* Braga *under Liturgical names, etc.*
Braga, Councils of:
(561) 161–2, 254, 285; burials within churches, 162, 255; hymns in worship, 276
(572) 162, 188
(675) 67, 164
Branda di Castiglione, Cardinal, 215
Brazil, Benedictines in, 174; Ruthenians in, 368
Breaking of the Bread, 50. *See also* Fraction
Breast, striking of, 52, 98
Brito, Fr. Bernardo, 159
Bruno, St., 61, 64
Bulgaria, Armenians in, 480
Bulgarian Church, 391–3; rite, 393
Bull: Demandatum Coelitus, 353, 356, 384, 410; Etsi Pastoralis, 352, 366, 437; Quo Primum, 22, 23, 61, 88, 111, 153, 173, 211, 251; Reversurus, 386, 472
Burdinho, Mauricio, 167
Burgos, Council of (1085), 263
Byzantine Catholics: rites in use, 395; vestments: pallium, 397; regulations, altar stone, 401–2; low Mass, 403; fasts, 404
Byzantine Church—
Calendar, 403 *et seq.*
Candles for the blessing, 399; candlestick (manualion), 399
Churches, interior arrangements, 399 *et seq.*; altar, 399, 400–1; antimension, 401, 402; crucifix, 401; holy vessels and accessories, 402–3; asterisk, 402; chalice, 402; composite veil, 402; hexapteruga, 403; holy lance, 402; paten, 402; ripidia, 403; sponge, 403; spoon, 402; iconostasis, 399; icons, 399; chief types, 400
Clergy: outdoor dress, 396; pastoral staff, 398; ornate stick (bishop's), 398; prelatical adornment, 398; garment for readers or servers, 399
Hymnography, system of, 415
Incense, 403, 412, 413, 418, 423, 424
Lights, portable, 403
Liturgical books, 334, 407
Liturgical year, 403–6; days of observance, 406; classification of feasts, 406; Jewish survivals, 404
Liturgies, 395, 408, 409, 410; source of, 407
Maritime colonies, 364
Method of praying for a person, 413
Music, 403
Ordinations, ceremonial, 399
Pontifical blessings, 398–9
Reserved Sacrament, 401
Vestments, 395, 396–7; colours, 395–6; red for requiems, 396; headgear, 398; crown or mitre, 398
Byzantine rite, 5, 326, 327, 361; rites in use, 395; languages used, 329; fraction and Agnus, 52; epiclesis, 336; diptychs: effect of removal of the Pope's name, 362; in Rome, 365; cult of Blessed Virgin in, 340–1; lessons, 419. *See also* Chrysostom, St. John, Liturgy of, *and* Byzantine *under Liturgical names, etc.*
Presanctified Mass of, 361, 395, 405, 409, 447–50

Cabrol, Dom, *cited*, 28, 181
Caerimoniale, 89
Caesarea, 444; Armenia and, 457–460
Caesarius, St., of Arles, 16, 127, 286, 315
Calixtus II, Pope, 73, 112
Camision, 399
Canada, Ruthenian churches in, 367, 368, 370
Candle for pontifical blessings; Byzantine, 398–9
Candles, 16, 31
Canon of the Mass, 36, 38–47; Ambrosian, 241–4; Mozarabic, 301; Byzantine, 427; Armenian, 511
Canto Melodico, 257
Carassus, Dom Bernard, 64
Cargese in Corsica; Byzantine rite in, 364

Carischiaranti, Fr. Peter, 389
Carmelites, 75 *et seq.*; Rule, 75, 76–7; Discalced Reform, 76; devotion to Our Blessed Lady, 77; Calendar, 77–8, 85; rite, 76, 77, 78, 85, 101; colour scheme, 78; music, 78; Missa sicca, 65; prayer for recovery of the Holy Places, 85; veneration of Old Testament Prophets, 345. *See also under Liturgical names, etc.*
Carthage, Fourth Council, 421
Carthusian Order, 61 *et seq.*; motto, 61; statutes, 62; devotion to Our Lady, 63–4; prayer for the Holy Land, 64; form of chanting, 65; nuns, 73
Carthusian rite, 62, 63, 65 *et seq.*, 101; abandonment offered, 63; similarities with Lyon, 62; Calendar, 63, 64, 66; dry Mass, 64–5; conventual Mass, 65, 66, 73; high Mass, 65; simplicity, 65; Benediction, 66; and Exposition, 66. *See also under Liturgical names, etc.*
Catechumens, dismissal of, 14–15, 31, 32; Mozarabic, 290, 291; Byzantine, 421; Armenian, 508
Catechumens, Litany of; Byzantine, 420–1
Catechumens, Liturgy of; Armenian, 503, 505. *See also* Missae Catechumenorum
Catechumens, prayers for, 421, 508
Catholicos, the title, 458
Celestine I, Pope, 25; Homily, 32
Celestine III, Pope, 467
Celtic liturgy; Communion of celebrant, 99
Censing, Hymn of; Armenian, 501–2
Censing of altar; Dominicans, 95; Mozarabic, 290
Censing of Blessed Sacrament during Elevation; Dominicans, 97
Censing of celebrant; Dominicans, 95; Mozarabic, 290
Censing of oblata; Dominicans, 95; Mozarabic, 282; Byzantine, 425
Censing. *See also under* Incense
Ceremoniale Episcoporum; lights, 16
Chalcedon, Council of, 462, 463
Chaldean, liturgical language, 330
Chaldean Catholics, 6, 332, 335, 384
Chalice: making of, 33, 34; Carmelites, 79; Dominicans, 91, 94; Lyon, 124; Ambrosian, 235; Mozarabic, 280–1, 286–7; Byzantine, 412; consecration of, 44–5; elevation of, 44–5
Chant of the Monogones, 415, 503
Charlemagne, 20, 21, 32, 115, 215; Filioque, 310
Charles the Bald, 260, 444
Cherubikon, the, 305, 422–3, 424; Armenian, 508
Chichester; incense at Elevation, 25, 44
Christe Eleison, 26, 231
Chrysostom, St. John, Liturgy of, 5, 326, 332, 361, 395, 409, 410 *et seq.*; earliest manuscript, 409; preparatory prayers, 410; vesting, 410; Proskomide, 410, 436; the prayer of prothesis, 412; diaconal supplications, 412, 414 *et seq. passim*; beginning of the liturgy, 414; Great Synapte, 28, 414; Kyrie Eleison, 414; Little Synapte, 415; invocation of the Blessed Virgin, 415; Little Entrance, 415, 416; Trisagion, 417–8; Prokeimenon, 419; prayer of intense supplication, 420; Litany of the Catechumens, 420; Great Entrance, 422; Anaphora, 409, 427–31; Words of Institution, 429; Megalunarion, 432; Koinonicon, 436; zeon, 437; prayer behind the ambo, 441; apolysis, 441, 442; Kontakion, 444; unvesting, 443; final rubric, 444. *See also* Byzantine *under Liturgical names, etc.*
Chrysostom, St. John; Prayers for the Dead, 345; prayer of supplication, 415; Acts read in Paschal-tide, 419; preparation for Gospel, 233, 420; Consecration moment, 431; Communion prayers, 520
Church, prayer for, 293
Cisneros, Cardinal, 251, 264, 278; Marian codicil to dismissal; Mozarabic, 320–1
Cistercian Order, 73 *et seq.*, 101
Cîteaux; ablutions, 54; Elevation, 45; kiss of altar, 69
Clamor; Mozarabic, 286
Clement IV, Pope, 88, 113
Clement VIII, Pope; Blessing, 56; Dominican rite, 88; the Ruthenians, 351, 368, 371

Clement XI, Pope; Uniate books, 334
Clement XII, Pope, 88
Clementine liturgy, 5, 408. *See also* Apost. Const. VIII.
Cloveshoo, Council of (747), 7
Cluniac influence in Spain, 167, 168
Cluny; ablutions, 54; Confiteor, 68
Codex Barberini, 417, 422
Codex of St. Denys, 29
Collect Oratio; Mozarabic, 284–5
Collectio sequitur; Gallican, 294
Collects, 13, 28, 69; Carthusians, 69
Colour sequence; Carmelites, 78; Norbertines, 102; Lyon, 118; Braga, 192; Ambrosian, 219–20; Mozarabic, 277
Columbanus, St., 229
Comb, liturgical, 182–3
Commemoration of the dead, 41, 46; Mozarabic, 295–6; Oriental rites, 345; Byzantine, 433; Armenian, 516–7
Commemoration of the living, 39, 40, 41; Carthusians, 71; Ambrosian, 245; Byzantine, 433; Armenian, 516–7. *See also* Diptychs
Commemoration of the Saints, 41, 46; Byzantine, 432; Armenian, 516
Commixture, 50–1; Carmelites, 83, 126; Dominicans, 98, 126; Lyon, 126; Ambrosian, 242–3, 314; Gallican, 314; Mozarabic, 314; Byzantine, 436; Armenian, 519, 520
Communicantes, 41–2; Ambrosian, 241, 243; Amen after, 41
Communio, 54. *See also* Communion chant
Communion, 388; in Roman rite, 48, 53, 54; Carthusians, 72; Dominican, 98–100; left-handed reception by celebrant, 99–100; words of administration, 99, 100; Ambrosian, 246–7; Mozarabic, 318; Byzantine, 439–40; Armenian, 519–21
Communion by the lips, 521
Communion chant, 54; Ambrosian, 247; Mozarabic, 317, 319; Byzantine, 436, 439; Gustate et videte, 317
Communion prayers, 52–3; Dominicans, 52; Carthusians, 72; Lyon, 129; Ambrosian, 246; Byzantine, 437; Armenian, 520
Complendae, 72. *See also* Post Communio
Completuria; Mozarabic, 319. *See also* Post Communio
Concelebration, 16, 23, 409, 446
Confiteor, 26; Carthusians, 68; Cluny, 68; Cîteaux, 69; Carmelites, 79; Dominicans, 91–2; Lyon, 121; Braga, 194; Ambrosian, 228, 247; Mozarabic, 279; Armenian, 498
Confractorium, the, 243, 245, 311
Congregatio pro Ecclesia Orientali, 328, 334, 357
Consecration, 43–5, 241; Carthusian, 70; Carmelites, 83; Dominicans, 96; Lyon, 134; Braga, 181; Ambrosian, 241; Mozarabic, 262, 301–3, 304; Byzantine, 428–31; Armenian, 512–3
Consecration moment, 43–4, 336, 385
Constantinople, see of, 6, 325, 361, 362, 375, 387; Armenian, 470–1
Coptic, liturgical language, 330
Coptic Church, 325, 332, 388
Coptic College, Cairo, 356
Coptic liturgy, 6; Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, 336
Cordoba, 259; Calendar (961), 253, 259, 273, 274, 275
Corporals; Carthusian, 118; Lyon, 118
Corpus tuum Domine, 54; Carmelites, 84
Cosmas, St., the Melodist, 432
Creed in Mass, 32, 235, 240, 427; Carthusians, 70; Carmelites, 81; Dominicans, 92, 94; Norbertine, 105; Ambrosian, 235, 240; position of, in Byzantine liturgy, 309, 426–7; Mozarabic, 308–9; differences from Roman form, 310–11; Armenian, 505–7; anathemas in, 506, 507
Cross, the, 16; salutation of; Mozarabic, 280
Cyprian, St., 14, 294; in Communicantes, 41
Cyril, St., of Jerusalem, 229, 332
Cyrillic alphabet, 12, 371
Czecho-Slovakia, 102; Ruthenians of, 370

Damasus, Pope St., 13, 28, 29, 30, 157; Gloria Patri, 277
Deacon, office of, 23, 27, 28; connection with chalice, 27, 34, 70;

Offerimus tibi, 34; sings Gospel, 31; in the Oriental rites, 411 *et seq. passim*
Dead, Prayers for the, 41, 46; Mozarabic, 295–6; Oriental rites, 345; Byzantine, 433; Armenian, 516–7
de Bonald, Cardinal, 114
de Bragança, Gaspar, 154, 167
Debrovsky, Fr. Joseph, 12
Decentius, Bishop of Eugubium, 155, 217
de Figueiredo, Fr. Antonio Pereira, 154, 167
de Gondrin, Monsignor, 130
de Moléon, Sieur, *quoted*, 119, 120; *cited*, 130
de Montazet, Archbishop Antoine, 114
Deo Gratias, 55, 287, 291, 315
de Rates, St. Peter, 154–5
De Sacramentis, 19, 43, 216
Deus qui humanae substantiae, 34
'Devocionario Muzarabe,' *cited*, 276, 277, 282, 286, 288, 312, 316; ablutions, 319
de Voleine, Morel, *quoted*, 120
Diaconal litany, 26, 28. *See* Preces
Dialogue, 36
Didache, the, 5
Didascalia, 32
Dies Irae, 30
Diodorus, Greek monk (*c.* 350), 414
Diodorus Siculus, 153
Dionysius the Areopagite, 413; Great Entrance, 422; position of the diptychs, 427
Diptychs, 39, 40–1, 294–5; Ambrosian, 237, 245; Mozarabic, 294, 295; Byzantine, 425, 427, 432–3; Armenian, 516–7
Disciplina arcani, 14, 426
Dismissal, 15, 55–6; Mozarabic, 320; Byzantine, 441; Armenian, 523. *See also* Ite, missa est, *and under* Catechumens
Domine Jesu Christi, Fili Dei vivi; Carmelites, 84; Dominicans, 98; Ambrosian, 246
Domine Jesu Christi, qui dixisti, 52; Carmelites, 83; Ambrosian, 246
Domine non sum dignus, 53; Carmelites, 84; Dominicans, 98; Braga, 181; Ambrosian, 246, 247
Dominic, Bishop of Gradus and Aquileia; eucharistic bread, 350
Dominican Order, 85, 86; liturgical diversity, 86, 89; classification of feasts, 88, 90; Armenia, 469–470, 482
Dominican rite, 65, 85–6, 90 *et seq.*, 101; codification, 86–7; final rite, 87–9; Roman character of, 89; derivation, 89, 90; Missa sicca, 65; Christmas lections, 168. *See also under Liturgical names, etc.*
Dominus sit; Carthusians, 69; Carmelites, 81; Ambrosian, 235
Dominus sit semper vobiscum; Mozarabic, 285, 286, 308, 320
Dominus vobiscum, 29, 31, 36; Carthusians, 69, 137; Dominicans, 93; Lyon, 137; Braga, 161; Ambrosian, 229, 231, 235, 240, 247, 320; Gallican added 'semper,' 229
Dona nobis pacem, 52
Doors, guarding of, 426, 511
Dorchester (Oxon.), 211
Dorotheus, Bishop of Mitylene; 'zeon,' 437
Doxology, at end of Canon, 47; Dominicans, 97; the signings, 97; Ambrosian, 242
Dry Mass, 64–5; Ambrosian, 225
Duchesne, Mgr., *cited*, 213, 216, 217, 253; fraction; Gallican practice, 311
du Prat, Armand, 90
Dupuy, Dom Francis, 62
Durandus of Mende; Communion prayers, 52; date of Easter, 223; Gospel ceremonies, 234; Kyrie, 235, 237
Dynamis: Byzantine, 417

East Syrian rite, 6, 302
Easter, announcement of date of, 222–3; Braga, 162, 188, 223
Eastern Catholics. *See* Oriental
Eastern liturgies; lawfulness, 332; authenticity of service books, 332; antiquity and origin, 333, 334; integrity of, 333; liturgical texts, 334; rubrics, 334
Eastern rites, dogmatic character, 334 *et seq.* *See also* Oriental
Ectene; Mozarabic, 293
Edessa, Church of, 6, 330
Edict of Toleration, 212
Ekphonesis, 36; at nobis quoque, 46; Byzantine, 409, 414, 421, 422, 425, 430, 433

Ektenis, 420, 517
Elevation of the Host, 44, 47–8; of the Chalice, 44–5; at omnis honor et gloria, 47–8; Carthusians, 71, 72; Dominicans, 96, 97; Norbertine, 106; Lyon, 134; Braga, 181; Ambrosian, 241; Mozarabic, 303, 308; Byzantine, 435, 436; Oriental liturgies, 436; Armenian, 514, 516, 518
Elipandus (of Toledo), 260
Emilian Codex, 155
Enarxis, 502–3
Energumens, 421
Eperies, diocese of, 370
Epiclesis, the, 42–3, 46, 304–8, 429; Oriental rites, 42, 44; Oriental Catholics, 44; in Mozarabic rite, 303–7; Orthodox teaching, 430, 431; Byzantine, 428, 429, 430, 431; Armenian, 515
Epiclesis of the Logos, 47; Mozarabic, 305. *See also* Logos
Epiphanius, St., 382, 409
Epiphany Gospel; Ambrosian, 222
Epirati, the, 365
Epistle, 29, 286; Carthusians, 69; Carmelites, 80; Dominicans, 94; Lyon, 132, 137; Ambrosian, 233; Byzantine, 418
Erigite vos ad orationem, 236
Eucharist, the term, 37
Eucharistic dogma and Oriental liturgies, 335–6
Eucharistic service, the, 3
Euchologion, 333, 407; of Venice, 423
Eudes de Sully, Bishop of Paris; Elevation of the Host, 44
'Eugeniano,' 257
Eugenius, Archbishop, 215
Eugenius II, St., Pope, 255, 257; votive masses, 257–8
Eugenius III, Pope; Armenia, 468
Eugenius IV, Pope, 76; mixed chalice, 495
Eulogius (Toledo), 259
Euthymios of Tyre, 398
Evora, rite of, 171
Exeter; kneeling at the Incarnatus, 33
Ex latere Domini nostri; Braga, 196–7; Mozarabic, 281

Fans; monastic rites, 82; Byzantine rite, 403; Armenian rite, 485
Felix (*ob.* 700), 258
Fermentum, 50–1, 422
Férotin, Dom, *cited*, 298
Filioque, 32, 33, 114, 310, 350, 362, 427, 506
Florus of Lyon, 43
Fraction, 48, 50, 51, 52; Dominicans, 98, 99, 100; Ambrosian, 242, 243; anthem at, 243; Mozarabic, 311–3; Byzantine, 52, 436; Armenian, 519, 520
Frankfort, Council of (794), 261
French peculiarities, 111, 112
Fructuosus, St., Bishop of Tarragona, 293

Gaisruck, Cardinal, 211
Gallican liturgy, 6, 20, 24, 89–90, 111, 215, 231; and the Eastern liturgy, 213; common origin with Mozarabic, 253; embolism of Pater noster, 49; fraction, 50, 311; Post Communio, 55; procession of the oblata, 93; preparation of the oblata, 93; blessing before Communion, 126, 134; Calendar, 222, 268, 269; Dominus vobiscum, 229; Trisagion, 231, 235; Orationes super populum, 231; Collectio ante pacem, 237; names of prayers, 284; Psallendo, 287; Benedicite, 287; Cantus trium Puerorum, 287; Lessons, 288
Geez, liturgical language, Abyssinia, 330–1
Gelasian Sacramentary, 11, 21, 26, 36; Pax Domini, 51; Post Communio, 55; Orationes super populum, 231
Gelasius I, Pope; commemoration of the living, 41
Genuflections, 45; Carthusian rite, 67, 70; Carmelites, 78; Dominicans, 92, 96; Lyon, 136; Braga, 177, 181
Georgian Catholics, 389–91; religious life, 389; national rite, 391; choice of site for churches, 391
Gerald, St., Bishop of Braga, 165, 166, 167, 168
German Prado, Dom, 282, 288; Gospel, 288; Mozarabic liturgy, 312
Germanus, Patriarch, 114
Germanus, St., of Paris, 24, 126, 284, 293; Antiphona ad praelegendum, 282; Benedicite, 287;

Sonus, 289 ; Communion anthem, 317 ; veils of the holy vessels, 402
Gerona, Council of (517), 315
Gesta Sanctorum, 232
Ghibellines, the, 99
Ginoulhiac, Mgr., 114
Glagolitic alphabet, 12, 371 ; missal, 12, 13 ; liturgy, 371
Gloria in Excelsis, 27–8, 29, 56 ; Carthusians, 69 ; Dominicans, 92, 93 ; Lyon, 116, 131 ; Braga, 187 ; Marian farcings, 22, 187, 195 ; Ambrosian, 229, 231 ; Mozarabic, 231, 283, 284
Gloria Patri, 25 ; at end of Psalms, 25, 26, 277 ; Spanish use, 276–7, 279
Gloria tibi Domine, 31
Goldwell, Thomas, Bishop of St. Asaph, 23
Gospel, 13, 31, 286 ; deacon's privilege, 31, 288 ; Carthusians, 69–70 ; Carmelites, 81 ; Dominicans, 92, 94 ; Norbertines, 105 ; Lyon, 133 ; Braga, 197 ; Ambrosian, 235 ; Mozarabic, 288, 289 ; sung by celebrant, 288 ; Byzantine, 288, 419–20 ; Armenian, 505, 507
Gothic liturgy, 251. *See* Mozarabic
Gradual, 30 ; Ambrosian equivalent, 233–4 ; Byzantine equivalent, 419
Gratian, Emperor, 157
Great Entrance ; Byzantine, 422–424 ; Armenian, 509
Great Intercession ; Armenian, 516–517
Great Synapte, 414
Great Thanksgiving ; Mozarabic, 298
Greek, liturgical language, 329 ; at Rome, 12
Greek community, 329, 332, 393
Gregorian Sacramentary, 21, 37
Gregory I, Pope St., 11, 26, 29, 30, 42, 254, 309, 348, 397 ; reforms of, 21, 32, 217, 219 ; 'Christe Eleison,' 26 ; Communicantes, 41 ; Pater noster, 48–9 ; Pax Domini, 51
Gregory VII, Pope, 112, 155, 215, 263
Gregory VIII, Antipope, 167
Gregory X, Blessed, Pope, 113
Gregory XIII, Pope, 101, 215
Gregory XVI, Pope, 112, 384
Gregory, St., of Tours, 160 ; lessons, 232 ; 'Creed of,' 506
Gregory, St., the Illuminator, 457, 469 ; history and tradition, 457–459 ; 'Confession of,' 459 ; wafer bread, 494 ; 'Profession of,' 507
Gremial, 119
Grenoble diocese, 62 ; dry Mass, 65 ; Dominus vobiscum, 137
Grottaferrata (Basilian monastery), 333, 352, 363, 364, 365, 366 ; use of pontificalia in, 398
Gubbio, 20, 217
Gueranger, Dom, 112
Guigo, Dom (fifth Prior of Chartreuse), 62, 63
Guzzeta, Fr., Congregation of the Oratory of the Greek Rite, 366

HADRIAN, Sacramentary of, 14
Haec commixtio et consecratio, 51
Haec omnia (per quem haec omnia), 43, 45, 46–7
Hair, 162, 364, 382
Hallelujah, 233–4
Hanc igitur, 42, 96 ; additional clauses, 42 ; Carthusians, 71 ; Carmelites, 83 ; Dominicans, 96
Hanc oblationem ; Lyon, 124 ; Mozarabic, 290
Harding, St. Stephen, 73
Hassoun, Mgr., 472, 473, 482
Helpidius, 156
Henoticon of Zeno, 423
Henry V, Emperor, 167
Henry VII, Emperor, 99
Hereford use, 90, 91, 98 ; Collects, 69
Herfort, Henry of, 90
Hexapteruga, 403
Hieraticon of Constantinople, 423
High Mass, normal rite, 15
Hildebert, Bishop of Le Mans, 44
Hippolytus, Apostolic Tradition of, 4, 5, 6, 36, 37
Holy Cross prayer ; Mozarabic, 280, 281 ; Byzantine, 418 ; Armenian, 523
Homilies of Narsai, 23
Homily, 31–2
Honorius II, Pope, 101
Honorius III, Pope ; Gospel book, 31
Honorius IV, Pope, 88
Honorius of Autun ; Kyrie, 235
Hooper, ex-Cistercian, 74
Hugo Candidus, Cardinal, 262, 263
Humbert of Romans, 87–8, 89, 90
Hungarian Ruthenians, 370
Hungary (post-war) ; Ruthenian diocese in, 370

Hyginus, Bishop of Cordoba, 156, 157
Hymns in worship, 276; Spanish Church, 276

Iberia (Georgia), Church of, 466
Iconoclastic controversy, 339, 344, 399, 445, 459; persecutions, effect of, 363
Iconostasis, 399–400
Icons, 399, 400, 484
Idacius, Bishop of Merida, 156, 157
Ignacio de S. Caetano, 154
Ildephonsus, St. (*ob.* 667), 255, 257, 258, 272, 274, 315, 316; Mozarabic fraction, 312
Illationes; Mozarabic, 299–300
Illyricus, Mass of; Communion Prayers, 52, 53
Immaculate Conception, the, and Eastern rites, 342–4, 465
Incarnatus (Creed), 33, 197
Incense, 24–5, 31, 70, 71; at the Gospel, 25, 31, 420; at Elevation, 25, 44; Church of Paris, 25; Carthusians, 66, 69; regulations, 70–1; Cistercians, 74; Carmelites, 79; Dominicans, 92, 95, 96, 97; Norbertines, 105, 106; Lyon, 120, 133–4; Braga, 194, 195; Ambrosian, 228, 239–40; Mozarabic, 25, 290; Byzantine, 403, 412, 413, 418, 423, 424, 425; Armenian, 501–2, 509, 516, 518, 523. *See also under* Censing
Incense, blessing of, 25, 31, 34, 45; Carmelites, 79; Dominicans, 94; Lyon, 124, 138; Braga, 195, 197; Ambrosian, 239; Mozarabic, 290
Indulgentiam; Carmelites, 79; Ambrosian, 228; Mozarabic, 279
Ingressa = Ambrosian Introit, 228; at Black Mass, 228
Innocent I, Pope, 11, 20, 42, 155, 158, 252; Pax, 49; use of Gubbio, 217
Innocent II, Pope, 62
Innocent III, Pope, 95; lights, 16; Pentecostal Sequences, 30; ablutions, 54
Innocent IV, Pope, 13, 113, 468
Innocent V, Blessed, Pope, 113
Innocent XI, Pope, 62, 88
In nomine Patris, 91
In principio, 56; Armenian, 523
In spiritu humilitatis, 34; Carthusians, 70; Carmelites, 82; Dominicans, 95; Lyon, 124; Mozarabic, 290
Instantius, Bishop, 156, 157
Institution, Words of, 42, 43; Gallican missals, 241; Byzantine, 429
Intercessions, Milan, 229
Intorticium; Carthusians, 71; Carmelites, 78; Dominicans, 96; Norbertines, 106; Lyon, 134, 139
Introit, 25, 56, 195; Carthusians, 69; Carmelites, 79; Dominicans, 92; Lyon, 117, 130; Braga, 195; Ambrosian = Ingressa, 228; Mozarabic = Officium, 282; absent from Byzantine, 414, 417; Armenian, 502–3
Invocation. *See* Epiclesis
Irenaeus, St., 20, 112, 115–6
Irenika, 414
Isidore, St., of Seville, 153, 160, 254, 256, 257, 258, 259, 270, 285–6, 297, 303; dismissal of catechumens, 291; Oratio admonitionis, 292
Isidorian liturgy, 251. *See* Mozarabic
Islamism in Spain, 252, 259–60
Italic version of Scriptures, 231, 286
Italo-Greeks, the, 329, 351, 352, 362–7, 368, 427; chief colonies, 365; churches, 365–6; Gospel in two languages, 365; Roman protection of Byzantine rite of, 353; antidoron, 443; celibacy, 332
Italy, South, Byzantine usurpation, 348, 363
'Ite, missa est,' 15, 55, 56; Carmelites, 84; Braga, 201; Ambrosian, 247. *See also* Dismissal
Ithacius, Bishop of Ossonoba (Faro), 157
Ivo of Chartres, St., 52

Jacobo de Vitry, Bishop of Tusculum; Mozarabic fraction, 313
Jacopone da Todi; Sequence, 30
James; Liturgy of St. James, 5, 28, 332–3, 361, 407–8; authorship, 332–3, 407; date, 407, 408; prayer of prothesis, 412; Syriac form, 5, 336, 407, 408
Janello (papal legate), 262, 302
Jerome, St., 12, 30; candles at the Gospel, 31, 420; Greek Liturgy of; blessing before dismissal of catechumens, 508

Jerusalem, Church of; incense before Gospel, 420; Communion, 439
Jerusalem, Patriarchate of, 325, 362, 383
Jerusalem, see of; Armenian, 470, 471
Jesuits: Society of Jesus, 191, 368
John X, Pope; Mozarabic liturgy, 262
John XXII, Pope, 363; Pax Domini, 51
John Damascene, St., 446; honours to the Gospel, 420
John of Asia; 'zeon,' 437
John of Avranches; Ablutions, 54
John of Biclarum, 309; Creed in Mass, 426
John Pataki, Bishop of Fogaras, 378
John the Teuton, 86
Jordan, Blessed, of Saxony, 86, 90
Juan de Todesillas, Bishop of Segovia, 264
Jubinus (Gebuin), St., 112
Judaising practices in Eastern liturgies, 346–7
Judica me, 26; Ambrosian, 227; Mozarabic, 279
Jugoslavia, 371
Julian, St. (Toledo), 258, 291
Julian Calendar, 331, 403
Julian the Apostate, 450
Julius II, Pope, 265, 364
Justin Martyr, St., 11, 14, 285; Pax, 49; lessons, 232
Justinian I, Emperor, 24, 415

Karelevsky, Fr. Cyril, 383
Kiss of peace, 51; Cistercians, 74; Byzantine, 426
Kissing of altar, 39, 46, 80; Carthusians, 68, 70; Cistercians, 74; Dominicans, 92
Kneeling at the Incarnatus, 33; at Emisit spiritum, 33, 117
Koinonicon, 247, 436
Kyrie Eleison, 26, 28, 231, 414; Carthusians, 69; Carmelites, 80; Dominicans, 92, 93; Ambrosian, 231, 235, 247; Mozarabic, 283; Byzantine, 414; Armenian, 504, 517

Lamb slain, the, mystical theory, 411
Languages of Oriental liturgies, 329–31
Laodicea, Council of; Pax, 236
Lapsed, the; prayer for, 293–4
Last Gospel, 56; Carmelites, 84–5; Dominicans, 101; Lyon, 129, 140; Braga, 181, 202; Ambrosian, 248; Armenian, 522–3
Lateran Council (1215); divided Pontificates, 327
Latin; language, 12; rite, oldest, 12
Latin rites, 325
Lauda (Laudes); Mozarabic, 286, 289; offertorium; Gallican, 290
Lavabo, 26, 35, 54; Carthusians, 70; Carmelites, 81; Dominicans, 95, 100; Lyon, 124; Ambrosian, 240, 241; Mozarabic, 290, 291; Armenian, 509
Leander, St., of Seville, 254, 256, 309
Lectionary; Ambrosian, 231; Church of Africa, 285; Mozarabic, 285
Le Masson, Dom Innocent, 62, 64
Lenten discipline, 75, 116–7, 190
Leo I the Great, St., Pope, 45, 159, 213; sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam Hostiam, 45
Leo III, Pope, 310
Leo XIII, Pope, 17, 371; Grottaferrata, 352, 364; and Oriental rites, 355–7
Leo the Isaurian, 363
Leo Thuscus, 410
Leocadia, St. (Confessor), 255
Leonine Sacramentary, 21, 34; Prefaces, 37
Lesley, Alexander, S.J., *cited*, 258; Mozarabic rite, 268, 301
Lessons, 29–30, 286; Ambrosian, 231–2; Mozarabic, 285–8; Byzantine, 418, 419; Armenian, 504–5
Libera nos quaesumus; Ambrosian, 140, 245; Lyon, 140
Liber Ordinum (1052), 253, 258
Liber Pontificalis, 41; fermentum, 50
Lights, 16, 31
Lincoln rite (mediaeval), 131
Litanies, Lenten; Ambrosian, 229–231
Little Entrance; Byzantine, 416; Armenian, 503–4
Little Synapte, 414–5
Liturgical anarchy, 20, 21; decadence, 22; licence, 361
Liturgical books, 15–16
Liturgicon, the, 364, 407
Liturgies, development of, 3–6; division in, 14–15, 24; rite follows patriarchate, 6, 21

Living, commemoration of the, 39, 40, 41; Ambrosian, 245; Byzantine, 433. *See also* Diptychs
Local rites, 21–2, 23, 90
Logos epiclesis, 43, 47, 431; Ambrosian missal, 244; Mozarabic, 305
Lord's Prayer, 48. *See also* Pater noster
Low Masses, 15, 22, 23
Lubeck, Chronicle of, 99
Lubeck missal (Dominican, 1502); Last Gospel, 101
Lupus, St., 112
Lyon, 62, 111; Church of: history, 112–5; primatial church, 120, 121
Lyon rite, 7, 22, 23, 62, 63, 69, 111 *et seq.*; similarities with Carthusian, 62; Calendar, 63, 115–7; music, 65; Roman character, 111, 115; Gallican survivals in, 111; liturgical books, 114, 115; classification of feasts, 115; incense, 117; Candlemas ceremony, 117; colour sequence, 118; comparison with Roman, 121 *et seq.*; Sequences, 122; proses, 122–3; prefaces, 125, 140–9; pontifical Mass, 126, 129–34; high Mass, 131, 135–40; low Mass, 131, 140. *See also under Liturgical names, etc.*

Malabar, Catholics, 6, 175, 332, 333, 384; schismatics, 5
Manchettes; Lyon use, 119, 120
Mandans quoque, 218, 241
Manichean heresy, 45
Maniples, 27, 91, 119, 134, 139; Byzantine reminiscence of, 397
Manualion, 399
Mappula, 92
Marcus Aurelius, persecution under, 111
Marcus of Memphis, 156
Mark; Liturgy of St. Mark, 6, 333, 387, 388
Mark of Ephesus; two stages in consecration, 431
Maronites, the, 5, 327, 384, 408
Martène, Dom; blessing before Communion, 127
Martin of Dumio, St., 160, 162, 163, 255
Martin of Tours, St., 157
Martinus Gallus, 367
Martyrology, 14
Mashdotz, Armenian ritual, 461
Mass, derivation of the term, 15; distinctive title, 55; use of the term, 347
Mass, dry, 64–5; Ambrosian, 225
Mass vestments, 23
Maximus, Emperor, 157
Maximus of Turin, St., 216
Meaux missal, 49; lavabo, 100
Megalunarion; Byzantine, 432
Melkites, the, 383–6; history, 383–4, 385; legislation of Pope Benedict XIV for, 353–4, 384; title of present head of the Church, 384–5, 390; Calendar, 78, 385, 387, 403; principal feasts, 385; rosary, 386; Benediction, 386; provincial Councils, 386; seminaries, 386; patriarch, election of, 386; sees of, 386; numbers, 386; churches in Western Europe, 365, 387, 388; secular priests, 332, 386–7; religious life, 387; liturgical language, 329, 388; rite, 387–9; Latinizing in, 388; modifications introduced with low Mass, 388, 389; monstrance, 402; liturgical books, 407; deacon's office, 412; communion of laity, 389; incense, 389; zeon, 389; Great Entrance, 389, 424; Filioque, 427; Elevation, 435
Memento pro defunctis; Mozarabic, 318
Memento pro vivis; Mozarabic, 312
Memory, recital of liturgy from, 325
Mezzojuso, monks of, 347, 364
Michael, St., at blessing of incense, 34; Ambrosian, 239
Michael Caerularius, 362
Micrologus, 52; Communion Prayers, 52; Suscipe sancta Trinitas, 95
Milan, 20, 21, 211 *et seq.*; and Antioch, 213; ecclesiastical hegemony, 20, 212–3, 214, 217; local Congregation of Rites, 227; church of St. Ambrose, 229; distinctive liturgy, 214, 215. *See also* Ambrosian
Milan Council (1576); Last Gospel, 248
Milanese rite, 215. *See* Ambrosian
Miltiades, Pope; fermentum, 50
Misa secreta; Mozarabic, 301, 302
Misereatur; Carthusians, 68; Carmelites, 79; Dominicans, 91, 92;

Braga, 194; Ambrosian, 228; Mozarabic, 279
Missa, prayer; Mozarabic, 292
Missa Fidelium, 3; Lyon, 133; Mozarabic, 292
Missa Omnium Offerentium, 282
Missa sicca, 64–5, 225
Missae Catechumenorum, 3, 14, 270, 410
Missal lectern, 68
Missale Gothicum, 319
Missale mixtum, 283
Missale plenarium, 15
Missale Sancti Athanasii, 492
Mixed chalice, 34; Carthusians, 70; Carmelites, 79–80; Dominicans, 91, 93; Lyon, 124, 132, 139; Braga, 196–7; Ambrosian, 235–6; Mozarabic, 281; Byzantine, 412; Armenian, 495–6, 500
Molesme, Robert of, 73
Monastic rites, 7, 22, 61 *et seq.*; Roman in essence, 63; peculiarity, 63
Monogones, chant, 415; Byzantine, 415; Armenian, 503
Monophysites, 6, 326, 327, 335, 361, 410, 427, 504, 513
Monstrance; Melkites, 402
Monza, 215
Moraleda y Esteban, Sr., *cited*, 262
Moreau, Dom; Te igitur, 39, 308; Great Entrance, 422
Moses of Khoren, 391, 456, 462, 492
Moura Telles, Archbishop, breviary of, 154, 176, 178, 179, 180
Moyses, Gregorian Catholicos, 437
Mozarabic: derivation of name, 251–2
Mozarabic liturgy, 6, 23, 211, 251 *et seq.*; resemblances in Braga rite, 183; common origin with Gallican, 253; derivation, 253–4, 257; traces of ancient prayers, 256; ratified and confirmed, 256, 257; hegemony of, in Spain, 163, 164; under Moorish regime, 252, 259, 260, 264; orthodoxy questioned, 260–1, 262; papal approbation, 262–3; date of existing manuscripts, 262; attempts at suppression, 155, 262–3, 264; virtual supersession by Roman rite, 165, 264; attempt at revival, 264; revival under Cardinal Ximenes, 265–8, 275, 295, 302; basis of printed editions, 267; plenary missals, 268; fall into desuetude, 266, 267; Byzantine influence in, 253, 275, 284, 289, 301, 303; Calendar, 221, 222, 268–75; liturgical books, 165, 275–6; psalms, 276; prayers at vesting, 278; antiphon on arrival at altar, 278; preparation, 278–82; salutation of the cross, 280; original litany began with lessons, 282, 285; pre-Cisneros Mass, 282; prayers coupled, 284–5; benedictions, carelessness in, 316; Marian accentuation, 172, 498. *See also* Mozarabic *under Liturgical names, etc.*
Munda cor meum, 31; Lyon, 124; Ambrosian, 235; Mozarabic, 288
Munkács, diocese of, 370

Naples, 364
Nationality, attitude of Rome to, 357
Navarre, Roman rite in, 263
Nerses Lampronetzi, St., 464, 498, 505
Nestorian Church, 6, 326, 327; dismissal, 55; Burial Office for Priests, 345
Nestorianism, 335, 361, 410
Nicene Creed; Armenian rite, 462
Nicetius (Nizier), St., 112
Nicholas I, Pope, 363, 404
Nicholas II, Pope, 215; Mozarabic rite, 262
Nicholas III, Pope; Pax Domini, 51; Filioque, 350
Nicolas of Jesus, 76
Nilos, St., 363
Nobis quoque, 41, 46; Ambrosian, 242
Norbert, St., Archbishop of Magdeburg, 101, 102, 106
Norbertine Fathers, the, 36, 90, 101–6; classification of feasts, 102; liturgical books, 102; rite of, 102–6
Notker Balbulus; Sequences, 30
Novara, 211
Nudum officium; Carthusians, 64–5
Nuptial Mass, 49

Oblata, preparation of; Carthusians, 70; Carmelites, 80; Dominicans, 91, 93; Braga, 182; Gallican, 182; Ambrosian, 235–236; Mozarabic, 280–2; Byzantine, 410–3; Armenian, 499–501

Oblata, procession of, 93, 219
Offerenda; Milan, 236
Offerimus tibi, 34
Offerings of the people; Mozarabic, 291; of silver medals, 291
Offertoria; York use, 81
Offertorium; Milan, 222, 236, 240
Offertory, 33–4; Carmelites, 81; Dominicans, 94–5; Lyon, 124; Braga, 197; Mozarabic, 290–1; Byzantine, 425; Armenian, 509
Offertory chant, 33; primitive position, 33
Offertory prayers, 34, 305; Ambrosian, 236, 238–9; Mozarabic, 289–90; Byzantine, 425
Officium=Introit; Mozarabic, 282–3
Omnium Offerentium; Mozarabic, 275, 276, 287
Omophorion, 397
Optatus, St., Bishop of Milevis; toto terrarum orbe, 39
Oradea Mare, diocese of, 370
Oramus te, 26; Ambrosian, 228
Orange, Council of (441); Commixture, 50
Orarion, the, 277–8, 396–7
Orate fratres, 28–9; Carthusians, 71; Carmelites, 81; Dominicans, 95; Lyon, 124, 125; Braga, 198; form of, in Mozarabic rite, 290; reminiscence of, in Byzantine rite, 425
Oratio ad Pacem; Mozarabic, 297
Oratio ante missam, 42
Oratio plebis, 36
Oratio post Communionem; Ambrosian, 247
Oratio post Nomina; Mozarabic, 297
Oratio super oblata, 36, 42; Ambrosian, 240
Oratio super populum, 55; Ambrosian, 222, 231
Oratio super sindonem, 32; Ambrosian, 235, 237, 238
Orationale Gothicum, 271, 275
Orationes super nomina, 40
Ordination, Roman Mass of, 247
Ordines Romani, 21, 24, 25, 29, 31, 54, 216, 349
Ordo Romanus I, 27, 83; ekphonesis at Nobis quoque, 46; elevation at per ipsum, 47; Haec commixtio, 51; dismissal, 55
Oremus, 28, 29, 32, 237; Mozarabic, 284, 292, 293, 314
Orfroi; Lyon use, 119
Oriental Catholics; and Latin devotions, 331; celibacy, 332; Apostolic salutation, 297
Oriental Churches, papal policy towards, 348 *et seq. passim*
Oriental liturgies, defects of, 345 *et seq.*; florid and figurative style, 345–6; apocryphal and dubious matter, 346; retention of Jewish or Old Testament customs, 346–7; inordinate length of offices, 347; Sequences, 234. *See also under* Eastern
Orientalium dignitas, 356
Origenism, 158
Ormanian, Patriarch of Constantinople, 460
Orosius, 158–9
Orthodox Sunday, 399
Ortigius of Aquae Celenae (Iria), Bishop, 157
O Sapientia, 269

Pain bénit, 47, 443, 523–4. *See also* Antidoron
Palatine worship, 17
Pallium, the; Oriental bishops, 383, 384, 397–8
Pallotti, Vincenzo, Venerable, 329
Pan-Orthodox Congress (1923), 382
Panem coelestem accipiam, 53; Carmelites, 84; Ambrosian, 246
Pannonisms, 13
Paris rite, 89, 90; making of the chalice, 91; missal (1738), 83, 105, 280; Pax, 98; ablutions, 100; washing of hands, 100; Placeat, 101; communion of the celebrant, 99; chants, 284
Parisis, Mgr., Bishop of Langres, 111–2
Paschal II, Pope, 113, 165, 167
Pater noster, 48–9, 50; Dominicans, 97–8; Lyon, 126, 134, 140; Ambrosian, 46, 245; Mozarabic, 314–5; intercalation of Amen, 314; absent from Apost. Const., 49, 314; Byzantine, 314, 426, 434; Gallican, 314; Milan, 314; Toledo, 314; Armenian, 518; Trinitarian ending, 434
Paternus, Bishop of Braga, 158, 160
Patriarch, the title, 458
Patriarchates of the East, 325
Patroclus, Bishop, 214
Patruinus, Metropolitan of Merida, 157

Paul, St., and Christianity in Spain, 252
Paul V, Pope ; Ruthenian rite, 351
Pax, 49, 51–2 ; Carthusians, 72 ; Carmelites, 83–4 ; Dominicans, 98 ; Paris missal (1738), 98 ; Lyon, 134 ; Ambrosian, 236, 237, 246 ; Mozarabic, 297–8 ; Byzantine, 298, 425 ; Armenian, 510
Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum, 50, 51 ; Dominican, 98
Pax vobis, 29, 161, 285
Pectoral crosses and rings, 398
Peculiar, John, Metropolitan of Braga, 169, 170
Pelagia, St., child martyr of Cordoba, 260
Pelagius I, 39, 311
Penitents, reconciliation of, 182, 190, 287, 290
People's oblation ; Milan, 237–8
Perceptio corporis tui, 52–3 ; Carmelites, 84 ; analogous Byzantine prayer, 437
Per Dominum nostrum ; Mozarabic equivalent, 285
Peregrinatio Sylviae, 420, 442
Per ipsum, 47 ; Carmelites, 83
Per omnia semper saecula ; Mozarabic, 283
Per quem haec omnia ; Lyon, 125 ; Ambrosian, 244 ; corresponding formula ; Mozarabic, 308
Persia, Nestorianism in, 463
Peschitto, 330
Peter, Brother, sub-Prior of St. Sabina, 89
Peter, St., primacy of, in Oriental rites, 337–9 ; Armenian, 465
Peter Damian, St., 215
Peter the Dyer of Antioch, 335, 427, 446, 504
Peterborough Abbey, 220
Pius IV, Pope, 172, 353
Pius V, St., Pope, 88, 173 ; reforms by, 22, 23, 30 ; Bull Quo Primum, 22, 61, 173 ; triple blessing, 56
Pius VII, Pope, 44, 370
Pius IX, Pope, 111, 112, 114, 328, 334, 374 ; extols Eastern rites, 355
Pius X, Pope ; revised breviary, 63 ; special feast for Poland, 367 ; and the Oriental Churches, 356–7
Pius XI, Pope, 153, 382 ; and the Oriental Churches, 357
Placeat, 56 ; Carthusians, 73 ; Carmelites, 84 ; Dominicans, 101 ; Braga, 202 ; Ambrosian, 247, 248
Ploramus et gemimus ; Mozarabic, 256
Poland, 367, 369 ; special feast, 367 ; Vixdum Poloniae unitas : Bull, 369 ; Latinizing pressure on Byzantine rite in, 371 ; Armenians in, 474–5
Pontifical high Mass, 15, 16, 17 ; features of, 18–19
Pope's name, restoration of, in Oriental diptychs, 333
Portugal, independence of, 169, 170 ; reunion with Spain, 175 ; Church and State in, 179 ; Catholic National Congress, 180
Post Communio, 72 ; Mozarabic, 319, 320
Post-Communion Prayer, 55
Post Pridie Prayers ; Mozarabic, 219, 302–8 ; Ambrosian, 244 ; Gallican, 307 ; analogy with Roman rite, 307–8
Post Sanctus = Vere Sanctus prayer ; Ambrosian, 244–5 ; Mozarabic, 299, 300, 301 ; absent from Roman, 301
Pothinus, St., Bishop of Lyon, 111, 112, 115, 116 ; feast, 128
Praeceptis salutaribus moniti, 49 ; Ambrosian, 245 ; Mozarabic equivalent, 284, 314
Praelegendum ; Mozarabic, 282
Prayer for the Church ; Rome, 293 ; Constantinople, 293 ; Mozarabic, 293
Prayers for catechumens, 421
Prayers for the dead ; Byzantine, 433
Prayers for the living ; Byzantine, 433
Prayers of the faithful, 32
Preachers, Order of, 65. *See* Dominican
Preces ; Ambrosian, 223, 229 ; Mozarabic, 287
Prefaces, 37 ; Leonine Sacramentary, 37 ; Carthusians, 71 ; Carmelites, 82 ; Dominicans, 95–6 ; Lyon, 140–9 ; Braga, 199 ; Ambrosian, 240 ; Byzantine, 428
Pregustatio ceremony, 18 ; Lyon, 132
Premonstratensian Order, 36, 90, 101–6
Premontré, Canons Regular of, 36, 90, 101–6
Preparation of the Offerings ; Carthusians, 70 ; Carmelites, 80 ; Dominicans, 91, 93 ; Braga, 182 ; Gallican, 182 ; Ambrosian, 235–

236 ; Mozarabic, 280–2 ; Byzantine, 410–3 ; Armenian, 499–501
Preparatory Prayers, 26 ; Carthusians, 68 ; Carmelites, 79 ; Lyon, 121 ; Braga, 194 ; Rome, 194 ; Ambrosian, 227 ; Mozarabic, 278 ; Byzantine, 410
Presanctified, Liturgy of the, 361, 395, 409, 447–50 ; date, 409 ; Great Entrance, 422, 449 ; Elevation, 435, 449 ; zeon, 437
Presanctified, Mass of the, 53 ; Lyon, 117 ; Mozarabic, 285 ; Byzantine, 405 ; Roman, 405
Prières du Prône, 32
Priscillian, 156, 157
Priscillianism, 155–7, 161, 162, 180, 253, 269, 285
Private Masses, 22
Procedamus cum pace ; Ambrosian, 247
Proclus, St. ; Liturgy of St. Basil, 408
Profuturus, Bishop of Braga, 38, 160, 180, 254, 283
Prokeimenon, 419
Prolegendum ; Mozarabic, 282
Proper of the Mass, 13
Proper Prefaces ; Lyon, 140–9
Prophets, Old Testament, veneration for, among the Orientals, 345
Prose, Proses, 30, 288 ; Carthusians, 69 ; Lyon, 69, 140 ; Carmelites, 80 ; Norbertines, 104
Proskomide, 410
Protasius, Bishop of Tarragona, 257
Prothesis, the, 401 ; ceremonies of, 410 ; prayer of, Byzantine, 412
Psallendo ; Mozarabic, 286, 287
Psalm at Introit, 25
Psalmellus ; Ambrosian, 232–3
Psalms : Vetus Italica, 286
Psalms in liturgy, Byzantine, 415–6
Psalmus responsorius, 30
Purgatory, belief in, 345
Purificator, 75

Quam oblationem ; epiclesis, 42, 43 ; Milan, 241
Qui pridie, 44 ; Ambrosian, 244
Quid retribuam Domino, 53 ; Ambrosian, 246
Quod ore sumpsimus, 54 ; Dominican, 100 ; Lyon, 124

Rabi ben Zaid, 259
Ravenna, 212, 213, 216
Raynald, Fr. William, 62
Reccared, King (589), 253, 254, 309
Recemundus, Bishop of Elvira, 259
Rechiarius, King of the Suevi, 159
Reichenau fragments, 294
Relics and consecration of a church, 160
Relics in the altar, 26
Remi, St., Abbey of, missal, 25 ; Pax, 98
Requiem Mass ; Preface, 37 ; Pax, 51 ; dismissal, 56 ; no blessing, 91 ; sung by the Pope in red vestments, 396 ; Carthusians, 73 ; Ambrosian, 248
Requiescant in pace, 56
Reservation ; Orthodox Churches, 382, 401
Reunion schemes, 327–8
Riffier, Dom, 62
Ripidia, 403
Rodrigo, Archbishop D., 252
Roman liturgy, 6, 7, 11 *et seq.* ; divisions in, 14, 15, 24 ; earliest sources, 21 ; development, 19–23 ; Tridentine reform, 22, 23 ; Calendar, 14, 78 ; Mass of the catechumens, 14, 15 ; Canon, 11, 12, 24 ; Mass of the faithful, 14, 15 ; extent of, 21–2 ; primitive arrangement, 54. *See also under Liturgical names, etc.*
Roman missal, pre-Tridentine, 181
Roman Question, 17
Roman-Toledan missal, 320
Romano - Lyonnaise Ceremonial (1897), 69, 115
Rome ; Armenian College, 356 ; Collegium Russicum, 395 ; San Lorenzo ai Monti (Russian Catholics), 365, 394 ; S. Salvatore alla Coppelle (Rumanians), 365, 380, 382–3 ; Greek College, 351
Rome, ecclesiastical language of, 364–5
Rome as Court of Appeal, 19–20
Roseline, St., of Villeneuve, 73
Rouen missal ; fraction, 50
Rumania, 377, 379 ; Church, 379 ; history, 380 ; rite, 379 ; language, 379–80 ; schismatic patriarchate, 381 ; Gregorian Calendar in, 381 ; Ruthenians in, 370 ; Armenians in, 474
Rumanian Uniates, 374, 377–83 ; attempts at union, 379, 380, 381 ; depression by Latins, 378 ; persecution, 379 ; liturgical books, 380 ; hierarchy,

380; Calendar, 381; seminaries, 381; religious life among, 381; secular clergy, 332, 381, 382; discipline, 381–2; Byzantine rite with variations, 381; ceremonial practice, 382; epiclesis, 382; Reserved Sacrament, 382; antidoron, 433; architecture, 382
Rumanians, the, 377, 379
Russia, 394–5, 420, 427; Armenians in, 477, 480
Russian Catholics, 369, 394; rite, 394
Russian Church (schismatic), 368, 372, 395; abbesses' privilege, 73, 418
Ruthenian rite (Byzantine), 368, 372–4; papal defence of, 351–2; Latinization, 372–3, 374; vestments, 373, 396, 397; concelebration, 374, 409; liturgicon, 407; bell at Great Entrance, 422; antidoron, 373, 443
Ruthenians, 351–2, 367 *et seq.*; history, 368–9; of Czecho-Slovakia, 370, 374, 375; of Jugoslavia, 376; union, 368–9, 372; hierarchy, 369–70; secular clergy, 370, 373; celibacy, 332, 370; religious life, 370–1, 372, 373; Dominican houses, 371; liturgical language, 371; liturgical books, 372, 407; Calendar, 374; manner of fasting, 374–5; discipline, 374, 375; prayers for the Church, 414; Filioque, 427; Act of Faith, 440

Sacramentarium Gallicanum (Bobbio missal), 216, 283–4
Sacramentary, the, 16
Sacred Congregation of Rites, 76
Sacrificium=Offertorium; Mozarabic, 289, 290, 291
Sahak, Illuminator of Knowledge, 460
St. Gall fragments, 319
Saints, in Communicantes, 41; in Nobis quoque, 41, 46
Salve Regina; Carmelites, 77, 84; Servites, 106; Mozarabic, 320
Salve Salus mundi, 84
Salvus, Abbot (*ob.* 962), 260
Salzburg missal; Pax Domini, 51
Sancta sanctis, 47; Ambrosian, 243; Mozarabic, 315
Sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam Hostiam, 45
Sanctus, 37–8; Carmelites, 83; Dominicans, 96; Mozarabic, 299, 300–1; Byzantine, 429; Armenians, 512
Santoro, Julius Antony, Cardinal, 353
Sarto (Syriac), 330
Sarum use, 7, 90, 98, 278; Collects, 69; blessing before Communion, 127
Satmar, archdeanery of, 370
Savonarola; left-handed reception, 99–100
Schism, East and West, 326, 349, 362, 363, 376; removal of the Pope's name from diptychs, 362
Scrutinies, the, 271
Secrets, 35–6; Carmelites, 82; Ambrosian, 240
Semantron, the, 403
Sequences, 22, 30, 31, 288; Carthusians, 69; Lyon, 69, 122; Carmelites, 80–1; Dominicans, 93–4; absent from Ambrosian and Oriental rites, 234, 288
Serapion, Sacramentary of, 244; Anaphora, 308
Serbs of Bosnia, 375; rapprochements with the Holy See, 375
Sergius I, Pope, 51, 52, 424
Sermon, 31–2
Server at low Mass, 97
Servite Order, 106
Severus of Antioch, 43, 415
Seville, Church of, 23, 275
Sibour, Archbishop of Paris, 112
Sicily, Byzantine usurpation, 363; Italo-Greeks in, 365
Sicut erat, 277
Sidi Mervan; Byzantine rite in, 364
Sign of the Cross, 25, 31, 39, 45
Signings; Dominican, 97
Silence, call for; Ambrosian, 233; Mozarabic, 233, 286, 287
Silentium facite before the Epistle; Mozarabic, 286, 287
Siliceo, Cardinal Archbishop, 279
Simeon Vratanja (Serbian Bishop), 375
Simeoni, Cardinal; the Rumanians, 377
Sirlet, William, Cardinal, 353
Sixtus V, Pope, 17
Slav Office and Mass, 12–13
Slovaks (Ruthenians), 367

Sokolski, Bishop, 392
Sonus, 289
Soreth, Blessed John, 76
Spain, 169; tradition as to Mass and Divine offices in, 155; Christianity in, 252–3; metropolitical system, 253; heresies, 253; liturgical position consolidated, 253, 254, 256; Mozarabic rite, 251 *et seq.*; Roman Mass in, 251; Romanizing movement in, 262, 263, 264, 302; Moorish invasion, 164, 259; votive Masses, 257–8; worship of the Cross in, 280
Sponge, 412
Spoon for Communion of laity, 389, 402, 439
Staro-Slav language, 370, 371, 379
Stational liturgies, 17
Stock, St. Simon, 75
Stole, the, 18; origin, 396; Carthusians, 67; Ambrosian, 221; Spain, 277; Byzantine, 396–7; Armenian, 489–90
Stowe missal, 241, 319; litany, 229; diptychs, 295, 296; fraction, 311
Stroganov School: renaissance of icons, 400
Studites monks, pure Byzantine rite for, 371, 372
Subdeacons, 46; read the Epistle, 29; office of, Milan, 226; Rome, 226; Armenian, 481
Suevic Church, 163. *See* Braga
Suevic liturgy. *See* Braga
Sulpicius Severus, *quoted*, 156
Supplices te rogamus, 45–6; epiclesis, 42, 46; Carmelites, 83; Dominicans, 97; Lyon, 139; Ambrosian, 242
Supra quae, 45; Ambrosian, 242
Sursum Corda, 36; Dominicans, 96; Mozarabic, 298; Byzantine, 428; Armenia, 511
Suscipe, sancta Trinitas, 35, 95; Carmelites, 81; Carthusians, 95; Dominicans, 94–5; Paris, 95; Lyon, 124–5; Braga, 198; Ambrosian, 238, 239
Suscipe, sancte Pater, 34, 289
Suscipiat Dominus, 29; Dominicans, 95; Norbertines, 105
Sylvester, St., Pope, 12, 457, 494
Symbolum Constantinopolitanum, 240
Symmachus, Pope, 27; Commemorations, 41
Symphorien, St., of Autun, Acts of, 37
Synaxis, 406
Syriac, as liturgical language, 330
Syriac Liturgy of St. James; Eucharistic dogma in, 336
Syrian Anaphoras, 338
Syrian Catholics, 332, 408

Tarcisius (martyr), 51
Te igitur, 36, 39; epiclesis, 39, 42; Carthusians, 71
Tersanctus; Byzantine, 428
Tertullian, 229; Pax, 49; Armenia, 456
Testament of Our Lord, the, 5, 37
Thalhofer; Amen of Pater noster, 48
Thanksgiving, 55; after Mass, Carmelites, 85; after Communion, Mozarabic, 319; Byzantine, 440
Theodore IV (Balsamon), 333, 387; liturgical centralization, 362
Thomas of Canterbury, St., 112; cult of, at Lyon, 112
Thomas of Celano; requiem Sequence, 30
Thurston, Fr., *cited*, 44
Tibaes, rite of, 166, 173, 183, 203–6
Ticino, Swiss canton, 211
Toledo, 254, 255; El Christo de la Vega, 255; Church of St. Leocadia, 255; primacy of Spain, 256; primacy question with Braga, 169–70, 172; betrayed to the Moors, 259, 263; six ancient parishes, 259–60, 264; Mozarabic rite in, 264, 265, 266; Calendar, 221
Toledo, Council of—
(3rd, 589) 163, 254; Creed in Mass, 309, 310
(4th, 633) 163, 256, 259; hymns in worship, 276; Gloria Patri, 277; Apocalypse, 288; embolism of Pater noster, 315; order at Mass, 315; blessing before Holy Communion, 315
(11th, 675) 163, 257
Toledo, Councils of, 163, 255, 256
Toledo, rite of, 51, 159, 251, 278–9. *See* Mozarabic
Toledo Cathedral: legend of the descent of Our Lady, 258
Toul, diocese of, 18; missal, 31
Tract, 30

Tractus ; Mozarabic, 286
Traducianism, 507
Transitorium ; Ambrosian, 247
Transylvania, 377, 378, 379, 381 ; schismatics, 382 ; Armenians in, 474
Trecanum, the, 317
Trent, Council of, 170, 172
Trent, reform of missal and breviary, 22, 54, 61
Trier, 214 ; Sacramentary of ; Communion Prayers, 52
Trisagion, 283, 335 ; Byzantine, 417–8 ; farced, Mozarabic, 284 ; Armenian, 464, 503–4
Troparia, 415
Turin, Council (400), 213
Typicon, the, 363–4, 407
Typika, 414

Ukrainians, 367. *See* Ruthenians
Unde et memores, 45, 71 ; Carmelite, 83 ; Dominican, 97 ; Lyon, 139 ; Ambrosian, 242, 430. *See also* Anamnesis
Uniate Serbs, the, 376 ; liturgy of, 376
Uniates, the, 326, 327, 362 ; groups, 362 ; equal dignity of rites, 326–327 ; number of rites amongst, 327
United States, Ruthenian churches in, 367–8, 370
Urban II, Pope, 356
Urban VIII, Pope, 13 ; and the Ruthenians, 369
Utrecht, missal of, 29

Vaison, Council of (529), 32, 219, 231, 277, 283, 288 ; Sanctus, 38 ; Kyrie, 231
Valentinian III, Emperor, 213
Vaussin, Claude, 73
Vecchioni, the, Milan, 237–8
Veni Sanctificator, 34
Venice, Church of, 364
Venice liturgy ; blessing before Communion, 127
Vercelli, Blessed John of, 87–8
Verdun, 46 ; church of ; dismissal, 55
Vere Sanctus, or Post Sanctus, 39 ; Ambrosian, 244–5
Vesper prayer at end of Mass, super populam, 55
Vestments, 18, 277, 349, 489 ; Carthusians, 67 ; Dominicans, 90–1 ; Braga, 192 ; Lyon, 118–20, 130, 131, 135, 220 ; Ambrosian, 220–1, 223 ; Mozarabic, 277 ; Byzantine, 349, 395, 396–7 ; Armenian, 489–91
Vicit Leo ; Mozarabic, 315
Vienne, 46
Vigilius, Pope, 11, 160, 254 ; Canon of the Mass, 38, 39
Vini Experimentum ; Lyon, 132
Virginal Consecration, Carthusian nuns, 73
Visconti, Gaspari, 216, 227
Visigothic liturgy, 251. *See* Mozarabic
Votive Masses ; Braga, 190 ; Spain, 257–8

Walafrid Strabo (*ob.* 849) ; Ambrosian rite, 214 ; Creed in Mass, 309
Washing of hands, 35 ; Dominican, 95
Wipo ; Easter Sequence, 30
Words of administration ; Mozarabic, 318
Words of Institution, 42, 43 ; Byzantine, 429

Xavierre, Master, 88
Ximenes de Cisneros, Francisco, Cardinal Archbishop, 172, 251, 264, 278 ; Marian codicil to dismissal ; Mozarabic, 320–1

York rite, 90, 91 ; haec omnia, 47 ; offertoria, 81

Zachary, Pope ; blessing before Communion, 126
Zamosc, Synod of, 352, 372 ; Reservation, 374
Zanelo (papal legate), 262, 302
Zeon, 436–7 ; symbolism, 436–7 ; Armenian attitude to, 495
Zoroastrianism, 463
Zosimus, Pope, 213, 214

Printed in England at The Ballantyne Press
Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & Co. Ltd.
Colchester, London & Eton

50229